This is a digital copy of a book that was preserved for generations on library shelves before it was carefully scanned by Google as part of a project to make the world's books discoverable online.

It has survived long enough for the copyright to expire and the book to enter the public domain. A public domain book is one that was never subject to copyright or whose legal copyright term has expired. Whether a book is in the public domain may vary country to country. Public domain books are our gateways to the past, representing a wealth of history, culture and knowledge that's often difficult to discover.

Marks, notations and other marginalia present in the original volume will appear in this file - a reminder of this book's long journey from the publisher to a library and finally to you.

Usage guidelines

Google is proud to partner with libraries to digitize public domain materials and make them widely accessible. Public domain books belong to the public and we are merely their custodians. Nevertheless, this work is expensive, so in order to keep providing this resource, we have taken steps to prevent abuse by commercial parties, including placing technical restrictions on automated querying.

We also ask that you:

+ *Make non-commercial use of the files* We designed Google Book Search for use by individuals, and we request that you use these files for personal, non-commercial purposes.

+ *Refrain from automated querying* Do not send automated queries of any sort to Google's system: If you are conducting research on machine translation, optical character recognition or other areas where access to a large amount of text is helpful, please contact us. We encourage the use of public domain materials for these purposes and may be able to help.

+ *Maintain attribution* The Google "watermark" you see on each file is essential for informing people about this project and helping them find additional materials through Google Book Search. Please do not remove it.

+ *Keep it legal* Whatever your use, remember that you are responsible for ensuring that what you are doing is legal. Do not assume that just because we believe a book is in the public domain for users in the United States, that the work is also in the public domain for users in other countries. Whether a book is still in copyright varies from country to country, and we can't offer guidance on whether any specific use of any specific book is allowed. Please do not assume that a book's appearance in Google Book Search means it can be used in any manner anywhere in the world. Copyright infringement liability can be quite severe.

About Google Book Search

Google's mission is to organize the world's information and to make it universally accessible and useful. Google Book Search helps readers discover the world's books while helping authors and publishers reach new audiences. You can search through the full text of this book on the web at `http://books.google.com/`

ARTES
SCIENTIA
VERITAS
LIBRARY OF THE
UNIVERSITY OF MICHIGAN
TUEBOR
SIRCUMSPICE

888
P5d
tJ8
1899

THE

DIALOGUES OF PLATO

JOWETT

THE

DIALOGUES OF PLATO

Translated into English

WITH ANALYSES AND INTRODUCTIONS

BY

B. JOWETT, M. A.

MASTER OF BALLIOL COLLEGE, REGIUS PROFESSOR OF GREEK IN THE UNIVERSITY OF OXFORD

IN FOUR VOLUMES

VOL. IV.

NEW YORK
CHARLES SCRIBNER'S SONS
1899

The Riverside Press, Cambridge, Mass., U. S. A.
Stereotyped and Printed by H. O. Houghton & Company.

888
P5d
tJ8
1899
v.4

CONTENTS

	PAGE
LAWS	1
APPENDIX	481
LESSER HIPPIAS	489
FIRST ALCIBIADES	509
MENEXENUS	559
INDEX OF PERSONS AND PLACES	581

LAWS

INTRODUCTION.

The genuineness of the Laws is sufficiently proved (1) by more than twenty citations of them in the writings of Aristotle, who was residing at Athens during the last years of the life of Plato, and who returned to Athens after the death of Plato, at the time when he was himself writing his Politics and Constitutions; (2) by the allusion of Isocrates[1] — writing 346 B. C., a year after the death of Plato, and not more than two or three years after the composition of the Laws — who speaks of the Laws and Republics written by philosophers (Sophists); (3) by the reference (Athen. 226 A) of the comic poet Alexis, a younger contemporary of Plato (fl. B. C. 356–306), to the enactment about prices, which occurs in Laws, XI. 917 A, namely, that the same goods should not be sold at two prices on the same day;[2] (4) by the unanimous voice of later antiquity and the absence of any suspicion among ancient writers worth speaking of to the contrary; for it is not said of Philippus of Opus that he composed any part of the Laws, but only that he copied them out of the waxen tablets, and wrote the Epinomis, Diog. Laert. iii. 25. That the longest and one of the most excellent writings of Plato should be a forgery, even if the work were unsupported by external testimony, would be a singular phenomenon in ancient literature; and although the critical worth of the consensus of late writers is generally not to be compared with the express testimony

[1] Oratio ad Philippum Missa, p. 85: Τὸ μὲν ταῖς πανηγύρεσιν ἐνοχλεῖν καὶ πρὸς ἅπαντας λέγειν τοὺς συντρέχοντας ἐν αὐταῖς πρὸς οὐδένα λέγειν ἐστὶν, ἀλλ' ὁμοίως οἱ τοιοῦτοι τῶν λόγων (sc. speeches in the assembly) ἄκυροι τυγχάνουσιν ὄντες τοῖς νόμοις καὶ ταῖς πολιτείαις ταῖς ὑπὸ τῶν σοφιστῶν γεγραμμέναις.

[2] Οὐ γέγονε κρείττων νομοθέτης τοῦ πλουσίου
Ἀριστονίκου· τίθησι γὰρ νυνὶ νόμον
τῶν ἰχθυοπωλῶν ὅστις ἂν πωλῶν τινὶ
ἰχθὺν ὑποτιμήσας ἀποδῶτ' ἐλάττονος
ἧς εἶπε τιμῆς εἰς τὸ δεσμωτήριον
εὐθὺς ἀπαγεσθαι τοῦτον, ἵνα δεδοικότες
τῆς ἀξίας ἀγαπῶσιν, ἢ τῆς ἑσπέρας
σαπροὺς ἅπαντας ἐποφέρωσιν οἴκαδε.

Meineke, *Frag. Com.* vol. 3, p. 438.

of contemporaries, yet a somewhat greater value may be attributed to their consent in the present instance, because the admission of the Laws is combined with doubts about the Epinomis, a spurious writing, which seems to stand in nearly the same relation to the larger work in which the Timaeus Locrus stands to the Timaeus. This shows that the reception of the Laws was not altogether undiscriminating.

The suspicion which has attached to the Laws of Plato in the judgment of some modern writers appears to rest partly (1) on differences in the style and form of the work, and on (2) differences of thought and opinion which they observe in them. Their suspicion is increased by the fact that these differences are accompanied by resemblances as striking to passages in other Platonic writings. They are sensible of a want of point in the Dialogue, and a general inferiority in the ideas, plan, manners, and style. They miss the luminous and poetical flow, "smoother than a river of oil," the dramatic verisimilitude, the life and variety of the characters, the dialectic subtlety, the Attic purity, the exquisite urbanity; instead of which they find tautology, obscurity, self-sufficiency, sermonizing, and rhetorical declamation, uncouth forms of sentences, and peculiarities in the use of words and idioms. They are unable to discover any unity in the patched irregular structure. The speculative element both in government and education is superseded by a narrow economical or religious vein. The grace and cheerfulness of Athenian life have disappeared; and a spirit of moroseness and religious intolerance has taken their place. There is a cynical levity in them, and a tone of disappointment and lamentation over human things. They seem also to observe in them bad imitations of thoughts which are better expressed in Plato's other writings. Lastly, they wonder how the mind which conceived the Republic could have left the Critias, Hermocrates and Philosophus incomplete or unwritten, and have devoted the last years of life to the completion of the Laws.

The questions which have been thus indirectly suggested may be considered by us under four heads: I. the characters; II. the plan; III. the style; and IV. the relation of the Laws to the Republic and the other Dialogues; and also, V. to the existing Athenian and Spartan states.

I. Already in the Philebus the character of Socrates has disappeared; and in the Timaeus and Sophist he hands over his function of chief speaker to the Pythagorean philosopher Timaeus, and to the Eleatic Stranger, at whose feet he sits, and is silent. More and more Plato seems to have felt in his later writings that the character and method of Socrates were no longer suited to be the vehicle of his philosophy. He is no longer interrogative but dogmatic; not "a hesitating inquirer," but one who speaks with the authority of a legislator. Even in the Republic we have seen that the Dialogue is

unreal, and that the argument which is carried on in the old style with Thrasymachus in the first book soon passes into the form of exposition.

The Laws are discussed by three representatives of Athens, Sparta, and Crete. The Athenian, as might be expected, is the protagonist or chief speaker, while the second place is assigned to the Cretan, who, as one of the leaders of a new colony, has a special interest in the conversation. The scene is laid in Crete, and the conversation is held in the course of a walk from Cnosus to the cave and temple of Zeus, which takes place on one of the longest and hottest days of the year (III. 683 C). The companions are said to start at dawn, and to arrive at the point in their conversation which terminates the fourth book, about noon (IV. 722 C). The god to whose temple they are going is the lawgiver of Crete, and may be supposed at this very cave to have given his oracles to Minos. But the externals of the scene, which are briefly and inartistically described, soon disappear, and we plunge abruptly into the subject of the Dialogue. We are reminded by contrast, of the higher art of the Phaedrus, in which the summer's day, and the cool stream, and the chirping of the grasshoppers, and the fragrance of the agnus castus, and the legends of the place are present to the imagination throughout the discourse.

The typical Athenian apologizes for the tendency of his countrymen "to spin a very long discussion out of slender materials," and in a similar spirit the Lacedaemon Megillus also apologizes (cp. Thucyd. IV. 17) for the Spartan brevity; he admits that long discourses may be sometimes necessary. The family of Megillus is the proxenus of Athens and Sparta; and he pays a beautiful compliment to the Athenian, significant of a certain Athenian element which is discernible in the Laws. A good Athenian, he says, is more than ordinarily good, because he is inspired by nature and not manufactured by law. A connection with Athens is also intimated by the Cretan. He is the relative of Epimenides, whom, by an anachronism of seventy or eighty years, he describes as coming to Athens, not after the attempt of Cylon, but ten years before the Persian War. The Cretan and Lacedaemonian can hardly be said to contribute to the argument of which the Athenian is the expounder; they only supply information when asked about the institutions of their respective countries. At first, they are dissatisfied with the free criticisms which the Athenian passes upon the laws of Minos and Lycurgus, but they soon acquiesce in his superior experience and knowledge of the world. They acknowledge that there can be no objection to the inquiry; for in the very spirit of the legislator himself, they are discussing his laws when there is no one present to hear them. Once afterwards, in Book VII. p. 806, the Lacedaemonian expresses a momentary irritation at the accusation

which the Athenian brings against the Spartan institutions of encouraging licentiousness in their women, but he is reminded by the Cretan that the permission to criticise them freely has been given, and cannot be retracted.

The three interlocutors all of them speak in the character of old men, which forms a pleasant bond of union between them. They have the feelings of old men about youth, about the state, about human things in general. Nothing in life seems to be of much importance to them; they are spectators rather than actors, and men in general appear to the Athenian speaker to be the playthings of the gods and of circumstances. Still they have a sort of fatherly care of the young, and are deeply impressed by sentiments of religion. They would give confidence to the aged by an increasing use of wine, which, as they get older, is to unloose their tongues and make them sing. The prospect of the existence of the soul after death is constantly present to them; though they can hardly be said to have the cheerful hope and resignation which animates Cephalus in the Republic. We shall not be wrong in supposing that Plato is expressing his own feelings in remarks of this sort. For at the time of writing the first book of the Laws he was at least seventy-four years of age, if we suppose him, at p. 638 A, to allude to the victory of the Syracusans under Dionysius the Younger over the Locrians, which occurred in the year 356. Such a sadness was the natural effect of declining years and failing powers, which make men ask "After all, what profit is there in life?" They feel that their work is beginning to be over, and are ready to say, "All the world is a stage;" or in the actual words of Plato, "Let us play as many good plays as we can," though "we must be sometimes serious, which is not agreeable, but necessary." These are feelings which have crossed the minds of reflective persons in all ages. And there is no reason to connect the Laws, any more than other parts of Plato's writings, with the very uncertain narrative of his life; or to imagine that this melancholy tone is attributable to disappointment at having failed to convert a Sicilian tyrant into a philosopher.

II. The plan of the Laws is more irregular and has less connection than any other of the writings of Plato. As Aristotle says in the Politics, "The greater part consists of laws." They seem to be rather the materials for a work, nearly but not quite complete, than a finished composition which may rank with the other Platonic Dialogues. To use his own image, "Some stones are regularly inserted in the building; others are lying on the ground ready for use." There is probably truth in the tradition that the Laws were not published until after the death of Plato. We can easily believe that he has left many imperfections, which would have been removed if he had lived a few years longer. The arrangement might have been improved; the connection of the argument might have been made

plainer, and the sentences more accurately framed. There is, however, an interest in possessing one writing of Plato's which is in the process of creation. Something also may be attributed to the feebleness of old age. Even a rough sketch of the Phaedrus or Symposium would have had a very different look. The want of arrangement may be ascribed, not only to the unfinished state of the work, but to the decay of the genius of the writer.

Yet we must endeavor to find a thread of order which will carry us through this comparative disorder. The first four books are described by Plato himself as the preface or preamble. Having arrived at the conclusion that each law should have a preamble, the lucky thought occurs to him at the end of the fourth book, that the preceding discourse is the preamble of the whole. This preamble or introduction may be abridged as follows: —

The institutions of Sparta and Crete are admitted by the Lacedaemonian and Cretan to have one aim only: they were intended by the legislator to inspire courage in war. To this the Athenian objects that the true lawgiver should frame his laws with a view to all the virtues and not to one only. Better is he who has temperance as well as courage, than he who has courage only; better is he who is faithful in civil broils, than he who is a good soldier only. Better, too, is peace than war; the reconciliation than the defeat of an enemy. And he who would attain all virtue should be trained amid pleasures as well as pains. Hence there should be convivial intercourse among the citizens, and a man's temperance should be tested in his cups, as we test his courage amid dangers. He should have a fear of the right sort, as well as a courage of the right sort.

At the beginning of the second book the subject of pleasure leads to education, which in the early years of life is wholly a discipline imparted by the means of pleasure and pain. The discipline of pleasure is implanted chiefly by the practice of the song and the dance. Of these the forms should be fixed, and not allowed to depend on the fickle breath of the multitude. There will be choruses of boys, girls, and grown-up persons, and all will be heard repeating the same strain, that "virtue is happiness." One of them will give law to the rest; this will be the chorus of aged minstrels, who will sing the most beautiful and the most useful of songs. They, too, will require a little wine, in order to mellow the austerity of age, and make them amenable to our laws.

After having laid down the first principle of politics, and briefly discussed music and festive intercourse, at the commencement of the third book, Plato makes a digression, in which he speaks of the origin of society. He describes, first of all, the family; secondly, the patriarchal stage, which is an aggregation of families; thirdly, the founding of regular cities, like Ilium; fourthly, the establishment of a military and political system, like that of Sparta with which he

identifies Argos and Messene, dating from the return of the Heraclidae But the aims of states should be good, or else, like the prayer of Theseus, they may be ruinous to themselves. This was the case in two out of three of the Heracleid kingdoms. They did not understand that the powers in a state should be balanced. The balance of powers saved Sparta, while the excess of tyranny in Persia and the excess of liberty at Athens have been the ruin of both empires.

This discourse on politics is suddenly discovered to have an immediate practical use; for Cleinias the Cretan is about to give laws to a new colony.

At the beginning of the fourth book, after inquiring into the circumstances and situation of the colony, the Athenian proceeds to make further reflections. Chance, and God, and the skill of the legislator all coöperate in the formation of states. And the most favorable condition for the foundation of a new one is when the government is in the hands of a virtuous tyrant who has the good fortune to be the contemporary of a great legislator. But a virtuous tyrant is a contradiction in terms; we can at best only hope to have magistrates who are the servants of reason and the law. This leads to the inquiry, what is to be the polity of our new state. And the answer is, that we are to fear God, and honor our parents, and to cultivate virtue and justice; these are to be our first principles. The necessity of definiteness in laws is insisted upon, and of creating in the citizens a predisposition to obey them. In order to implant in them this virtuous temper of mind, the legislator will teach as well as command; and with this view he will prefix preambles to all his principal laws.

The fifth book commences with another and higher preamble about the honor due to the soul; upon this are based the duties of a man to his parents and his friends, to the suppliant and stranger. He should be true and just, free from envy and excess of all sorts, forgiving to crimes which are not incurable and are partly involuntary; and he should have a true taste. The noblest life has the greatest pleasures and the fewest pains. Having finished the preamble, and touched on some other preliminary considerations, we proceed to the Laws, beginning with the constitution of the state. This is not the best or ideal state, having all things common, but only the second best, in which the land and houses are to be distributed among 5040 citizens divided into four classes. There is to be no gold or silver among them, and they are to have moderate wealth, and to respect number and numerical order in all things.

In the first part of the sixth book, Plato completes his sketch of the constitution by the appointment of officers. He explains the manner in which guardians of the law, generals, priests, wardens of town and country, ministers of education, and other magistrates are to be appointed; and also in what way courts of appeal are to be

constituted, and omissions in the law to be supplied. At this point, p. 772, the Laws strictly speaking begin (not forgetting the preamble), with laws respecting marriage and the procreation of children, respecting property in slaves as well as of other kinds, respecting houses, married life, common tables for men and women. The question of age in marriage suggests the consideration of a similar question about the time for holding offices, and for military service, which had been previously omitted.

Resuming the order of the discussion, which was indicated in the previous book, from marriage and birth we proceed to education in the seventh book. Education is to begin at or rather before birth; to be continued for a time by mothers and nurses under the inspection of the state; finally, to comprehend music and gymnastics. Under music is included reading, writing, playing on the lyre, arithmetic, and a knowledge of astronomy and mathematics, sufficient to preserve the minds of the citizens from impiety in after life. Gymnastics are to be practiced chiefly with a view to their use in war. The discussion of education, which was lightly touched upon in Book II. is here completed.

The eighth book contains regulations for civil life, beginning with festivals, games, and contests, military exercises, and the like. On such occasions Plato seems to see young men and maidens meeting together, and hence he takes occasion to discuss the relations of the sexes, the evil consequences which arise out of the indulgence of the passions, and the remedies for them. Then he proceeds to speak of agriculture, of arts and trades, of buying and selling, and foreign commerce.

The remaining books of the Laws, IX.–XII., are chiefly concerned with criminal offenses. In the first class are placed offenses against the gods, especially sacrilege or robbery of temples: next follow offenses against the state, beginning with thefts. The mention of thefts suggests a distinction between voluntary, and involuntary, curable and incurable offenses. Proceeding to the greater crime of murder, he distinguishes between mere homicide, manslaughter, and murder with malice prepense; murders by kindred, murders by slaves, wounds with or without intent to kill, actions done from passion, which are partly voluntary and partly involuntary, crimes of or against slaves, and insults to parents. To these various modes of purification, or degrees of punishment, are assigned; and the terrors of another world are also invoked against them.

At the beginning of Book X., all acts of violence, including sacrilege, are summed up in a single law. The law is preceded by an admonition, in which the offenders are informed that no one ever did an unholy act, or said an unlawful word, retaining his belief in the existence of the gods; but either he denied their existence, or he believed that they took no care of man, or that they might be

turned from their course by sacrifices and prayers. The remainder of the book is devoted to the refutation of these three classes of unbelievers, and concludes with the means to be taken for their reformation, and the announcement of their punishments if they continue obstinate and impenitent.

The eleventh book is taken up with laws and admonitions relating to individuals, which follow one another without any exact order. There are laws concerning deposits and the finding of treasure; concerning slaves and freedmen; concerning retail trade, bequests, divorces, enchantments, poisonings, magical arts, and the like. In the twelfth book the same subjects are continued. Laws are passed concerning violations of military discipline, concerning the censorship of magistrates, and of the citizens, living and dead; concerning oaths and the violation of them, and the punishments of those who neglect their duties as citizens. Foreign trade is then discussed, and the permission to be accorded to citizens of travelling in foreign parts; the classes of strangers who may visit the city are spoken of, and the manner in which they are to be received. Laws are added respecting sureties, searches for property, right of possession by prescription, abduction of witnesses, theatrical competition, plots against the state, and bribery in offices. Rules are also given respecting tribute, respecting economy in sacred rites, respecting judges, their duties and sentences, and respecting sepulchral places and ceremonies. Here (at p. 960) the Laws end. Lastly, a nocturnal council is instituted for the preservation of the state, consisting of older and younger members, who are to exhibit in their lives that virtue which is the basis of the state, to know the one in many, and to be educated in divine and every other knowledge which will enable them to fulfill their office.

III. The style of the Laws differs in several important respects from the other Dialogues of Plato: (1) in the want of character, power, and lively illustration; (2) in the frequency of mannerisms (cp. Introduction to the Philebus); (3) in the form and rhythm of the sentences; (4) in the use of words. On the other hand, there are many passages (5) which are characterized by a sort of ethical grandeur; and (6) in which, perhaps, a greater insight into human nature, and a greater reach of practical wisdom is shown, than in any other of Plato's writings.

1. The discourse of the three old men is described by themselves as an old man's game or play, which is compared to a game of draughts. Yet there is little of the liveliness of a game in their mode of treating the subject. They do not throw the ball to and fro, but two out of the three are listeners to the third, who is constantly asserting his superior wisdom and opportunities of knowledge, and apologizing (not without reason) for his own want of clearness of speech. He will "carry them over the stream;" he will answer for

them when the argument is too difficult for them to follow; he is afraid of their ignorance of mathematics, but admits that gymnastics is likely to be more intelligible to them; he has repeated his words several times, and yet they cannot understand him. Certainly the Laws fall very far short of the other Platonic Dialogues in the refinements of courtesy. Partly the subject did not properly take the form of dialogue, and partly the dramatic vigor of Plato had passed away The old men speak as they might be expected to speak, and in this there is a touch of dramatic truth, as well as judgment in the treatment of the subject. Plato has given the Laws that form which was most suited to his own powers of writing in the decline of life.

The fictions of the Laws have no longer that verisimilitude which we find in the Phaedrus, and the Timaeus, or even in the Politicus. The narrative of the origin of the Dorian institutions is evidently an audacious invention, which may be compared with the tale of the island of Atlantis in the poem of Solon, but is not accredited by similar arts of deception. Nor is there anywhere in the Laws that lively *ἐνάργεια*, that vivid *mise en scène*, which is as characteristic of Plato as of some modern novelists.

The old men are afraid of the ridicule which "will fall on their heads more than enough," and they do not often indulge in a joke. In one of the few which occur, the book of the Laws if left incomplete is compared to a monster wandering about without a head. But we no longer breathe the atmosphere of humor which pervades the earlier writings of Plato, and which makes the broadest Aristophanic joke as well as the subtlest refinement of wit possible; and hence the impression made upon us is bald and feeble. Some of the descriptions in the Laws, which to us are most amusing, *e. g.* of children roaring for the first three years of life; or of the Athenians walking into the country with fighting-cocks under their arms; or of the slave doctor who knocks about his patients finely (Book IV. 720 C; cp. Book VIII. 857 D), and the gentleman doctor who civilly persuades them; or of the way of keeping order in the theatre, seem not to have been intended to suggest anything ludicrous. The irony of the earlier Dialogues, of which some traces occur in the tenth book, is replaced by a sort of severity which hardly condescends to regard human things. "Let us say, if you please, that man is of some account; but I was speaking of him in comparison with God."

The figures of speech and illustrations are poor in themselves, and are not assisted by the surrounding phraseology. We have seen how in the Republic, and in the earlier Dialogues, figures of speech such as "the wave," "the drone," "the chase," "the bride," appear and reappear at intervals. Notes are struck which are repeated from time to time, as in a strain of music. There is none of this subtle art in the Laws. The illustrations, such as the two kinds of doctors, the fear potion, the painter leaving a successor to restore

his picture, the "channel of discourse from which he will not divert the water," can hardly be said "to do much credit to his invention.' The citations from the poets have lost that fanciful character which gave them their charm in the earlier Dialogues. We are weary of images taken from the arts of navigation, or archery, or weaving Yet the comparisons of life to a tragedy, VII. 817; or of the working of mind to the revolution of the self-moved, X. 897; or of the aged parent to the image of a god dwelling in the house, XI. 931, have great beauty.

2. The clumsiness of the Dialogue leads to frequent mannerisms and repetitions. The perfection of the Platonic Dialogue consists in the accuracy with which the question and answer are fitted into one another, and the regularity with which the steps of the argument succeed one another. This finish of style is no longer discernible in the Laws. Again and again the speaker is charged, or charges himself, with obscurity; and he repeats again and again that he will explain his views more clearly. In several passages the Athenian praises himself in the most unblushing manner, very unlike the irony of the earlier Dialogues, as when he declares "that the laws are a divine work given by some inspiration of the gods," and "that youth should commit them to memory instead of the compositions of the poets." The favorite prosopopoeia which is adopted by Plato in the Protagoras, and other dialogues, is constantly recurring. The legislator is always addressing the speakers or the young of the state, and the speakers are constantly making addresses to the legislator. A tendency to a paradoxical form of statement is also observable. "We must have drinking," "We must have a virtuous tyrant,'—this is too much for the duller wits of the Lacedaemonian and Cretan, who at first start back in surprise. More than in any other writing of Plato the tone is hortatory; the laws are sermons as well as laws; they are supposed to have a religious sanction, and to rest upon a religious sentiment in the mind of the citizens. The mannerism of attributing the words of the Athenian to the Lacedaemonian and Cretan, who are supposed to have made them their own, is still maintained. Resumptions of subjects which have been half disposed of in a previous passage, constantly occur: the arrangement has neither the clearness of art, nor the freedom of nature. Irrelevant remarks are made here and there, or illustrations used which are not properly fitted in. The dialogue is generally weak and labored, and is in the later books fairly given up; apparently, because unsuited to the subject of the work. The long speeches or sermons of the Athenian, often extending over several pages, have never the grace and harmony of the dialogue. For Plato is incapable of sustained composition; his genius is dramatic rather than oratorical he can converse, but he cannot speak. Even the Timaeus, which is one of his most finished writings, is full of abrupt transitions. There

is the same kind of difference between the dialogue and the continuous discourse of Plato as between the narrative and speeches of Thucydides.

3. The perfection of style is variety in unity, freedom, ease, clearness, the power of saying anything, and of striking any note in the scale of human feelings without impropriety; and such is the divine gift of language possessed by Plato in the Symposium and Phaedrus. From this there are many fallings-off in the Laws: first, in the structure of the sentences, which are rhythmical and monotonous, — the formal and sophistical manner of the age is superseding the natural genius of Plato; second, they are often of enormous length, and the latter end frequently appears to forget the beginning of them, — they seem never to have received the second thoughts of the author; either the emphasis is wrongly placed, or there is a want of point in a clause; or an absolute case occurs which is not properly separated from the rest of the sentence; or words are aggregated in a manner which fails to show their relation to one another; or the connecting particles are omitted at the beginning of sentences; the use of the relative and antecedent is more indistinct, the changes of person and number more frequent, examples of pleonasm, tautology, and periphrasis, unmeaning antitheses of positive and negative, and other affectations, are more numerous than in the other writings of Plato; there is also a more common and sometimes unmeaning use of qualifying formulae, ὡς ἔπος εἰπεῖν, κατὰ δύναμιν, and of double expressions, παντῇ πάντως, οὐδάμως οὐδαμῇ, ὅπως καὶ ὁπῃ — these are too numerous to be attributed to errors in the text: again, there is an over-curious adjustment of verb and participle, noun and epithet — many forms of affected variety in cadence and expression take the place of natural variety; thirdly, the absence of metaphorical language is remarkable — the style is not devoid of ornament, but the ornament is of a debased rhetorical kind, patched on to instead of growing out of the subject; there is a great command of words, and a labored use of them; forced attempts at metaphor occur in several passages: *e. g.* 844 A, παροχετεύειν λόγοις; 858 C, τὰ μὲν τιθέμενα τὰ δὲ παρατιθέμενα; 773 D, οἶνος καλαζόμενος ὑπὸ νήφοντος ἑτέρου θεοῦ, the play on νόμοι (compare also the unmeaning extravagance of language in other passages, "the swinish ignorance of arithmetic," Laws, VII. 819 D); poor and insipid illustrations are also common, *e. g.* I. 638 C, 639 A, II. 644 E; fourthly, we may observe an unmeaning use of climax and hyperbole, 807 A, αἰσχρὸν λέγειν χρὴ πρὸς αὐτοὺς δοῦλόν τε καὶ δούλην καὶ παῖδα καὶ εἴ τως οἷόν τε ὅλην τὴν οἰκίαν; 636 B, δοκεῖ τοῦτο τὸ ἐπιτήδευμα κατὰ φύσιν τὰς περὶ τὰ ἀφροδίσια ἡδονὰς οὐ μόνον ἀνθρώπων ἀλλὰ καὶ θηρίων διεφθαρκέναι.

4. The peculiarities in the use of words which occur in the Laws have been collected by Zeller and Stallbaum: first in the use of

nouns, such as ἀλλοδημία, ἀπενιαύτησις, γλυκυθυμία, θρασυξενία, μεγαλόνοια, παιδουργία, διαθέτηρ, κόρος. Secondly, in the use of adjectives, such as ἀΐστωρ, βιόδοτος, ἐχθοδοπὸς, ἠΐθεος, χρόνιος; and of adverbs, such as ἀνιδιτὶ, ἀνατεὶ, νηποινεί. Thirdly, in the use of verbs, such as ἀΐσσειν (ἀΐξειεν εἰπεῖν, IV. 709 A), εὐθημονεῖσθαι, παραποδίζεσθαι, τημελεῖν, τητᾶν. These words, however, as Stallbaum remarks, are formed according to analogy, and nearly all of them have the support of some poetical or other authority.

Zeller and Stallbaum have also collected forms of words in the Laws, differing from the forms of the same words which occur in other places: *e. g.* βλάβος for βλάβη, ἄβιος for ἀβίωτος, ἀχάριστος for ἄχαρις, δούλειος for δουλικὸς, παίδειος for παιδικὸς, ἐξαγριῶ for ἐξαγριαίνω, ἱλεοῦμαι for ἱλάσκομαι, and the Ionic word σωφρονιστὺς, meaning "correction." Zeller has noted a fondness for substantives, ending in μα and σις, such as γεώργημα, διάπαυμα, ἐπιθύμημα, ζημίωμα, κωμῴδημα, ὁμίλημα; βλάψις, λοιδόρησις, παράγγελσις, and others; also a use of substantives in the plural, which are commonly found only in the singular, μανίαι, ἀθεότητες, φθόνοι, φόβοι, φύσεις. Also, a peculiar use of prepositions in composition, as in ἐνείργω, ἀποβλάπτω, διανομοθετέω, διείρηται, διευλαβεῖσθαι, and others: also a frequent use of the Ionic datives plural in αισι and οισι.

To these peculiarities he has added a list of peculiar expressions and constructions. The most characteristic are the following, VIII. 841 D, ἄθυτα παλλακῶν σπέρματα; IX. 855, ἄμορφοι ἕδραι; III. 690 D, ὅσα ἀξιώματα πρὸς ἄρχοντας; VI. 744 B, οἱ κατὰ πόλιν καιροί; μῦθος, used in several places of "the discourse about laws;" VII. 828, αἰμύλος ἔρως; XII. 960 B, ἄταφοι πράξεις; VI. 752 A, μῦθος ἀκέφαλος; VI. 755 D, ἦθος εὐθύπορον. He remarks also on the frequent use of the abstract for the concrete; *e. g.* ὑπηρεσία for ὑπηρέται, φυγαὶ for φυγάδες, μηχαναὶ in the sense of contrivers, δουλεία for δοῦλοι, βασιλείαι for βασιλεῖς μανόμενα κηδεύματα for γυναῖκα μαινομένην; ἡ χρεία τῶν παίδων in the sense of indigent children, and παίδων ἱκανότης; τὸ ἔθος τῆς ἀπειρίας for ἡ εἰωθυῖα ἀπειρία; κυπαρίττων ὕψη τε καὶ κάλλη θαυμάσια for κυπάριττοι μάλα ὑψηλαι καὶ καλαί. He further notes some curious uses of the genitive case, *e. g.* φιλίας ὁμολογίαι μανίαι ὀργῆς, λαιμαργίαι ἡδονῆς, χειμώνων ἀνυποδησίαι; and of the dative, ὁμιλίαι ἔχθροις, νομοθεσίαι ἐπιτρόποις; and also some rather uncommon periphrases, θρέμματα Νείλου ζυγεννήτωρ τέκνων for ἄλοχος, Μούσης λέξις for ποίησις, ζωγράφων παῖδες, ἀνθρώπων σπέρματα, and the like; also the pleonastic use of the enclitics τις and of γε; of ταυῦν; of ὡς; and the periphrastic use of the preposition περί. Lastly, he observes the tendency to hyperbata or transpositions of words; and to rhythmical uniformity as well as grammatical irregularity in the structure of the sentences.

For nearly all the expressions which are adduced by Zeller as arguments against the genuineness of the Laws, Stallbaum finds

some sort of authority. There is no real ground for suspecting their genuineness, because several words occur in them which are not found in the other writings of Plato. An imitator will often preserve the usual phraseology of a writer better than he would himself. But, on the other hand, the mere fact that authorities may be quoted in support of most of these uses of words, does not show that the diction is not peculiar. Several of them seem to be poetical or dialectical, and exhibit an attempt to enlarge the limits of Greek prose, by the introduction of Homeric and tragic expressions. Most of them do not appear to have retained any hold on the later language of Greece. Like several "experiments in language" of the writers of the Elizabethan age, they were afterwards lost; and though occasionally found in Plutarch, and imitators of Plato, they have not passed current in Aristotle or the common dialect of Greece.

5. Unequal as the style of the Laws is, they contain a few passages which are very grand and noble. For example, the address to the poets at p. 817: "Best of strangers, we also are poets of the best and noblest tragedy; for our whole state is an imitation of the best and noblest life, which we affirm to be indeed the very truth of tragedy." Or again, the sight of young men and maidens in friendly intercourse with one another, suggesting the dangers to which youth is liable from the violence of passion, pp. 835–842; or the remark that "God is the measure of all things in a sense far higher than any man can be," p. 716; or that "a man should be from the first a partaker of the truth, that he may live a true man as long as possible," p. 730; or the principle repeatedly laid down, "that the sins of the fathers are not to be visited on the children," p. 856; or the description of the funeral rites of those blessed persons who depart in innocence, p. 947; or the noble sentiment, that we should do more justice to slaves than to equals, p. 777; or the curious observation, founded, perhaps, on his own experience, that there are a few "divine men in every state, however corrupt, whose conversation is of inappreciable value," p. 950 C; or the acute remark, that public opinion is to be respected, because the judgments of mankind about virtue are better than their practice, p. 940; or the deep religious and also modern feeling which pervades the tenth book (whatever may be thought of the arguments); the sense of the duty of living as a part of a whole, and in dependence on the will of God, p. 903, who takes care of the smallest things as well as the greatest, p. 900; and the picture of parents praying for their children, p. 888 (not as we may say, slightly altering the words of Plato, as if there were no reality in the Gentile religions, but as if there were the greatest), are very striking to us. We must remember that the Laws are not, like the Republic, an ideal state, but are supposed to be on the level of human motives and feelings; hence there is an attempt made to

show that the pleasant is also just. But, on the other hand, the priority of the soul to the body, and of God to the soul, is always insisted upon as the true incentive to virtue; especially with great force and eloquence at the commencement of Book VI.

6. There is none of Plato's works which show so deep an insight into the sources of human evil as the Laws. That "cities will never cease from ill until they are better governed," is the text of the Laws as well as of the Politicus and Republic. The remark that the balance of power preserves states, pp. 691, 692; the reflection that no one ever passed his whole life in disbelief of the gods, p. 888 C; the idea, original to the Greek, that the characters of men are best seen in convivial intercourse, p. 649; the observation that the people must be allowed to share, not only in the government, but in the administration of justice (trial by jury); the desire to make laws, not with a view to courage only, but to all virtue; the clear perception that education begins with birth, or even as he would say before birth, p. 789; the attempt to purify religion; the modern reflections, that punishment is not vindictive, IX. 854, and that limits must be set to the power of bequest, XI. 922, 923; the impossibility of undeceiving the victims of quacks and jugglers, XI. 933; the necessity of sanitary measures, 761; above all, perhaps, the distinct consciousness that under the actual circumstances of mankind the ideal cannot be carried out, pp. 739, 746, and yet may be a guiding principle — will appear to us, if we remember that we are still in the dawn of politics, to show a great depth of political wisdom.

IV. The relation of the Republic to the Laws is clearly set forth by Plato in Book V. 739. The Republic is the best state, the Laws is the best possible under the existing conditions of the Greek world. The Republic is the ideal, in which no man calls anything his own, which may or may not have existed in some remote clime, under the rule of some god, or son of a god (who can say?), but is, at any rate, the pattern of all other states and the exemplar of human life. The Laws distinctly acknowledge what the Republic partly admits, that the ideal is inimitable by us, but that we should lift up our eyes to the heavens and try to regulate our lives according to the divine image. The citizens are no longer to have wives and children in common, and are no longer to be under the government of philosophers. But the spirit of communism or communion is to continue among them; the sexes are to be as nearly on an equality as possible; they are to meet at common tables, and to share warlike pursuits (if the women will), and to have a common education. The legislator has taken the place of the philosopher, but a nocturnal council is still retained, which is composed of senators, who are to fulfill the duties of the legislator when he has passed out of life. The addition of younger persons to this council by coöptation is an improvement on the governing body of the Republic. The

scheme of education in the Laws is obviously of a far lower kind than that which he has conceived in the Republic. There he would have his rulers trained in all knowledge meeting in the idea of good, of which the different branches of mathematical science are but the handmaidens or ministers; here he stops short with the preliminary sciences, and they are to be studied partly with a view to their practical usefulness, which in the Republic he holds cheap; and still more with a view to avoiding impiety, of which in the Republic he says nothing. Yet in the Laws there remain traces of the old educational ideas. He is still for banishing the poets, and as he finds the works of prose writers equally dangerous, he would substitute for them the study of his own Laws. He insists strongly on the importance of mathematics as an educational instrument. He is no more reconciled to the Greek mythology than in the Republic, though he would rather say nothing about it out of a pious reverence for antiquity; and he is equally willing to have recourse to fictions, provided they have a moral tendency. Though he is no longer fired with dialectical enthusiasm, he would compel the guardians to "look at one idea gathered from many things;" and to "perceive the principle which is the same in all the four virtues," p. 965. He still recognizes the enormous influence of music, in which every citizen is to be trained for three years; and he seems to attribute the existing degeneracy of the Athenian state and the laxity of morals partly to musical innovation, manifested in the unnatural divorce of the instrument and the voice, and partly to the influence of the mob who ruled at the theatres. He assimilates the education of the two sexes, as far as possible, both in music and gymnastic, and, as in the Republic, he would give to gymnastic a purely military character. In marriage, his object is still to produce the finest children for the state. As in the Politicus, he would unite in wedlock dissimilar natures — the passionate with the dull, the courageous with the gentle. And the virtuous tyrant of the Politicus, who has no place in the Republic, again appears. In this as in all his writings, he has the strongest sense of the degeneracy and incapacity of the rulers of his own time.

In the Laws, the philosophers, if not banished, like the poets, are at least ignored; and religion takes the place of philosophy in the regulation of human life. It must, however, be remembered that the religion of Plato is coextensive with morality, and is that purified religion and mythology of which he speaks in the second book of the Republic. There is no real discrepancy in the two works. In a popular treatise, he speaks of religion rather than of philosophy; just as he appears to identify virtue with pleasure, and rather seeks to find the common element of the virtues than to maintain his old paradoxical thesis that they are one, or that they are identical with knowledge. The dialectic and the idea of good, which even Glau-

son in the Republic could not understand, would be obviously out of place in a more popular work.

Some confusion occurs in the passage, in which Plato speaks of the Republic, occasioned by his reference to a third state, which he proposes (D. V.) hereafter to expound, 739 D. Like many other thoughts in the Laws, the allusion is obscure from not being worked out. The passage is explained by Aristotle (Polit. iv. 1), who supposes Plato to mean by the third state, neither the best absolutely, nor the best under existing conditions, but an imaginary state, inferior to either, destitute, as he supposes, of the necessaries of life: such a beginning of primitive society as he describes himself in Book III. Aristotle, however, had no more power of divining the obscure hint than we have. And it is not improbable that Plato may have meant by his third state an historical sketch, bearing the same relation to the Laws which the unfinished Critias would have borne to the Republic; or he may, perhaps, have intended to describe a state more nearly approximating than the Laws to existing Greek states.

The Politicus is a mere fragment when compared with the Laws, yet combining a second interest of dialectic, as well as politics, which is wanting in the larger work. Several points of similarity and contrast may be observed between them. In some respects the Politicus is even more ideal than the Republic, looking back to a former state of Paradisiacal life, in which the gods ruled over mankind, as the Republic looks forward to a coming kingdom of philosophers. Of this kingdom of Cronos there is also mention in the Laws, IV. 713. Again, in the Politicus, the Eleatic Stranger rises above law to the conception of the living voice of the lawgiver, who is able to provide for individual cases. A similar thought is repeated in the Laws, IX. 875 A. "If in the order of nature, and by divine destiny, a man were able to apprehend the truth about these things, he would have no need of laws to rule over him; for there is no law or order above knowledge, nor can mind without impiety be deemed the subject or slave of any, but rather the lord of all." The union of opposite natures, who form the warp and the woof of the political web, is a favorite thought expressed under the same figure of speech in both dialogues.

V. The Republic may be described as the Spartan constitution appended to a government of philosophers. But in the Laws an Athenian element is also introduced. Many enactments are taken from the Athenian; the four classes are borrowed from the constitution of Cleisthenes, which Plato regards as the best form of Athenian government, and the guardians of the law bear a certain degree of resemblance to the archons. Life is to wear, as at Athens, a joyous and festive look; there are to be Bacchic choruses, and men of mature age are encouraged in moderate potations. On the other hand, the common meals, the public education, the Crypteia

are borrowed from Sparta and not from Athens, and the superintendence of private life, which was to be practiced by the governors, has also its prototype in Sparta. The extravagant dislike which Plato shows both to a naval power and to democracy is the reverse of Athenian.

The best governed Hellenic states traced the origin of their laws to individual lawgivers. There can be no doubt that these were real persons, though we are uncertain how far they originated or only modified the institutions which are ascribed to them. But the lawgiver, though not a myth, was a fixed idea in the mind of the Greek, — as fixed as the Trojan War or the earth-born Cadmus. This was what "Solon meant or said" was the form in which the Athenian expressed his own conception of right and justice, or argued a disputed point of law. And the constant reference in the Laws of Plato to the lawgiver is altogether in accordance with Greek modes of thinking and speaking.

There is also, as in the Republic, a Pythagorean element. The highest branch of education is arithmetic; to know the order of the heavenly bodies, and to reconcile the apparent contradiction of their movements, is an important part of religion; there is to be measure in the lives of the citizens, and also in their vessels and coins; the great blessing of the state is the number 5040. Plato is deeply impressed by the antiquity of Egypt, and the unchangeableness of her ancient forms of song and dance. And he is also struck by the progress which the Egyptians had made in the mathematical sciences, — in comparison of them the Greeks appeared to him to be little better than swine. Yet he censures Egyptian meanness and inhospitality to strangers. He has traced the growth of states from their rude beginning in a philosophical spirit; but of any life or growth of the Hellenic world in future ages, he is silent. He has made the reflection that past time is the maker of states; but he does not argue from the past to the future, that the process is always going on, or that the institutions of nations are relative to their stage of civilization. If he could have stamped indelibly upon Hellenic states the will of the legislator, he would have been satisfied. The utmost which he expects of future generations is that they should supply the omissions, or correct the errors which younger statesmen detected in his enactments. When institutions have been once subjected to this process of criticism, he would have them fixed forever.

THE PREAMBLE.

Book I. Stranger, let me ask a question of you: Was God or man the author of your laws? "God, Stranger. In Crete, Zeus is said to have been the author of them, and in Sparta, Apollo."

You believe that Minos, as Homer tells, went every ninth year to converse with his Olympian sire, and gave you laws which he brought from him? "Yes; and there was Rhadamanthus, his brother, who is said among us to have been the justest of men — he assisted in the work." That is a reputation worthy of a son of Zeus. And as you and Megillus have been trained under their laws, I may ask you to give me an account of them. We can talk about them in our walk from Cnosus to the cave and temple of Zeus. I am told that the distance is considerable, but probably there are shady places under the trees, at which, being no longer young, we may often rest and talk. "Yes, Stranger, a little onward there are lofty groves of cypresses which are wonderfully beautiful, and green meadows in which we may repose."

My first question is, why has the law ordained that you should have common meals, and practice gymnastic exercises, and wear armor? "My answer is, that our common meals are the life of the camp transferred to the city. Our island home is rugged, and does not admit of cavalry, and therefore the legislator gave us bows and arrows. He thought that war was the natural state and serious occupation of all mankind, and that peace is only a pretense; no possessions seemed to him to have any value until they are secured against enemies, and hence he arranged all our institutions with a view to war." And do you think that superiority in war is the true aim of government? "Certainly I do, and my Spartan friend will agree with me." And are there wars not only of state against state, but of village against village, of family against family, of individual against individual? "Yes." And is a man his own enemy? "There you come to first principles, like a true votary of the goddess Athene; and this is all the better, for you will the sooner recognize the truth of what I am saying — that all men everywhere are the enemies of all, and each individual of every other and of himself." What do you mean? "I mean what I say; and, further, that there is a victory and defeat — the best and the worst — which each man sustains, not at the hands of another, but of himself." And does this extend to states and villages as well as to individuals? "Certainly; there is a better in them which conquers the worse." Whether the worse ever really conquers the better, is a question of words which may be left for the present; but your meaning is, that bad citizens do, under certain circumstances, overcome the good, and that the state is then conquered by herself, and that when they are defeated the state is victorious. Or again, in a family there may be several brothers, the offspring of a single pair, and the bad may be a majority; and when the bad majority conquer the good minority, the family are worse than themselves. The use of the terms better or worse than him or themselves may be doubtful, but about the thing meant there can be no dispute

'Very true." Such a struggle might be determined by a judge. And which would be the better judge, he who destroys the worse and lets the better rule; or he who lets the better rule and makes the others voluntarily obey; or, thirdly, who reconciles the two parties, and gives them laws which they mutually observe? "The last, clearly." But of such a legislator the object would not be war. "That is true." And as there are two kinds of war, one within a state and one without, of which the internal is by far the worse, will not the legislator direct his attention to this latter rather than to the other? He will reconcile the contending parties, and unite them against their external enemies. "Certainly." Every legislator will aim at the greatest good, and the greatest good is not victory in war, whether civil or external, but mutual peace and good-will, as in the body health is preferable to the purgation of disease. And the legislator who makes war his object instead of peace, or who pursues war except for the sake of peace, is not a true statesman. "And yet I am greatly mistaken, Stranger, if the laws of Crete and Sparta do not exclusively aim at war." Perhaps so; but that is no reason why we should quarrel with one another about matters in which both your legislators and ourselves are equally interested. The poet Tyrtaeus (you have heard of his poems in Crete, and my Lacedaemonian friend is perfectly saturated with them) — he was an Athenian by birth, and a Spartan citizen — well, he says, "I sing not, I care not, about any man, however rich or happy, unless he is brave in war." Now I should like, in the name of us all, to ask the poet a question. O Tyrtaeus, I would say to him, are there not two kinds of war? Cleinias and Megillus and I are agreed with you in praising men of war; but which kind of war do you mean? that dreadful war that is termed civil, or the milder sort which is waged against foreign enemies? "It is a milder sort." You say that you abominate those who are not eager to taste their enemies' blood, and you seem to mean chiefly their foreign enemies? He will assent to this? "Certainly." Now we say that there are men far better, Tyrtaeus, than the heroes whom you celebrate, concerning whom another poet, Theognis the Sicilian, speaks, "who are worth gold and silver in a civil broil." For in a civil war, not only courage, but justice and temperance and wisdom are required, and all virtue is better than a part. The mercenary soldier is ready to stand firm and die at his post; but he is a violent, senseless sort of animal. And the inspired legislator, or even the uninspired, will make laws with a view to the highest virtue; and this is not brute courage, but loyalty in the hour of danger. The virtue of Tyrtaeus, although needed at the time when he sang, is really of a very fourth-rate description. "Stranger, you are degrading our legislator to the level of the barbarians." Nay, I think that we degrade not him, but ourselves, if we believe that the

laws of Lycurgus and Minos had a view to war only. A divine lawgiver must surely have had regard to all the different kinds of virtue, and he must have arranged his laws in classes corresponding to them, and not in the modern fashion, which only makes them after the want of them is felt, about matters of inheritance, assault, and the like. As you truly said, virtue is the business of the legislator; but you went wrong when you referred all legislation to a part of virtue, and to an inferior part. For the object of laws, whether the Cretan or any other, is to make men happy. Now happiness or good is of two kinds: there are divine and there are human goods. And he who has the divine has the human "added to him;" but he who has lost the greater is deprived of both. The lesser goods are health, beauty, strength, and, lastly, wealth; not the blind god, but one who has the eye of sense; for sense of mind is the most divine of all goods. Then comes temperance, and from the union of these with courage, which is the fourth or last, springs justice. These take precedence, and with a view to them the legislator will arrange all his ordinances, the human going back to the divine, and the divine to their leader mind. There will be enactments about marriage, about education, about all the states and feelings and experiences of men and women, at every age, in weal and woe, in war and peace; upon all the law will fix a stamp of praise and blame. There will also be regulations about property and expenditure, about contracts, about rewards and punishments, until the round of life is finished with the funeral rites and honors of the dead. The law will appoint guardians to preside over these things, some who walk by intelligence, others having true opinion only; and mind will harmonize the ordinances of the legislator, and show them to be in unison with the virtues. Now I want to know whether these are the principles observed in the laws of Lycurgus and Minos, or, as I should rather say, of Apollo and Zeus. We must go through the virtues, beginning with courage, and then we will show that what has preceded has relation to virtue.

Megillus, the Lacedaemonian wishes that the Athenian should criticise Cleinias and the Cretan laws. Yes, is the reply, and I will criticise you, and myself, as well as him. Tell me, Megillus, were the common meals and gymnastic training instituted by your legislator with a view to war? "Yes, they were; and hunting comes third in the order of importance, and fourth the endurance of pain in gymnastic exercises and the institution of the Crypteia Marvelous is the power of enduring pain among our youth; they go about the country night and day without shoes on their feet, or beds to lie upon, and are their own servants; they wrestle and practice gymnastic exercises under the heat of a blazing sun, and they have many similar practices." Well, but is courage only a combat against fear and pain, or against pleasure and flattery? "Against

both, I should say." And which is worse, to be overcome by pain or to be overcome by pleasure? "The latter." But did the divine lawgivers of Crete and Sparta legislate for a courage which is lame of one leg, able only to meet the attacks of pain, but not of pleasure or able to meet both? "For a courage which is able to meet both, I should say." But if that is the case, where are the institutions which train your citizens to be equally brave against pleasure and pain, and superior to the enemies which are within as well as without them? "We cannot say that either in Sparta or in Crete there are any institutions worth mentioning which are of this character." I am not surprised at that, and will only request forbearance on the part of us all, if the love of truth leads any of us to censure the laws of others. Remember that I am more in the way of hearing criticisms of your laws than you can be; for in any well-ordered state the young are by law required to praise the laws, but criticism is the privilege of older men. And, as there are no young men present, we shall not offend your legislator by entering on an examination of your laws. "Take any freedom which you like."

My first observation is, that your lawgiver ordered you to abstain from amusements and to endure hardships, because he thought that those who had not this discipline would run away from those who had. But he ought to have considered further, that those who had never been taught to resist pleasure would be equally at the mercy of those who could, and who are often among the worst of mankind. Pleasure, like fear, would overcome them, and take away their courage and freedom. "There seems to be truth in that; but I should not like to be hasty in giving my assent to you."

Next as to temperance, what institutions have you which are adapted to promote temperance? "There are the common meals and gymnastic exercises." These are partly good and partly bad, and, as in medicine, what is good at one time and for one person, is bad at another time and for another person. Now although gymnastics and common meals do good, they are also a cause of sedition, and they appear to encourage unnatural love. The evil effect of them may be seen at Miletus, in Boeotia, and at Thurii. And the Cretans, who are supposed to be addicted to such love, are said to have invented the tale of Zeus and Ganymede in order to justify their evil practices by the example of the God who was their lawgiver. Leaving the story, we may observe that all law has to do with pleasure and pain; these are two fountains which are ever flowing in human nature, and he who drinks of them when and as much as he ought, is happy, and he who indulges to excess in them, is miserable. "I do not know what to say to this, but I still incline to think that the Lacedaemonian lawgiver was right in forbidding pleasure, if I may judge from the result. For there is no drunken revelry in Sparta, and any one found in a state of intoxication is severely

punished; he is not excused as an Athenian would be at Athens on account of a festival. I myself have seen the Athenians drunk at the Dionysia — and happening to be at our colony, Tarentum, on a similar occasion, I have beheld the whole city in a state of intoxication." Yes, I admit that these festivals should be properly regulated. And I may rejoin, Spartans, that is not your vice; but look at home and remember the licentiousness of your women. And to all such accusations, whether brought against the Tarentines, or us, or you, each of us may reply in turn: "Wonder not, Stranger; there are different customs in different countries." And this may be a sufficient answer; but we are speaking about the wisdom of lawgivers and not about the customs of men. To return to the question of drinking: shall we have total abstinence, as you have, or hard drinking, like the Scythians and Thracians, or moderate potations like the Persians? "Give us arms, and we send all these nations flying before us." My good friend, be modest; you know that victories and defeats often arise from unknown causes, and afford no proof of the goodness or badness of institutions. The stronger overcomes the weaker, as the Athenians have overcome the Ceans, or the Syracusans the Locrians, which latter appear nevertheless to be the best governed state in Magna Graecia. People are apt to praise or censure practices without inquiring into the nature of them. This is the way with drink: one person has a cloud of witnesses, who sing the praises of wine; another declares that sober men defeat drunkards in battle; and this, again, is disputed. I should like to conduct the argument on some other method; for here are two cities on one side, and, if you regard numbers, there are ten thousand on the other. "I am ready to pursue any method which is likely to lead us to the truth." Let me give an illustration. Somebody praises the useful qualities of a goat; another has seen goats running about wild in a garden, and blames a goat or any other animal who happens to be without a keeper. There is no sense in this. "Certainly not." Is a pilot who is seasick a good pilot? "No." Or is a general who is sick and drunk with fear and ignorant of war a good general? "A general of old women he ought to be." But can any one form an estimate of any society, which is intended to have a ruler, and which he only sees in an unruly and lawless state? "Not if he has never seen the orderly state also." There is a convivial form of society — is there not? "Yes." And has this convivial society ever been rightly ordered? Of course you Spartans have never seen anything of the kind, but I have had wide experience, and made many inquiries about such societies, and have hardly ever found anything right or good in them. "We acknowledge our want of experience, and desire to learn of you." Will you admit that in all societies there must be a leader? "Yes." And in time of war he must be a man of courage and absolutely devoid of fear, if this

were possible. "Yes, he would be the right man." But we are talking now of a general who shall preside at meetings of friends — and this sort of meeting having a tendency to be uproarious, ought above all others to have a governor. "Very good." He should be a sober man and a man of the world, who will keep, make, and increase the peace of the society; a drunkard in charge of drunkards would be singularly fortunate if he avoided doing a serious mischief. "He certainly would." Suppose the case of a person censuring such meetings — he may be right in his censure, but there is also a possibility that he may have known them only in their disorderly state, when the master of the feast is drunk with the rest, and no one expects a drunken general or pilot to be the savior of an army or of a ship. "That remark is true; but although I see the advantage of an army being well administered, I do not equally see the good of a feast being well ordered." If you mean to ask what good accrues to the state from the right training of a single youth or a single chorus, I should reply, not much; but if you ask what good is education in general, I answer, that education makes good men, good citizens, and gives victory in battle. And though victory may be often suicidal, education is never suicidal. "You seem to mean that the regulation of convivial meetings is a part of education; how will you prove this?" I will tell you. But first let me offer a word of apology. We Athenians are universally reputed among the Hellenes to be fond of talking, whereas the Lacedaemonian is celebrated for brevity, and the Cretan is considered to be sagacious and reserved. Now, I fear that I may be charged with eliciting a long discourse out of slender matters. For drinking cannot be rightly ordered without correct principles of music, and music runs up into education generally, and if I am to discuss all these matters, I cannot avoid being tedious; I will, therefore, offer you the alternative of passing on to another part of our subject. "Do you know, Athenian, that our family is your proxenus at Sparta, and that from my boyhood I have regarded Athens as a second country, and having often fought your battles in my youth, I have become attached to you, and love the sound of the Attic dialect. And now I bethink me of the saying, that the best Athenians are more than ordinarily good, because they are genuinely and naturally good; therefore, be assured that I shall be glad to hear you talk as much as you please." "I, too," adds Cleinias, "have something to say about the Cretans, Stranger, which may give you confidence. You must have heard of Epimenides: he was a Cretan saint and hero, who came and offered sacrifices in your city by the command of an oracle ten years before the Persian War. The Athenians were in dread of the Persians, and he prophesied to them that the Persian host would not come for ten years, and would go away again, having suffered more harm than they had inflicted. Now, Epimenides

was of my family, and when he visited Athens he formed ties of friendship with your forefathers." I see that you are willing to listen, and I have the will to speak, if I had only the ability. But, first, I must define the nature and power of education, and by this road we will travel on to the God Dionysus. The man who is to be good at anything must have early training; he who is to be a workman should have his box of tools when he is a child; the future soldier should learn to ride; the young carpenter should be taught to measure and use the rule, — all the thoughts and pleasures of children should bear on their after profession: Do you admit that? "Certainly." And we must remember further that the education of which we speak is not the education of a trainer, or of the captain of a ship, but of a perfect citizen who knows how to rule and how to obey; and such an education aims at virtue, and not at wealth or strength or mere cleverness. To the good man, education is of all things the most precious, and is also in constant need of renovation. "We agree." And we have before agreed that good men are those who are able to control themselves, and lead those who are not. Let me offer you an illustration which will assist our argument. Man is one; but in one and the same man are two foolish counselors who contend within him — pleasure and pain, and of either he has expectations which may be termed hope and fear; and he is able to reason about good and evil, and reason, when affirmed by the state, becomes law. "We cannot follow you." Let me put the matter in another way: Every creature is the puppet of the gods — whether he is a mere plaything or has any serious use we do not know; but this we know, that he is drawn different ways by cords and strings: there is a soft golden cord which draws him towards virtue — this is the law of the state. And there are other cords made of iron and hard materials drawing him other ways. The golden reasoning influence has nothing of the nature of force, and therefore requires ministers. Here is an illustration of the doctrine that cities and citizens both conquer and are conquered by themselves. The individual follows reason, and the city law, which is embodied reason, either derived from the gods or from the legislator. When this is made plain, education will be more clearly understood, and in particular the relation of education to convivial intercourse. And now let us try the experiment of setting wine before the puppet. "Very well." You admit that wine stimulates the passions? "Yes." And does wine equally stimulate the reasoning faculties? "No; it brings the soul back to a state of childhood." In such a state a man has the least control over himself, and is, therefore, worst? "Very true." The drunkard is, like the aged, in a second childhood? "Good." Then, can we ever bring ourselves to believe that drinking is right? "If you say so, I suppose that something may be urged on behalf of the paradox." And I am ready to maintain my position. "W

should like to hear you prove that a man ought to make a beast of himself." Are you speaking of the degradation of the soul? "We are." And how about the body? Would any man willingly degrade or weaken that? "Certainly not." And yet if he goes to a doctor, does he not make himself ill in the hope of getting well, for no one would like to be always taking medicine, or always to be in training? "Very true." And may not convivial meetings have a similar remedial use? "Certainly." And if they have any such use, are they not to be preferred to other modes of training because they are painless? "But they have no such use." Let us see: are there not two kinds of fear — fear of evil and fear of public opinion? "There are." The latter kind of fear is opposed both to the fear of pain, and also to the love of pleasure. This is called by the legislator reverence, and is greatly encouraged by him and by every good man; and shamelessness, which is the opposite of this, is the worst fault both of individuals and of states. This sort of fear or reverence is the chief cause of victory and safety in war, or at least one of the two chief causes, fearlessness of enemies being the other. "True." Then every one should be both fearful and fearless? "Yes." The right sort of fear is infused into a man when he comes face to face with shame, or cowardice, or the temptations of pleasure, and has to conquer them. He learns to take up arms against himself, over whom he must win many victories, if he is ever to be made perfect. "That is reasonable enough." And now, suppose that the gods had given mankind a drug, of which the effect was to exaggerate every sort of evil and danger, so that the bravest man entirely lost his presence of mind and became a coward for a time. Would such a drug have any value? "But is there such a drug?" No; but suppose that there were; might not the legislator use such mode of testing courage and cowardice? "Every one will admit that. You mean to say that the legislator would induce fear in order to implant fearlessness; and would give rewards and punishments to those who behaved well or the reverse, under the influence of the drug? "Certainly he would." But this mode of training, — whether practiced in the case of one or many, whether in the solitude of the desert, out of sight of man, or in the presence of a large company, — if a man have sufficient confidence in himself to drink the potion amid his boon companions, leaving off in time and not taking too much, — would equally test his temperance. "Very true." Let us return to the lawgiver and say to him, Well, lawgiver, no such fear-producing potion has been given by God or invented by man, for "witchcraft has no place at our feasts," but a potion which will make men fearless has been given to men. "Yes, you mean wine." Yes; has not wine an effect the contrary of that which I was just now describing? First mellowing and humanizing a man, and then filling him with brave hopes, making him fearless and ready to say

or do anything? "Certainly." Let us not forget that there are two qualities which should be cultivated in the soul — first, the greatest fearlessness; and, secondly, the greatest fear. "Yes; you were saying that both are parts of reverence." Courage and fearlessness are trained amid fears; but we have still to consider how fear is to be trained. For we desire to attain fearlessness and confidence without the insolence and boldness which commonly attend them. And do not love, ignorance, avarice, wealth, beauty, strength, while they stimulate courage, also madden and intoxicate the soul, and are they not the causes of ten thousand crimes? What better and more innocent test of them can be devised than festive intercourse? Would you make a bargain with a man in order to try the experiment whether he is honest? or would you ascertain whether he is licentious by putting your wife and daughter into his hands? Neither Cretan nor any other man would deny that the test proposed is fairer, speedier, and safer than any other. And such a test will be most useful in the political science, which desires to know human natures and characters. "Very true."

Book II. And are there any other uses of well-ordered potations? There are; but, in order to explain them, I must repeat what I mean by right education, which, if I am not mistaken, depends on the due regulation of convivial intercourse. "A high assumption that." I believe that virtue and vice are originally present to the mind of children in the form of pleasure and pain; later in life they arrive at reason and fixed principles, and happy is he who, even when he is old, possesses them, and the blessings which they confer. When pleasure and pain, and love and hate, are rightly implanted in the yet unconscious soul, and after the attainment of Reason are discovered to be in harmony with her, this harmony of the soul is virtue, and the preparatory stage, anticipating reason, I call education. But the finer sense of pleasure and pain is apt to be impaired in the course of life; and therefore the gods, pitying the toils and sorrows of mortals, have allowed them to have holidays, and given them the Muses and Apollo and Dionysus for leaders and playfellows in the dance of life. All young creatures are full of motion and frolic, and utterance of the delight which is in them; but man only is capable of taking pleasure in rhythmical and harmonious movement. With these education begins; and the uneducated is he who has never known the discipline of the chorus, and the educated is he who has. The chorus is partly dance and partly song, and therefore the educated must sing and dance well. But when we say he sings and dances well, we mean that he sings and dances what is good. And if he thinks that to be good which is really good, he will have a much higher music and harmony in him and be a far greater master of imitation in sound and gesture than

he who has not this knowledge. "Yes, Stranger, he will be far better educated than the other." Then, if we know what is good and bad in song and dance, we shall know what education is? "Very true." Let us follow the track; the next inquiry will relate to the figure, time, and measure of the dance. Will the same figures or sounds be equally well adapted to the manly and the cowardly? "How can they be, when the very colors of their faces are different?" Figures and melodies have a rhythm and harmony which are adapted to the expression of different feelings (I may remark, by the way, that the term "color," which is a favorite word of music-masters, is not really applicable to music). And one class of harmonies is akin to courage and all virtue, the other to cowardice and all vice. "We admit that." And do all men equally like all dances? "Far otherwise." How is this? Do some figures appear to be beautiful which are not? For no one will admit that he prefers the forms of vice to the forms of virtue, or that the choice of one or the other of them is a matter of opinion. Yet persons say that the merit of music is to give pleasure. But this is impiety. There is, however, a more plausible account of the matter given by others; they make their likes or dislikes the criterion of excellence. Sometimes nature crosses habit, or conversely, and then they say that such and such fashions or gestures are pleasant, but they do not like to exhibit them before men of sense, although they enjoy them in private. "Very true." And do vicious measures and strains do any harm, or good measures any good to the lovers of them? "I think that they must." Say, rather, I am certain that they must have the effect of any indulgence shown to the vices of men, which are often censured by us gently and playfully, and with a sort of suspicion that the indulgence will one day be required by ourselves. And there can be no greater evil than this. "I know of none." Then in a city which has good laws, the poet will not be allowed to make the songs of the people just as he likes, or to corrupt the minds of youth as he pleases? "That is not to be thought of." And yet he may do this anywhere except in Egypt. "What is the custom of Egypt?" You will wonder when I tell you; ages ago they discovered the great truth which I am now asserting, that the youth of a people should be educated in forms and strains of virtue. These they fixed and consecrated in their temples; and no sculptor or painter is allowed to deviate from them. They are literally the same which they were ten thousand years ago. And this practice of theirs suggests the reflection that legislation about music is not an impossible thing. But the particular enactments must be the work of some divine man or god, as in Egypt their ancient chants are said to be the composition of the Goddess Isis. The melodies which have a natural truth and correctness should be embodied in a law, and then the desire of novelty is not strong enough to change

the old fashions. Is not the origin of music as follows? We rejoice when we think that we prosper, and we think that we prosper when we rejoice, and at such times we cannot rest, but our young men dance dances and sing songs, and our old men, who have lost the elasticity of youth regale themselves with the memory of the past, while they contemplate the life and activity of the young. "Most true." People say that he who gives us most pleasure at such festivals is to be crowned and receive the prize. Is this true? "Possibly." Let us not be hasty in deciding, but first imagine a festival at which there are no distinct trials or contests; the lord of the festival, having assembled the citizens, makes a proclamation that he shall be crowned victor who gives the most pleasure, from whatever source derived. We will further suppose that there are various exhibitions of rhapsodists and musicians, tragic and comic poets, and we do not disdain marionette-players: which of the innumerable pleasure-makers will win? "I cannot say unless I saw them." Shall I answer for you? "Very good." The marionette-players will please the children; youths will be advocates of comedy; young men, educated women, and people in general, will prefer tragedy; we old men are lovers of Homer and Hesiod. Now which of them is right? If you and I are asked, we must say that the old men are right, and that the Epic recitation which they approve is the best of all. "Very true." I am ready to admit that the excellence of music is to be measured by pleasure; but then the pleasure must be that of the good and educated, or better still, of one supremely virtuous and educated man. And the true judge, who is to lead the theatre and not be led by them, will have need of both wisdom and courage. For out of that mouth which has just appealed to the gods in proof of his integrity, he ought not to give a false judgment, and he should be the enemy of all pandering to the popular taste. This was the ancient Hellenic principle; but the new fashion of leaving the judgment to the spectators, which has been imported from Italy and Sicily, is the ruin of the poets and the degradation of the theatre. For the spectators have their pleasures lowered to themselves. What is the inference from all this? The inference, at which we arrive for the fourth time, is that education is the training of the young idea in what the law affirms and the elders approve. And as the soul of a child is too young to be trained in earnest, a kind of education has been invented which tempts him with fair and beauteous words and songs, as the sick are tempted by pleasant meats and drinks. "But is this the practice of states in general, or only of Crete and Lacedaemon? For in any other state, as far as I know, dances and music are constantly changed at the pleasure of the hearers. Their institutions are the reverse of the Egyptian. I am afraid that I misled you; not liking to be always finding fault with mankind as they are, I described them as they ought to be

But let me understand: you would say (would you not?) that such customs exist among the Cretans and Lacedaemonians, and that the rest of the world would be improved by adopting them? "Much improved." And you would compel your poets to declare that the righteous are happy, and the wicked man, even if he be as rich as Midas, is unhappy? Or, in the words of Tyrtaeus, "I sing not, I care not, about him" who has every good, and is a great warrior, if he be not just; if he be unjust, may he be cowardly and slow, and deprived of every good. For the goods which men regard are not really goods: first, health; beauty next; thirdly, wealth; and there are others. A man may have every sense purged and improved; he may be a tyrant, and do what he likes, and live forever: But you and I will maintain that sight and hearing and immortality are goods to the just and evils to the unjust, and that the evil is lessened only by the comparative shortness of life. If a man had health and wealth, and the power of a tyrant, and was insolent and unjust, his life would still be miserable; he might be fair and rich, and do what he liked, but he would live basely, and if basely evilly, and if evilly unpleasantly. "There I cannot agree with you." Then may Heaven give us the spirit of agreement, for I am as convinced of the truth of what I say as of the existence of the island of Crete; and, if I were a lawgiver, I would exercise a censorship over the poets, and I would punish them if they said that the wicked are happy, or that the unjust is the gainful. And these are not the only matters in which I should make my citizens speak in a different strain from the Cretans or Lacedaemonians, or the world in general. "Tell me," I would say to your legislators, "did the gods who gave you laws, affirm the most just life to be also the pleasantest?" If they say "No," which is an answer I should not like to put into the mouth of God, I would again ask the legislator which is the happier, the just or the pleasant life? And if he replies the pleasanter, then I should say to him, "O my father, did you not tell me that I should live as justly as possible; and if to be just is to be happy, what is that principle of happiness or good which is superior to pleasure? Is the approval of gods and men to be deemed good and honorable, but unpleasant, and their disapproval the reverse? Or is the neither doing nor suffering evil good and honorable, although not pleasant? But you cannot make men like what is not pleasant, and therefore you must make them believe that the just is pleasant." The business of the legislator is to clear up this mist and confusion which reign in the minds of men as of children. He will, therefore, show the just and the unjust to be identical with the pleasurable and painful, from the point of view of the just man. This is the truth, and even if not the truth, is the best and most moral of fictions; and the legislator who desires to propagate this fiction, may be encouraged by remarking that mankind have believed the story of Cad

mus and the dragon's teeth, and therefore he may be assured tha he can make them believe anything, and effect the desired uniformity in hymns and tales, if he pleases, and need only consider what fiction will do the greatest good. That the happiest is also the holiest, this shall be our strain, which shall be sung by all three choruses alike. First will enter the choir of children, who will lift up their voices on high; and after them the young men, who will pray the god Paean to be gracious to the youth; then will come the chorus of elder men, between thirty and sixty; and, lastly, there will be the old men, preaching the same virtues in tales and discourses — their words will be as the voice of an oracle. "I do not understand about the third chorus; will you be a little plainer?" You remember how I spoke at first of the restless nature of young creatures, who jumped about and called out in a disorderly manner, and I said that no other animal attained any perception of rhythm; but that to us the gods gave Apollo and the Muses and Dionysus to be our playfellows. Of the two first choruses I have already spoken, and I have now to speak of the third, or Dionysian Chorus, which is composed of those who are between thirty and sixty years old. "Will you explain that?" We are agreed (are we not?) that men, women, and children should be always charming themselves with strains of virtue, and that there should be a variety in the strains, that they may not weary of them? Now the fairest and most useful of strains will be uttered by the old men, and therefore we cannot let them off. But then how can we make them sing? For a discreet old man is ashamed to hear the sound of his own voice in private, and still more in public. The only way is to give them drink; this will mellow the sourness of age. Children should be forbidden by law to drink wine; youths may take a little; but when men have reached forty years, they may be initiated into the mystery of drinking, and they will become softer and more impressible. When a man's heart is warm within him, he will be more ready to charm himself with song. And what song shall he sing? "At Crete and Lacedaemon we only know choral songs." Yes; that is because your way of life is military. Your young men are like wild colts feeding in a herd together; no one takes the individual colt and rubs him down, and tries to give him the qualities which would make a man a statesman as well as a soldier. He who was thus trained would be a greater warrior than those of whom Tyrtaeus speaks, for he would be courageous, and yet he would know that courage was not first but fourth in the scale of virtue. "Once more, I must say, Stranger, that you run down our lawgivers." Not intentionally, my good friend, but whither the argument leads I follow and I am trying to find some style of poetry which we may assign to those who are ashamed of the common sort. "Very good." In all things which have a charm, either this charm is their good, or

they have some accompanying truth or advantage. For example, in eating and drinking there is pleasure and also profit, that is to say, health; and in learning there is a pleasure and also truth. There is a pleasure or charm, too, in the imitative arts, as well as a law of proportion or equality: but the pleasure which they afford, however innocent, is not the criterion of their truth. The test of pleasure can only be applied to that which has no other good or evil, no truth or falsehood. But that which has truth must be judged of by the standard of truth, and therefore imitation and proportion are to be judged of by their truth, and by that only. "Certainly." And music is imitative? "Yes." Then music is not to be judged by the criterion of pleasure, and the Muse whom we seek is the Muse not of pleasure but of truth, for imitation has a truth. "Doubtless." And if so, the judge must know what is being imitated before he decides on the quality of the imitation, and he who does not know what is true will not know what is good. "He will not." Will any one be able to imitate the human body, if he does not know the number, proportion, color, or figure of the limbs? "How can he?" But suppose we know some picture or figure to be an exact resemblance of a man, should we not also require to know whether the picture is beautiful or not? for not every one can tell in what the beauty of a figure consists. "Quite right." The judge of the imitation, then, is required to know, first the original, secondly the truth, and thirdly the excellence of the likeness? "That appears to be the case." Then let us not weary in the attempt to bring music to the standard of the Muses and of truth. For the Muses are not like human poets; they never spoil or mix rhythms or scales, or confuse the manners and strains of men and women, or of freemen and slaves, or of rational beings and brute animals. They do not practice the baser sorts of musical arts, such as the matured judgments, of whom Orpheus speaks, would ridicule. But modern poets separate metre from music, and melody and rhythm from words, and use the instruments without the voice. The consequence is, that the meaning of the rhythm and of the time becomes doubtful. I am endeavoring to show how our fifty-year-old choristers are to be trained, and what they are to avoid. For the multitude are ridiculous judges of the proprieties of these matters; he who is only made to step in time by sheer force cannot be a critic of music.

He cannot." Then our newly appointed minstrels must be trained in music sufficiently to understand the nature of rhythms and systems; and they should select such as are suitable to men of their age, and will enable them to give and receive innocent pleasure. This is a knowledge which goes beyond that either of the poets or of their auditors. For although the poet must understand rhythm and music, he need not necessarily know whether the imitation is good or not, which was the third point required in a judge: but our

chorus of elders must know all three, if they are to be the instructors of our youth.

And now we will resume the original argument, which may be summed up as follows: A convivial meeting is apt to grow tumultuous as the drinking proceeds; every man becomes light-headed, and is ready to be an emperor. "Doubtless." And did we not say that the souls of the drinkers when fired with wine become softer and more malleable at the hand of the legislator? the docility of childhood returns to them? At times, however, they become too valiant and disorderly, drinking out of their turn, and interrupting one another. And the business of the legislator is to infuse into them that divine fear which we call shame, in opposition to this disorderly boldness. But in order to discipline them there must be guardians of the law of drinking, and sober generals who shall take charge of the private soldiers; they are as necessary in drink as in war, and he who disobeys these Dionysiac commanders will be equally disgraced. "Very good." If a drinking festival were well regulated, men would go away, not as they now do, greater enemies, but better friends. Of the greatest gift of Dionysus I hardly like to speak, lest I should be misunderstood. "What is that?" There is a tradition that Dionysus was driven mad by his step-mother Herè, and that in order to revenge himself he inspired others with Bacchic madness. These are stories which I do not like to repeat. But I do acknowledge that all men are born in an imperfect state, and are mad, irrational, restless, roaring sort of creatures: this, as you will remember, has been already said by us when treating of the origin of music and gymnastic. "I remember." And that Apollo and the Muses and Dionysus gave us harmony and rhythm? "Very true." The other story implies that wine was given to punish us and make us mad; but we say that wine is a balm and a cure; a spring of modesty in the soul, and of health and strength in the body. Again, the work of the chorus is coextensive with the work of education; rhythm and melody answer to the voice, and the motions of the body correspond to the rhythm of the voice, and the sound of the voice enters in and educates the soul in virtue? "Yes." And the movement of the body which is termed dancing, when studied according to regular rules, becomes gymnastic. Shall we now proceed to speak of this? "What Cretan or Lacedaemonian would approve of your omitting gymnastic?" Your question implies assent; and you will have no difficulty in understanding a subject which is familiar to you. Gymnastic is based on the natural tendency of every animal to rapid motion; to this man adds a sense of rhythm, which is awakened by music; and music and dancing together form the choral arts. But before proceeding I must add a crowning word about drinking, which may be extended to other pleasures. There is a lawful use of all of them but if a state or individual is inclined to drink at will, then I would

have the law, not of the Cretans and Lacedaemonians, but of the Carthaginians, which is to the effect that no slave, and no ruler or general or pilot or judge or counselor should ever taste wine while he is on duty, and no slave of either sex, and that no one should drink by daylight or on a bridal night. And there are so many other occasions on which wine ought to be prohibited, that there will not be many vines grown or vineyards required in the state.

Book III. If a man wants to know the origin of states and societies, he should behold them from the point of view of time. Thousands and thousands of cities have come into being and passed away again in infinite ages, rising and falling — waxing and waning — and if we could ascertain the cause of these changes in states, that would probably explain their origin. What do you think of ancient traditions about deluges and destructions of mankind, and the preservation of a remnant? "Every one believes in them." Then let us suppose the world to have been destroyed by a deluge. The survivors would be shepherds dwelling in the tops of mountains, — small sparks of the human race, who would be isolated and unacquainted with the arts and vices of civilization. We may further suppose that cities on the plain and on the coast have been utterly destroyed, and that all inventions and implements, and every sort of knowledge, have perished. "Why, yes, my friends; and if all things were as they now are, nothing would have ever been invented. All our famous discoveries, like those of Daedalus, have been made within the last thousand years, and many of them are but of yesterday." Yes, Cleinias, and you must not forget the name of your friend Epimenides, who was really of yesterday; he practiced the lesson which Hesiod only sang — that half is better than the whole. "Yes, that is our tradition." After the great destruction we may imagine that the earth was a vast desert, in which there were a herd or two of oxen and a few goats, hardly enough to support those who tended them; while of politics and governments the survivors would know nothing. And out of this state of things have arisen arts and laws, and a great deal of virtue and a great deal of vice; little by little the world has come to be what the world is. At first, the few inhabitants may be supposed to have had a natural fear of descending into the plains; although they would want to have intercourse with one another, they would have great difficulty in getting about, having lost the arts, and having no means of extracting metals from the earth, or of felling timber; for even if there were any tools found in the mountains, these would have soon been worn out, and they could get no more until in the course of generations the art of metallurgy had been rediscovered. Faction and war would be extinguished among them, for being solitary they would incline to be friendly; and having abundance of

pasture and plenty of milk and flesh, they would have nothing to quarrel about. We may assume that they had also dwellings and abundance of clothing, for the weaving and plastic arts do not require the use of metals. In those days they were neither poor nor rich, and there was no insolence or injustice among them; because they were of noble natures, and lived up to their principles, and believed what they were told; knowing nothing of land or naval warfare, or of legal practices or party conflicts, they were simpler and more temperate, and also more just than the men of our day. "Very true." I am showing whence the need of lawgivers arises, for in primitive ages they had none, and did not want them. Men lived according to the customs of their fathers, under a sort of patriarchal government, which still exists both among Hellenes and barbarians, and is described in Homer as existing among the Cyclops: "They have no laws, and they dwell in rocks or on the tops of mountains, and every one is the judge of his wife and children, and they do not trouble themselves about one another." "That is a charming poet of yours, though I know little of him, for in Crete foreign poets are not much read." "He is well known in Sparta, though his description of life and manners is Ionian rather than Dorian, and he seems to take your view of primitive society." May we not suppose that government arose out of scattered families who survived the destruction, and were under the rule of a patriarch, because they had originally descended from a single father and mother? "That is very probable." At a later period they increased in number, and tilled the ground, and protected themselves by walls and common households against wild beasts; each family had different laws and customs, which they received from their first parents. They would like their own laws better than those of another family, and would be already formed by them when they met in a common society: thus legislation imperceptibly began among them. In the next stage the associated families would appoint plenipotentiaries or lawgivers, who would review their laws and choose the best of them. They would change the patriarchal or dynastic form into aristocracy or monarchy. "That would be the next step." In the third stage various forms of government would arise. This state of society is described by Homer in the following lines: —

"He built Dardania, at the foot of many-fountained Ida, for Ilium the city of the plain, as yet, was not." Such is the history of the first society which is given in this passage, and also in the account of the Cyclops by the inspired writer, who is not only a charming poet but a true prophet. "Proceed with your tale." Ilium was built in a fair wide plain, on a hill, which was surrounded by streams descending from Ida. This shows that many ages must have passed, for the men who remembered the deluge would never have placed their city at the mercy of the waters amid numerous

streams, trusting to not very high hills either. When mankind began to multiply, many other cities were built in similar but less elevated situations, and even by the shores of the ocean, for the fear of the sea had been lost. These cities carried on a war against Troy which lasted ten years, and, in the mean time, while the chiefs of the army were at Troy, their homes fell into confusion. The youth revolted and refused to receive their own fathers; deaths, murders, exiles ensued. Under the new name of Dorians, which they received from their chief Dorieus, the exiles returned: the rest of the story is part of the history of Sparta.

Thus, after a digression which carried us away into the subject of music and drinking, we again come back to the settlement of Sparta and Crete. We have seen the rise of a first, second, and third state, which in infinite time have grown out of each other; and now we arrive at a fourth state, and out of the comparison of all four we propose to gather the nature of laws and governments, and the changes which may be desirable in them. "If the speculations on which we are about to enter are likely to be as profitable as those which have preceded, I would go a long way to hear them, and think the longest day too short for such an employment."

Let us imagine the time when Lacedaemon, and Argos, and Messenè, and the countries about them were all subject, Megillus, to your ancestors. Afterwards, they distributed the army into three portions, and made three cities: Argos, Messenè Lacedaemon. "Yes." Temenus was the king of Argos, Cresphontes of Messenè, Procles and Eurysthenes of Lacedaemon. "Just so." And they all swore to assist any one of their number whose kingdom was subverted? "Yes." But did we not say, what we seem now to have forgotten, that kingdoms or governments can only be subverted by themselves? "That is true." Yes, and not only true, but proved by facts: there were certain conditions upon which the three kingdoms were to assist one another; the government was to be mild and the people obedient, and kings and subjects were to unite in assisting other kings and subjects who were wronged: am I not correct? "Quite correct." The condition that the two states should unite against a third which transgressed, was a great source of security. "Clearly." Most persons say that lawgivers should make such laws as the people like; but we say that a physician might as well bid his patients to use only such remedies as are agreeable to them, whereas he is often too glad if he can effect a cure at the cost of a considerable amount of pain. "Very true." The early lawgivers had a great advantage — they were saved from the reproach which attends a division of land and abolition of debts. No one could quarrel with the Dorians for dividing the territory, and they had no debts of long standing. "They had not." Then what was the reason why their legislation signally failed? "In what did

they fail?" Why, there were three kingdoms, and two of them quickly lost their original constitutions. "What was the reason of their failure?" That is a question which we cannot refuse to answer, if we mean to proceed with our old man's game of inquiring into laws and institutions. And the Lacedaemonian institutions are more worthy of inquiry than any other, having been evidently intended to be a protection not only to the Peloponnese, but to all the Hellenes; for Ilium was a part of the great Assyrian Empire, which was feared in those days just as we now fear the great King. The second capture of Troy was deeply resented by the Assyrians, who sought to retaliate; and, in order to meet this danger, the royal Heraclid brothers devised their military constitution, which was a far better organized plan than the old Trojan expedition; and the Dorian Heraclidae themselves were far superior to the old Achaeans, who had taken part in that expedition, and had been conquered by them. "Certainly." Such a scheme, undertaken by men who had shared with one another toils and dangers, sanctioned by oracles, and under the guidance of the Heraclidae, seemed to have a promise of permanence. "Naturally." And yet this promise of permanence has entirely failed. Instead of the three being one, they have always been at war; had they been united, they would have been invincible.

And what caused their ruin? Did you ever observe that there are beautiful things of which men often say, "What wonders they would have effected if rightly used!" and yet, after all, this may be a mistake. And so I say of the Heraclidae and their expedition, which I may perhaps have been justified in admiring, but which nevertheless suggests to me the general reflection, — "What wonders might not strength and military resources have accomplished, if the possessor had only known how to use them!" Apply this remark to the case which we are considering: if the generals of the army had only known how to arrange their forces, might they not have given their subjects everlasting freedom and dominion, and the power of doing what they would in all the world, and have themselves obtained glory? "Very true." Suppose a person to express his admiration of wealth or rank, does he not do so under the idea that by the help of these he will attain his desires? All men wish to obtain the control of all things, and what they desire to obtain for themselves they desire to obtain for their children. "Certainly." We ask for our friends what we first ask for ourselves. "True." Dear is the son to the father, and yet the son will pray to obtain what the father will pray that he may not obtain. "Before the son has come to years of discretion, you mean?" Yes; and when the father has passed them, like Hippolytus, he may have reason to pray that the vow of his father may not be fulfilled. "I understand. You mean to say that a man should pray to have

right desires, before he prays that his desires should be fulfilled; and that wisdom is the first thing for which states and individuals ought to pray?" Yes; and you will remember my saying that this was to be the first object of the legislator; but you said that defense in war came first. And to this I replied, that there were four virtues, and that you acknowledged one only — courage, and not wisdom, which is the guide of all the rest. And I repeat in jest if you like, or in earnest if you like, and I would rather that you should receive my words in earnest — that "the prayer of a fool is full of danger." I can prove to you that the ruin of those states was not caused by cowardice or ignorance in war, but by ignorance of human nature and evil ways of another sort. "Proceed; attention will show better than compliments that we prize your words." I maintain that ignorance is the ruin of states; and if this be true, the legislator should seek to implant in them wisdom, and banish ignorance; and the greatest ignorance is the love of what is known to be evil, and the hatred of what is known to be good; this is the last and greatest conflict of pleasure and reason in the soul. I say the greatest, because affecting the greater part of the soul. For the passions are in the individual what the people are in a state. And when they become opposed to reason or law, and instruction is no longer of any use — that is the last and greatest ignorance of states; the errors and faults of craftsmen are more venial. "I understand and agree." Let this, then, be our first principle: That the citizen who does not know how to choose between good and evil, must not be intrusted with authority; he may have great quickness and power of calculation, and many accomplishments, and yet be really ignorant. On the other hand, he who has this knowledge may be unable either to read or write; nevertheless, he shall be counted wise and permitted to rule. For how can there be even a shadow of wisdom where there is no harmony? — wisdom is harmony, and the discordant man is the ruin of states and households: let this be laid down. "Very good." The first claim of authority will be that of parents to rule over their children; the second, that of the noble to rule over the ignoble: thirdly, the elder must govern the younger; in the fourth place, the slave must obey his master; fifthly, there is the power of the stronger, which is indeed a rule not to be disobeyed, and which the poet Pindar declares to be according to nature; sixthly, there is the rule of the wiser, which is also according to nature, as I must inform Pindar, if he does not know, and is the rule of law over obedient subjects. "Most true." And there is a seventh kind of rule which the gods love, — in this the ruler is elected by lot.

Now, turning to the legislator who is fancying that his task is to be an easy one, we playfully say to him: You see, legislator, the many and inconsistent claims to authority; here is a spring of

troubles which you must stay: And first of all you must help us to consider how the kings of Argos and Messenè destroyed that famous empire of olden time — did they forget the saying of Hesiod, that "the half is better than the whole?" "Excellent." Do we suppose that the ignorance of this truth is less fatal to kings than to nations? "Probably the evil is increased by their way of life." The kings of those days transgressed the laws and violated their oaths. Their deeds did not agree with their words, and their folly, which seemed to them wisdom, was the ruin of the state. And what ought the legislator to have done in order to prevent this evil? The remedy is easy to see now, but was not easy to foresee at the time. "What is the remedy?" The institutions of Sparta may teach you, Megillus. Wherever there is excess, whether the sail has too much wind, or the body too much food, or the mind too much power, there is a probability of a downfall. No man is able to resist the temptation of arbitrary power. The despot is quickly corrupted, and grows hateful to his dearest friends. In order to guard against this evil, the God who watches over Sparta gave you two kings instead of one, that they might balance and moderate one another; and further to lower the pulse of your body politic, some human wisdom, mingling with divine power, tempered the strength and self sufficiency of youth with the moderation of age in the institution of your senate. A third savior bridled your rising and swelling power by ephors, whom he assimilated to officers elected by lot: and thus the kingly power was preserved. Had the constitution been arranged by Cresphontes and Temenus, not even the portion of Sparta would have been preserved; for they had no political experience, and were foolish enough to imagine that a youthful spirit might be bound by oaths. Now that God has instructed us in the arts of legislation, there is no merit in seeing all this, or in learning wisdom after the event. But if the coming danger could have been foreseen, and the union preserved, then no Persian or other enemy would have dared to despise Hellas; and indeed there was not so much credit to us in defeating the enemy, as discredit in our disloyalty to one another. For of the three cities one only fought on behalf of Hellas; and of the two others, one, Argos, which in old days had the precedence, refused to aid; and the other, Messenia, was actually at war with her: and if the Lacedaemonians and Athenians had not united, the Hellenes would have been absorbed in the Persian Empire, and mingled with the barbarians. Laying these remarks of ours at the feet of the legislator, we ask of him what else might have been done, reminding him of what we were saying before, that a state can only be free and wise and harmonious where there is a balance of powers. There are many words by which we express the aims of the legislator, who is equally desirous to promote temperance, wisdom, friendship, and the like

but we need not therefore be disturbed, for these names have all the same meaning. "I should like to hear what you have to say of them." Hear me, then. There are two mother forms of states — one monarchy, and the other democracy: the Persians have the first, and the Athenians the second. Most other governments are made up of a union of the two; and any good government must include both of them. There was a time when the Persians were more of a constitutional state than they now are; in the days of Cyrus they were freemen as well as lords of others, and their soldiers were free and equal, and they used and honored all the talent which they could find, and so the nation waxed in freedom and friendship and communion of soul. But Cyrus, though a great and patriotic general, never troubled himself about the education of his family, or the order of his household. He was a soldier from his youth upward, and left his children who were born in the purple to be educated by women, who honored and flattered them, never allowing any desire which they had to be thwarted. "A rare education that!" Yes, such an education as women, and especially princesses who had recently grown rich, might be expected to give in a country where the men were solely occupied with war and danger. "Likely enough." Their father had possessed herds and bands of men and animals, and never considered that he was about to make them over to a race who had been brought up in a very different school; not like the Persian mountaineer who was well able to take care of himself and his own. He never remembered that his children had been brought up in the Median fashion, under the superintendence of women and eunuchs. The consequence was that the son of Cyrus slew his brother, and lost the kingdom through his folly. Observe, again, that Darius, who restored the kingdom, was not born a king, and had not received a royal education. He was one of the seven chiefs, and when he came to the throne he divided the empire into seven provinces, of which there remain traces; and he made equal laws, and implanted friendship among the people. Hence his subjects were greatly attached to him, and cheerfully extended the borders of his empire. Next followed Xerxes, who had received the same royal education as Cambyses; and this has been the fate of nearly every succeeding sovereign. We are tempted to say to him, "O Darius, how could you with all your experience have made such a mistake!" The ruin of Xerxes was not fate or fortune, but the evil life which is generally led by the sons of very rich and royal persons; and this is what the legislator has seriously to consider. Justly may the Lacedaemonians be praised for not giving special honor to any one in a state because he surpasses another in wealth any more than because he surpasses him in swiftness, strength, or beauty. "Explain." No one would like to live in the same house with a

very courageous man who had no control over himself, nor with an artisan who was clever at his profession, but a rogue. Nor can justice and wisdom ever be separated from temperance. But considering these qualities with reference to the meed of honor and dishonor which is to be assigned to them in states, would you say, on the other hand, that temperance without the other virtues, isolated in the soul of a man, is worth anything or nothing? "I cannot tell." That is the best answer. It would be absurd to speak of temperance as belonging to the class of honored or of dishonored qualities, because all other things in their various classes require temperance to be added to them; having the addition, they are honored not in proportion to that, but to their own virtue. And ought not the legislator to determine these classes? "Certainly." Suppose then, as we are playing at legislation, that, without going into details, we make three great classes of them. "By all means." Most honorable are the goods of the soul, always assuming temperance as a condition of them; secondly, those of the body; thirdly, external possessions. Any man who inverts or adds to these classes is no friend to the state; let us maintain this.

These remarks were suggested to me by the consideration of the Persian kings; and to them I will now return. The ruin of their empire was caused by the loss of freedom and the growth of despotism, which destroyed the good-will of the people, and the disinterestedness of the government. Hatred and spoliation took the place of friendship; the people never fought heartily for their masters; their countless myriads were useless on the field of battle. They resorted to mercenaries as their only salvation, and were thus compelled by their circumstances to proclaim the stupidest of falsehoods — that all virtue is a trifle in comparison of money. "Very true."

But enough of the Persians: a different lesson is taught by the opposite extreme of the Athenians, whose example shows that a limited freedom is far better than an unlimited. Ancient Athens, at the time of the Persian invasion, had such a limited freedom. They were divided into four classes, arranged according to a property census, and the love of order was their queen; moreover, the fear of the approaching host made them obedient and willing citizens. For ten years previously Darius had sent Datis and Artaphernes, commanding them under pain of death to subjugate the Eretrians and Athenians. A report came to Athens that all the Eretrians had been "netted;" this report, which may or may not have been true, terrified the Athenians, and they sent all over Hellas for assistance. None, however, dared to aid them with the exception of the Lacedaemonians, who arrived a day too late, when the battle of Marathon had been already fought. In process of time Xerxes came to the throne, and the Athenians heard of noth-

ing but the bridge of the Hellespont, and the canal of Athos, and the innumerable host and fleet. They knew that these were intended to avenge the defeat of Marathon. Their case seemed desperate, for there was no one to help them; no Hellene was likely to assist them by land, and at sea they were attacked by more than a thousand vessels; their only hope, however slender, was in victory; so they relied upon themselves and upon the gods. Their fellowship in the struggle, and the influence of their old constitution, greatly tended to promote harmony among them: Reverence and fear — that fear which the coward never knows — made them fight for their country and for their country's shrines and sepulchres. If they had not had such a fear, they would have been dispersed all over the world. "Your words, Athenian, are worthy of your country." Yes; and you, who have inherited the virtues of your ancestors, are worthy to hear them. Let me ask you to take the moral of my tale. The Persians have lost their liberty in absolute slavery, and we in absolute freedom. In ancient times, the Athenian people were not the masters, but the servants of the laws. "Of what laws?" In the first place, there were laws about music, and the music was of various kinds: there was one kind which consisted of hymns, another of lamentations; there was also the paean and the dithyramb, each of them having their own laws (*νόμοι*) or strains, as they were termed. The regulation of such matters was not left to the whistling and clapping of a tasteless crowd; there was silence while the judges decided, and the younger part of the audience were kept in order by raps of a stick. But after a while there arose a new race of poets, men of genius certainly, however careless of musical truth and propriety, who made pleasure the only criterion of excellence. That was a test which the spectators could apply for themselves; the whole audience instead of being mute became vociferous, and a theatrocracy took the place of an aristocracy. Could the judges have been free, there would have been no great harm done; a musical democracy would have been well enough, but conceit was our ruin. Everybody knew everything, and was ready to say anything; the age of reverence was gone, and the age of irreverence and licentiousness succeeded. "Most true." And with this freedom came disobedience to rulers, parents, elders; in the latter days, to the law also; and at the very end, as at the beginning, there rose up men like Titans, who had no regard for the gods or for oaths; and the evils of the human race seemed as if they would never cease. Whither are we running away? Once more we must pull up, lest our horse, no longer obeying the bridle, should, as the proverb says, prove an ass, and we fall off by the way. "Good." Our purpose in what we have been saying, is to show that the legislator ought to aim at securing for a state three things — freedom, friend-

ship, wisdom. "Just so." And we chose two states: one was the type of freedom, and the other of despotism; and we showed that their highest pinnacle of fortune coincided with the greatest moderation of their respective forms of government. In a similar spirit we spoke of the Dorian expedition, and of the settlement in the plains of Troy; and of music, and wine, and of all that preceded.

And now, has all this discussion been of any use? "Stranger, I can answer that question; for by a singular coincidence the Cretans are about to send out a colony. And the settlement of this colony has been committed to the Cnosians, who have appointed ten commissioners, of whom I am one, to give laws to the colonists. Let me borrow from you what may be advantageous to the infant community." I like your proposals, and I place myself at your service. "Very good."

BOOK. IV. And now what is this city? I do not ask what is or is to be the name of the place; for a river or some local deity will determine that. But I want to know what the situation is, whether maritime or inland. "The new city, Stranger, is about eleven miles from the sea." Are there good harbors? "Excellent." And is the surrounding country self-supporting? "Almost." Any neighboring states? "No; and that is the reason for choosing the place, which has been deserted from time immemorial." And is there a fair proportion of hill and plain and wood? "Like the rest of Crete in that, more hill than plain." Then there is some hope for your citizens; had the country been at once maritime, and also dependent for support on other countries, a more than human power would have been required to preserve you from corruption. The distance of eleven miles is not enough, but is better than nothing; and I must be satisfied. For the sea, although an agreeable is a dangerous companion, and a highway of strange morals and manners, as well as of commerce. But as the country is moderately fertile there will be no great exports or imports, or returns of gold and silver, which are the ruin of states. Is there timber for ship-building? "There is no larch or fir, and not much cypress; and very little pine or planewood for the interior of ships." That is good. "Why?" Because the city will be unable to imitate the bad ways of her enemies. "What is the bearing of that remark?" To explain my meaning, I would ask you just to remember what I said about the Cretan laws, which, as you and I agreed, had an eye to war only; and I maintained that they ought to have included all virtue. And I hope that you in your turn will retaliate upon me if I am false to my own principle. For I consider that the lawgiver should go straight to the mark of virtue and justice, and disregard wealth and every other good when separated from virtue. What further

I mean, when I speak of the imitation of enemies, I will illustrate by the old story of Minos, which happened so long ago that our Cretan friend will not be offended at the allusion. Minos, who was a great sea king, imposed upon the Athenians a cruel tribute, for in those days they were not a maritime power; they had no timber for ship-building, and therefore they could not "imitate their enemies; and they would have lost many times over the lives which they devoted to the tribute before they could have turned soldiers into sailors. Moreover, the art of naval warfare is not very praiseworthy; men should not be taught to run away, or allowed to drop their arms; bad customs ought not to be gilded with fine words. And retreat is always bad, as we are taught in Homer, when he introduces Odysseus, setting forth to Agamemnon the danger of ships being at hand when soldiers are disposed to fly. An army of lions trained in such ways would fly before a herd of deer. Further, the rewards of valor have to be distributed among pilots and oarsmen; and this is the ruin of personal courage. "Still in Crete we say that the battle of Salamis was the salvation of Hellas." And that is the prevailing opinion. But I and Megillus say that the battle of Marathon began the deliverance, which the battle of Plataea completed; and that these battles made men better, whereas the battles of Salamis and Artemisium made them no better. And we further affirm that not the mere continuance of existence is the great political good of individuals or states, but the continuance of the best existence. "Certainly." Let us then endeavor to follow this principle in colonization and legislation.

And first, let me ask you who are to be the colonists? May any one come from any city of Crete which is overpeopled? For you would surely not send a general invitation to all Hellas. Yet I observe that in Crete there are people who come from Argos and Aegina and other places. "Our expedition is drawn from all Crete, and we invite Peloponnesians of Argos to join As you observe, there are Argives among the Cretans; for example, the Gortynians, who are the best of them, have come from Gortys in Peloponnesus."

Colonization is in some ways easier when the colony is drawn from one country, and goes out in a swarm like bees, owing to the pressure of population, or faction, or war. There is an advantage in this mode of procedure, and also there are disadvantages. The advantage is, that the new colonists have a common language and laws, and a spirit of friendship diffused among them. But then again, they are less willing to obey the hand of the legislator; they are too fond of the laws and customs which have been the ruin of them at home. A mixed multitude is more tractable, although there is a difficulty in making them pull together. There is nothing, however, which perfects the virtues of men like legislation and colonization. And yet I have a word to say on the other side, which may seem to be depreciatory of legislators. "What is that?"

I was going to make the saddening reflection, that accidents of all sorts are the true legislators; wars and pestilences and famines and the constant recurrence of bad seasons. He who observes the course of events will be inclined to say that all human things are chance; and this may certainly be said about navigation and medicine, and the art of the general. But there is another thing which may equally be said. "What is that?" That God governs all things, and that chance and opportunity coöperate with him. But according to a third view, art has part with them, for surely when there is a storm there must be an advantage in having a pilot. And of legislation we may say the same: however great the coincidence of fortunate circumstances, the hand of the legislator is still required. "Most true." All artists would pray for certain conditions under which to exercise their art. "Certainly." And the legislator would do the same? "I believe that he would." Come, legislator, let us say to him, and what are the conditions which you would have? Shall we put the conditions into his mouth? "Yes." He will say, Grant me a city which is in the possession of a tyrant; and let the tyrant be young, thoughtful, teachable, courageous, magnanimous; and let him have the crown and condition of all virtue, which is temperance — not prudence, but that natural temperance which is the gift of children and animals, and is hardly reckoned among goods — with this he must be endowed, if the state is to acquire the form most conducive to happiness in the speediest manner. And I must add one other quality to the tyrant's virtues: he must be fortunate, and his good fortune must consist in his being the contemporary of a great legislator. When the God has done this, he has done the best which he can for a state; not so well if he has given them two legislators instead of one, and less and less well if he has given them a great many. An orderly tyranny most easily passes into the perfect state; in the second degree, a monarchy; in the third degree, democracy; an oligarchy is worst of all. "I do not understand." I suppose that you have never seen a city which is subject to a tyranny? "And I have no desire to see one." You would have seen what I am describing, if you ever had. The tyrant can speedily change the manners of a state, and affix the stamp of praise or blame on any action which he pleases; for the citizens are eager to follow the example which he sets them. And this is the quickest way of making changes; but there is a counterbalancing difficulty. "What is that?" The difficulty is to find the divine love of temperance and justice existing in any powerful forms of government, whether in a monarchy or oligarchy of birth or of wealth. Nestor lived in the times of Troy, but there is no one like him now. If there is, has been, or ever shall be again, such a one among us, blessed is he, and blessed are they who listen to his words. And this may be said of power in general; where power and wisdom and

temperance meet, there there are the best laws and constitution. I am endeavoring to show you how easy under the conditions supposed, and how difficult under any other, is the task of giving a city good laws. "How do you mean?" We shall see, if we try the experiment of giving a constitution to our new state, which will be an excellent amusement for our second childhood. "Proceed. What constitution shall we give — democracy, oligarchy, or aristocracy?" To which of these classes, Megillus, do you refer your own state? "The Spartan constitution seems to me to contain all these elements; our state is a democracy and also an aristocracy; the power of the Ephors is tyrannical, and we have an ancient monarchy." "And the same," adds Cleinias, "may be said of Crete." The reason is that you have polities, but other states are mere aggregations of citizens, which are named after their several ruling powers; whereas a state, if an "ocracy" at all, should be called a theocracy. A tale of old will explain my meaning. In the primeval world there is a tradition of a golden age, in which all things were spontaneous and abundant. Cronos, the lord of the world, knew that man was not able to endure the temptations of power, and therefore he appointed demons or demi-gods, who are of a superior race, to have dominion over him, as he has dominion over the animals. They took care of us with great ease and pleasure to themselves, and no less to us; and the tradition says that only when God, and not man, is the ruler, can the human race cease from ill. This was the way of human life under Cronos, which should be imitated by us as far as the principle of immortality dwells in us, and is imitated by us when we live according to law and the dictates of right reason. But in an oligarchy or democracy, when the governing principle is athirst for pleasure, there is no possibility of salvation. The laws are trampled under foot. Are there not often said to be as many forms of laws as there are governments, and that they have no concern either with any virtue or with all virtue, but are relative to the state in which you live? Which is as much as to say that "might makes right." "What do you mean?" I mean that governments make their own laws, and that every government regards first of all the law of self-preservation. "Very true." And he who transgresses this law is regarded as an evil-doer, and punished accordingly. "Naturally." These were the evils which we were discussing when we said that parents should rule their children, the elder the younger, the noble the ignoble; and there were other principles of government, including "the law justifying violence" of Pindar. To which of them is our state to be intrusted? For many a government is only a victorious faction which has a monopoly of power, and refuses any share in the government to the conquered, lest when they return to power they should remember their wrongs. Such governments are not polities, but parties; nor are any laws

good which are made in the interest of particular classes only, and not of the whole. And in our state I mean to protest against making any man a ruler because he is rich, or strong, or noble. But he who is the most obedient to the laws, and who wins the victory of obedience, shall be the minister or servant of them according to the degree of his obedience. When I call the ruler the servant or minister of the law, this is not a mere paradox, but I mean to say that upon the willingness to obey the law the very existence of the state depends. "Truly, Stranger, you have a keen vision." Why, yes; every man when he is old has his intellectual vision most keen. And now shall we call in our colonists and make a speech to them? Friends, we say to them, God holds in his hand the beginning, middle, and end of all things, and he moves in a straight line towards the accomplishment of his will. Justice always follows him, and punishes those who fall short of his laws. He who would be happy is obedient to him; but he who is lifted up with pride, or money, or honor, or beauty, is soon deserted by God, and, being deserted, he takes to him others who are like himself, and dances about in wild confusion. But in a short time he is utterly destroyed, and his family and city with him. Wherefore, seeing these things, what ought we to do or think? "Every man ought to follow God." There is an old saying, that like agrees with like, and God is the measure of all things in a sense far higher than any man. Those who would be dear to him must be like him, and the temperate man is the friend of God because he is like him, and the intemperate man is not his friend because he is not like him. And the inference is, that the best of all things for a good man is to pray and sacrifice to the gods; but the bad man has a polluted soul, and from one who is polluted neither a good man nor God is right in receiving gifts. And therefore the unholy waste their service upon the gods, but the good are accepted of them. I have told you the mark at which we ought to aim. You will say, how? and with what weapons? In the first place we affirm, that after the Olympian gods and the gods of the state, honor should be given to the gods below, and to them should be offered everything in even numbers; while the auspicious odd numbers are reserved for the gods above. Next to the gods, demi-gods or spirits must be honored, and after them heroes, who will have their seats of local worship and their ritual according to law. Further, the honor due to parents should not be forgotten; all that children have is derived from them, and they owe to them a debt of nurture. They should hold their peace before them, and abstain religiously from unbecoming words; for there is an avenging angel who hears them when they are angry, and the child should consider that the parent to whom he owes life has a right to be angry with him. After their death let them have sepulchral rites according to their wealth and rank; as they did to

their fathers, so let us do to them; and there shall be an annual commemoration of them. He does best who preserves their memory without incurring any very great expense. Living on this wise, we shall be accepted of the gods, and shall pass our days in good hope The law will determine all our various duties towards relatives and friends and other citizens, and the whole state will be happy and prosperous. If the legislator would persuade as well as command, he will add prefaces to his laws which will predispose our citizens to virtue. "Let us hear." I want them to be in the right frame of mind when the legislator speaks to them. Even a little accomplished in the way of gaining the heart of man is of great value. For there are not many men who desire to be made good by the speediest means. Most of them prove the saying of Hesiod: "Long and steep is the first half of the way to virtue, but when you have reached the top the other half is easy." "Those are excellent words." Yes, certainly; but will you allow me to tell you the effect which the preceding discourse has had upon me? I will express my meaning in an address to the lawgiver: O lawgiver, if you know what you ought to do and say, you can surely tell us — and were not you just now saying that the poet ought not to be allowed to do what he likes? And the poet may retort, that when he sits down on the tripod of the Muses he is not in his right mind, and that being a mere imitator he may be allowed to say two opposite things, and cannot tell which of them is true. But this license cannot be allowed to the lawgiver. For example, let us suppose that there are three kinds of funerals; one of them is excessive, another mean, a third moderate, and you say that the last is always to be approved. Now, if I had to describe in verse the funeral rites of some wealthy dame, I should bury her in splendor; a poor man would approve a funeral of the meaner sort, and a man of the middle class would find a moderate funeral suited to his resources. But you, as legislator, would have to determine the meaning of the words excessive, mean, moderate. "Very true." And is our lawgiver to have no preamble or interpretation of his laws, never offering a word of advice to his subjects, after the manner of some doctors? For are there not two kinds of doctors? the one gentle and the other rough, doctors and doctors' assistants, freemen who learn themselves and teach their slaves, and slaves who learn medicine at the bidding of their masters? "Of course there are." And did you ever observe that the gentlemen doctors practice upon freemen, and that slaves confine themselves to slaves? The latter go about the country and wait for the slaves at the dispensaries. None of them holds any parley with his patients about their diseases or the remedies of them they practice by the rule of thumb, and give their decrees, as if they knew all about the disorder. in a very arbitrary manner. When they have doctored one patient they run off to another

whom they treat with equal assurance, their duty being to relieve the master of the care of his sick slaves. But the other doctor who practices on freemen, has a very different mode of proceeding. He takes counsel with his patient and learns from him, and never does anything until he has persuaded him of what he is doing. He trusts to influence rather than force. Now is not the use of both methods far better than the use of either alone? And both together may be advantageously employed by us in legislation.

We may illustrate our proposed way of proceeding by an example. The laws relating to marriage are the beginning of a state, and will therefore be the best for us to begin with. The simple law would be as follows: A man shall marry between the ages of thirty and thirty-five; if he do not, he shall pay a fine and shall lose his rights of citizenship. The double law would add the reason of this: Forasmuch as man desires immortality, which he attains by the procreation of children, none should deprive himself of his share in this good. He who obeys the law is blameless, but he who disobeys must not be a gainer by his celibacy; and therefore he shall pay a fine, and shall not be allowed to receive honor from the young. That is an example of what I call the double law, which may enable us to judge how far the addition of persuasion to threats is desirable. "Lacedaemonians in general, Stranger, are in favor of brevity; in this case, however, I prefer length. But Cleinias is the real lawgiver, and therefore I think that he should be first consulted." "Thank you, Megillus." Whether words are to be many or few, is a foolish question: the best and not the shortest forms are always to be approved. And no legislator has ever thought of the advantage which he might derive from the employment of the two sources of power, which answer to the two sorts of doctors, persuasion as well as force. And I have something else to say about the matter. "What is that?" A strange thought arises in my mind. Here have we been from the early dawn until noon, discoursing about laws, and all which we have been saying is only the preamble f them. I tell you this, because I want you to observe that songs and strains have all of them preludes, but that laws, though called by the same name (νόμοι), have never any prelude. Now I am disposed to give preludes to laws, dividing them into two parts — one containing the despotic command, which I described under the image of the slave doctor — the other the persuasive part, which I term the preamble. The legislator should give preludes or preambles to his laws. "That shall be the way in my colony." I am glad that you agree with me; the law should be clearly explained at the beginning. Of course all laws might have, but will not equally require a preamble; this must be left to the lawgiver, as the preamble of a strain or speech is left to the orator or musician "Most true: and now, without further delay, let us make a second

and better beginning with the preambles of the laws, until the whole is completed." Our first preamble shall relate to the gods, and there shall be another relating to parents, both when living and after death — of these subjects we have already spoken in part. Afterwards we will proceed to consider persons — their souls, and bodies, and properties, — their serious occupations and their amusements; in all the particulars of which the teacher should as far as possible instruct his hearers.

The first word of the Laws somewhat abruptly introduces the thought which is present to the mind of Plato throughout the work, namely, that Law is of divine origin. In the words of a great English writer, — "Her seat is the bosom of God, her voice the harmony of the world." Though the particular laws of Sparta and Crete had a narrow and imperfect aim, this is not true of divine laws, which are based upon the principles of human nature, and not framed to meet the exigencies of the moment. Yet we may observe two inconsistencies in Plato's treatment of the subject: first, a lesser one, inasmuch as he does not clearly distinguish the Cretan and Spartan laws, of which the exclusive aim is war, from those other laws of Zeus and Apollo which are said to be divine, and to comprehend all virtue. Secondly, we may retort on him his own complaint against Sparta and Crete, that he has himself given us a code of laws, which for the most part have a military character; and that we cannot point "to obvious examples of similar institutions which are concerned with pleasure." The military spirit which is condemned by him in the beginning of the Laws, seems to reappear in the eighth and ninth books.

The mention of Minos the great lawgiver, and of Rhadamanthus the righteous administrator of the law, suggest the two divisions of the laws into enactments and appointments of officers (cp. VI. 751). The legislator and the judge stand side by side, and their functions cannot be wholly distinguished. For the judge is in some sort a legislator, at any rate in small matters (cp. pp. 875, 876); and his decisions growing into precedents, must determine the innumerable details which arise out of the conflict of circumstances. These are what Plato proposes to leave to a younger generation of legislators. The action of courts of law in making law seems to have escaped him, probably because the Athenian law courts were popular assemblies; and, except in this mythical form, he can hardly be said to have had before his eyes the ideal of a judge. In reading the Laws of Plato, or any other ancient writing about laws, we should consider how gradual the process is by which not only a legal system, but the administration of a court of law, becomes perfected.

There are other subjects on which Plato breaks ground, as his manner is, in the first book. First, he gives a sketch of the subject

of laws; they are to comprehend the whole of human life, from infancy to age, and from birth to death, although the proposed plan is far from being regularly executed in the books which follow, partly owing to the necessity of describing the constitution as well as the laws of his new colony. Secondly, he touches on the power of music, which may exercise so great an influence on the character of men for good or evil; he refers especially to the great offenses — on which he afterwards dilates at length, and which he has already condemned in the Republic — of separating the words from the music, and varying the modes and rhythms. Thirdly, he reprobates in energetic terms the prevalence of unnatural loves in Sparta and Crete, which he seems to attribute to the practice of syssitia and gymnastic exercises, when not accompanied by any higher training. To this subject he again returns in the sixth book. Fourthly, the virtues are shown to be inseparable from one another, even if not absolutely one; this, too, is a principle which he reasserts at the conclusion of the work. As in the beginnings of Plato's other writings, we have here several "notes" struck, which form the preludes of longer discussions, although the hint is less ingeniously given, and the promise more imperfectly fulfilled than in the earlier Dialogues.

The distinction between ethics and politics has not yet dawned upon Plato's mind. To him, law is still floating in a region between the two. He would have desired that all the acts and laws of a state should have regard to all virtue. But he did not see that politics and law are subject to their own conditions, and are distinguished from ethics by natural differences. The actions of which politics take cognizance are necessarily collective or representative; the actions of which law takes cognizance are necessarily external, and they affect others as well as the agents. But Plato has never made this analysis. He fancies that the life of the state is as plastic, and can be as easily fashioned, as that of the individual. He is favorable to a balance of power, but never seems to have considered that power might be so balanced as to produce an absolute immobility in the state. Nor is he alive to the evils of confounding vice and crime; or to the necessity of governments abstaining from excessive interference with their subjects. He would have set no limits to the power of legislation.

Yet this confusion of ethics and politics has also a better and a truer side. If unable to grasp some important distinctions, Plato is at any rate seeking to elevate the lower to the higher; he does not pull down the principles of men to their practice, or narrow the ideal of what the state may be to the immediate necessities of politics. Political ideals of freedom and equality, of a divine government which has been or will be in some other age or country, have greatly tended to educate and ennoble the human race. And if not the first author of such ideals (for they are as old as Hesiod), Plato

has done more than any other writer to impress them on the world. To those who censure his idealism we may reply in his own words, — "He is not the worse painter who draws a beautiful figure because no such figure ever had a real existence."

A new thought about education suddenly occurs to him, and for a time exercises a sort of fascination over his mind, though in the later books of the Laws forgotten or overlooked. As true courage is allied to temperance, so there must be an education which shall train mankind to resist pleasure as well as to endure pain. No one can be on his guard against that of which he has no experience. The perfectly trained citizen should have been accustomed to look Pleasure in the face, and to measure his strength against her. This education in pleasure is to be given partly by festive intercourse, chiefly by the song and dance. Youth are to learn music and gymnastics; their elders are to be trained and tested at drinking parties. According to the old proverb, *in vino veritas*, they will then be open and visible to the world in their true characters; and also they will be more amenable to the laws, and more easily moulded by the hand of the legislator. The first reason is curious enough, though not important; the second can hardly be thought deserving of much attention. Yet if Plato means to say that society is one of the principal instruments of education in after life, he has expressed in an obscure fashion a principle which is true, and to his contemporaries was also new. He seems to be carried away by the really original thought which had occurred to him, and which he has not yet learned to present to his mind in an abstract form. He is sensible that moderation is better than total abstinence, and that asceticism is but a one-sided training. The love of pleasure cannot be eradicated, and must therefore be regulated. Such reflections seem to be the real, though imperfectly expressed groundwork of the discussion. As in the juxtaposition of the Bacchic madness and the great gift of Dionysus, or where he speaks of the senses in which pleasure is and is not the object of imitative art, or in the illustration of the failure of the Dorian institutions from the vow of Theseus — we have to gather his meaning as well as we can from this connection.

Like the importance which he attaches to festive entertainments, his depreciation of courage to the fourth place in the scale of virtue, appears to be somewhat rhetorical and exaggerated. But he is speaking of courage in the lower sense of the term, not as including loyalty or temperance. He does not insist, as in the Protagoras, on the unity of the virtues; or as in the Laches, on the identity of wisdom and courage. But he endeavors to show how they all depend upon their leader mind, and how, out of the union of wisdom and temperance with courage, springs justice. Elsewhere he is disposed to regard temperance rather as a condition of all virtue than as a

particular virtue. He generalizes temperance, as in the Republic he generalizes justice. The nature of the virtues is to run up into one another, and in the Laws Plato makes but a faint effort to distinguish them. He still quotes the poets, somewhat enlarging, as his manner is, or playing with their meaning. The martial poet Tyrtaeus, and the oligarch Theognis, furnish him with happy illustrations of the two sorts of courage. The fear of fear, the division of goods into human and divine, the acknowledgment that peace and reconciliation are better than military superiority, the analysis of temperance into resistance of pleasure as well as endurance of pain, the distinction between the education which is suitable for a trade or profession, and for the whole of life, are important and probably new ethical conceptions. Nor has Plato forgotten his old paradox, that to be punished is better than to be unpunished, when he says, that to the bad death is the only mitigation of his evil. He is not less ideal in many passages of the Laws than in the Gorgias or Republic. But his wings are heavy, and he is unequal to any sustained flight.

There is more attempt in the first book to carry out the dramatic interest than in the later parts of the work. The outburst of martial spirit in the Lacedaemonian, at p. 638 A, "O best of men;" the anger which the Cretan expresses at the supposed insult to his lawgiver; the cordial acknowledgment on the part of both of them, that laws should not be discussed publicly by those who live under their rule; the difficulty which they alike experience in following the speculations of the Athenian, are highly characteristic.

In the next book, Plato pursues further his notion of educating by a right use of pleasure. He begins by conceiving an endless power of youthful life, which is to be reduced to rule and measure by harmony and rhythm. Men differ from the lower animals in that they are capable of musical discipline. But music like all art must be truly imitative, and imitative of what is true and good. Art and life agree in rejecting pleasure as the criterion of good. True art is inseparable from the highest and most ennobling ideas. Plato is the enemy of songs without words, which he supposes to have some confusing or enervating effect on the mind of the hearer: and he is also opposed to the modern degeneracy of tragedy, which he would probably have illustrated, like Aristophanes, from Euripides and Agathon. From this passage we seem to gather a more perfect conception of art than from any other of Plato's writings. He understands that art is at once imitative and ideal, an exact representation of truth, and also a representation of the highest truth. The same double view of art may be gathered from a comparison of the third and tenth books of the Republic, but is here more clearly and pointedly expressed. We are inclined to suspect exaggeration of the influence which is attributed by him to the

song and the dance. But we must remember also the susceptible nature of the Greek, and the perfection to which these arts were carried by him.

In speaking of the chorus of elders, Plato takes occasion to revert to his old proposal of the use of wine. There is not much point in this, which may be regarded as an illustration of an illustration. The use of wine was a particular instance of social intercourse, and this a particular instance of the use of wine.

At the beginning of the third book, Plato abruptly asks the question, What is the origin of states? The answer is, infinite time. We have already seen — in the Theaetetus, where he supposes that in the course of ages every man has had numberless progenitors, kings and slaves, Greeks and barbarians; or in the Critias, where he says that nine thousand years have elapsed since the ancient Athenian empire passed away — that Plato is no stranger to the conception of long periods of time. He supposes human society to have been interrupted by natural convulsions; and beginning from the last of these, he traces the steps by which the family has passed into the state, and the original scattered society has received the impress of a military civilization. His conception of the origin of states is far truer in the Laws than in the Republic; but it must be remembered that here he is giving an historical, there an ideal account of the growth of society.

Modern inquirers, like Plato, have found in infinite ages the explanation not only of states, but of languages, men, animals, the world itself; they have also detected in later institutions the vestiges of a patriarchal state still surviving. Thus far Plato speaks as "the spectator of all time and all existence," who may be thought by some divine instinct to have guessed at truths which were hereafter to be revealed. He is far above the vulgar notion that Hellas is the civilized world, or that civilization only began when the Hellenes appeared on the scene. But as he approaches more historical times, in preparing the way for his own theory of mixed government, he argues very falsely and imperfectly. He is desirous of showing the imperfection of the Dorian institutions, and hence he is led to attribute them to the Argives and Messenians. The decay of one of these Greek tribes, and the destruction of the other, are adduced by him as a manifest proof of their failure. But there is no more reason to suppose that the Dorian rule of life ever prevailed in Argos and Messene, than to assume that Dorian institutions were framed to protect the Greeks against the power of Assyria; or that the empire of Assyria was in any way affected by the Trojan War (this was not a part of any legend); or that the return of the Heraclidae was only the return of Achaean exiles, who received a new name from their leader Dorieus. Such fancies

were chiefly based, as far as they had any foundation, on the use of analogy, which played a great part in the dawn of historical and geographical research. Because there was a Persian empire which was the natural enemy of the Greek, there must also have been an Assyrian empire which had a similar hostility; and not only the fable of the island of Atlantis, but the Trojan War, derived some features from the Persian struggle. The river Nile answered to the Ister, and the valley of the Nile to the Red Sea (Herod. ii. 119). In the Republic, Plato is flying in the air regardless of fact and possibility; in the Laws, he is making history by analogy. In the one, he appears to be like some modern philosophers, absolutely devoid of historical sense; in the other, he is on a level, not with Thucydides, or the critical historians of Greece, but with Herodotus, or even with Ctesias.

The chief object of Plato in tracing the origin of society, is to know the point at which regular government superseded the patriarchal authority, and laws common to many families took the place of the old customs. The customs were systematized by legislators, and new forms of government began to spring up. According to Plato, the only sound principle on which any of them was based was a mixture or balance of power. The balance of power had saved Sparta, when the two other Heraclid cities fell into disorder Here, again, is probably the first trace of a great political idea, which has exercised a vast influence both in ancient and modern times. And yet we might fairly ask, a little parodying the language of Plato — O Legislator, is unanimity only mutual jealousy; or is the balance of powers in a state better than the harmony of them?

In the fourth book we approach the realities of politics, and Plato begins to ascend to the height of his great argument. The reign of Cronos has passed away, and various forms of government have succeeded, which are all based on self-interest and self-preservation. Right and wrong, instead of being measured by the will of God, are created by the law of the state. The strongest assertions are made of the purely spiritual nature of religion, — "Without holiness no man is accepted of God:" and of family duties, "Honor thy father and thy mother, if thou wouldst have a family." The legislator must teach these precepts as well as command them. He is to be the educator as well as the lawgiver of future ages, and the laws are themselves to form a part of the education of the state. Unlike the poet, he must be definite and rational; he cannot say one thing at one time, and another thing at another — he must know what he is about. And yet legislation has a poetical or rhetorical element, and must find words which will wing their way to the hearts of men. Laws must be promulgated before they are put in execution, and mankind must be rea

soned with before they are punished. The legislator will begin by entreating courteously those who are willing to hear his voice. Upon the rebellious only does the heavy blow descend. A sermon and a law in one, blending the secular punishment with the religious sanction, appeared to Plato a new idea, which might have a great result in reforming the world. The experiment had never been tried of reasoning with mankind; the laws of others had never had any preambles, and Plato seems to have great pleasure in contemplating his discovery.

In these quaint forms of thought and language, great principles of morals and legislation are enunciated by him for the first time. They all go back to mind and God, who holds the beginning, middle, and end of all things in his hand. The adjustment of the divine and human elements in the world is conceived in the spirit of modern popular philosophy, differing not much in the mode of expression. At first sight the legislator appears to be impotent, for all things are the sport of chance. But we admit also that God governs all things, and that chance and opportunity coöperate with him (compare the saying, that chance is the name of the unknown cause). Lastly, while we acknowledge that God and chance govern mankind, and provide the conditions of human action, experience will not allow us to deny a place to art. We know that there is a use in having a pilot, though the storm may overwhelm him; and a legislator is required to provide for the happiness of a state, although he will pray for favorable conditions under which he may exercise his art.

Book V. Hear now, all ye who heard the laws about gods and ancestors: Of all human possessions the soul is most divine, and most truly a man's own. For in every man there are two parts — a better which rules, and an inferior part which serves — and the ruler is to be preferred to the servant. And I bid every one next after the gods to honor his soul, and he can only honor her by making her better. Praise injures and does not honor her; nor does a man honor his soul when he thinks that others are to be blamed for his own errors; nor when he indulges in pleasure or refuses to bear pain; nor when he thinks that life at any price is a good, because he fears the world below, which, far from being an evil, may be the greatest good Or when he prefers beauty to virtue — that is to say, the body which is earth-born, to the soul which came from heaven (this is a truth which he who thinks worthily of the soul should know); or when he desires money, of which no amount is equal in value to virtue — in a word, when he counts that which the legislator pronounces evil to be good, he misbehaves toward his soul, which is the divinest part of him. He does not consider the real punishment of evil, which is, that he grows like evil men, and is compelled to fly

from the company of the good: and he who is joined to evil men, must do and suffer what such men by nature do and say to one another, which suffering is not justice but retribution. For justice is noble, but retribution is only the attendant of injustice. And whether a man escapes or endures this, he is equally miserable, for in the one case he is not cured, and in the other case he is destroyed, that the rest of the world may be saved.

The glory of man is to follow the better and improve the inferior. And the soul is that part of man which is most inclined to avoid the evil and dwell with the good. Wherefore also the soul is second only to the gods in honor, and in the third place the body is to be esteemed, which often has a false honor. For honor is not to be given to the fair or the strong, or the swift, or the tall, or the healthy, any more than to the opposite of these, but to the mean states; and the same of property and external goods. No man should heap up riches that he may leave them to his children. The best condition is a middle one, in which there is a freedom without luxury. And the best inheritance of children is modesty. But modesty cannot be implanted by admonition only — the elders must set the example.

He who honors his kindred and family, may fairly expect that the gods will give him a family. He who would have friends must think much of their favors to him, and little of his to them. He who prefers to an Olympic, or any other victory, the service of the laws, is also the best servant of his country. Engagements with strangers are to be deemed most sacred, because the stranger having no law to protect him is immediately under the protection of the God of the stranger. A man who is careful will to the utmost avoid sinning against the stranger; and still more careful should he be of sinning against the suppliant, which is an offense never passed over by the gods.

I will now speak of those particulars which are matters of praise and blame only, and which, although the law is not cognizant of them, greatly affect the disposition to obey the law. Truth has the first place among the gifts of gods and men; for truth is faithfulness, and unfaithfulness is the voluntary love as ignorance is the involuntary reception of a lie: and he is not to be trusted who loves voluntary falsehood, and he who loves involuntary falsehood is a fool. He who would lead a happy life must begin early, that he may partake of truth as long as possible. For he who is untruthful is in old age miserable and desolate, and has no friend to close his eyes. Good is he who does no injustice — better who prevents others from doing any — best of all who joins the rulers in punishing injustice. And this is true of goods and virtues in general; he who has and communicates them to others is the best of all; he who would, if he could, is second best; he who has them and is jealous of imparting

acm to others is to be blamed, but the good or virtue which he has s to be valued still. Let every man contend in the race without nvy; for the unenvious man increases the strength of the city; himself foremost in the race, he harms no one with calumny. Whereas the envious man is weak himself, and drives his rivals to despair with his slanders, thus depriving the city of proper training, and tarnishing her glory. Every man should be gentle, but he should also be passionate; for against incurable and malignant evil he must fight, and to this end passion is required. But there is another kind of evil which is remediable, and ought to be dealt with more in sorrow than anger. He who is unjust is to be pitied in any ase; for no man does evil or allows evil to exist or continue voluntarily in the highest part of his soul: and we can afford to forgive as well as pity the evil which can be cured: and therefore he who deals with the curable sort has need of gentleness — he should keep his temper, and not get into feminine rages; but the incurable should have the vials of our wrath poured out upon him. The greatest of all evils is one which a man is always excusing in himself and never correcting — that is to say, self-love; which is thought to be natural and enforced as a duty, and yet is the cause of many errors. The lover of himself is blinded about the object of his affections; he is perverted in his judgments about good and evil, and prefers his own interests to the truth; for the truly great man is not a lover of himself but of justice. Self-love is the source of that ignorant conceit of knowledge which is always doing and never succeeding. Wherefore let every man avoid self-love, and condescend to follow the guidance of his betters. There are lesser matters of which a man should remind himself; for wisdom is like a stream, ever flowing in and out, and recollection is the flowing in of failing knowledge. Let no man be given to excess either of laughter or of tears; but let him control his feelings at the crisis of his fate, when he is on "sunlit heights" either of prosperity or adversity, believing that the gods will diminish the evils and increase the blessings of good men. These are the thoughts which should ever occupy a good man's mind; he should feel the frailty of human life, and the liability of all to misfortune, and should remember both in play and in seriousness, and remind others of the alternatives of fortune, and await the nd in hope.

So much of man's relation to God. But man is man, and dependent on pleasure and pain; and therefore to acquire a true taste respecting either is a great matter. And what is a true taste? This can only be explained by a comparison of one life with another. Pleasure is an object of desire, pain of avoidance; and the absence of pain is to be preferred to pain, but not to pleasure. There are infinite kinds and degrees of both of them, and we choose the life which has more pleasure and avoid that which has less; neither de

we choose that life in which the elements of pleasure are either feeble or equally balanced. All the lives which we desire are pleasant, and if we choose any others, our choice is only the result of inexperience.

Now there are four lives — the temperate, the rational, the courageous, the healthful; and to these let us oppose four others — the intemperate, the cowardly, the foolish, the diseased. The temperate life has gentle pains and pleasures, the intemperate life has violent delights, and still more violent desires. And the pleasures of the temperate exceed the pains, while the pains of the intemperate exceed the pleasures. But if this is true, men are only intemperate through ignorance: for they always choose the life which exceeds in pleasure; and the same may be said of the wise life, the healthful life, the courageous life — they also exceed their opposites in pleasure. And, generally speaking, the life of virtue is far more pleasurable and honorable, fairer and happier far, than the life of vice. Let this be the preamble of our laws; the strain will follow.

As in a web the warp is stronger than the woof, so should the rulers be stronger than their subjects: in the constitution of a state there are two parts, the appointment of the rulers, and the rules which are prescribed for them. But, before proceeding to discuss them, there are some preliminary matters which have to be considered.

As of animals, so also of men, a selection must be made. The legislator must purify them, and if he be not a despot he will find even the mildest form of purification a difficult task. This milder process is as follows: When men are poor and show a disposition to attack the property of the rich, the legislator will dispatch them to another land, and this is euphemistically termed the sending out of a colony. But our case will not require this remedy. We shall only need to purify the streams before they meet. This may often be a difficult process, but as we are only discoursing we may suppose the operation performed, and the desired purity attained. Evil men we will hinder from coming, and receive the good as friends with open arms.

Moreover, like the Heracleid colony, we are fortunate in escaping the abolition of debts and the distribution of land. They are difficult and dangerous questions; and the legislator can only pray and hope, and may perhaps ameliorate the difficulty a little in a long period of years, and this only when there is abundance of land. He will endeavor to create a kindly spirit between creditors and debtors. These who have, will give to those who are in want, deeming poverty to be not the diminution of a man's property, but the increase of his desires. Good-will is the basis of a state, and upon this alone can the political superstructure be safely reared. If we had debts of long standing, which we have not, this would be our

only way of proceeding; there should be no outstanding quarrels among citizens: a legislator of sense will not proceed a step in the arrangements of a state until they are settled. For him to introduce fresh bones of contention would be the height of folly.

Let us now proceed to the distribution of our state, and determine the size of the territory and the number of the allotments. The territory should be sufficient to maintain the citizens in moderation, and the population should be numerous enough to defend themselves, and sometimes to aid their neighbors. We will fix the number of citizens at 5040, to which the number of houses and portions of land shall correspond. Let the number be divided into two parts and then into three; and again into four and five, and any number of parts up to ten. For the whole number is very convenient for the purposes of distribution, and is capable of fifty-nine divisions; ten of these proceed without interval from one to ten. Here are numbers enough for war and peace, and for all contracts and dealings. These properties of numbers are true, and should be ascertained with a view to use.

No man of sense will make any alterations in religious institutions, when they have been once settled by the oracles of Delphi and Dodona. All sacrifices, and altars, and temples, whatever may be their origin, whether derived from Tyrrhenia or Cyprus, or some other place, should remain as they are, and be supported by grants of land. Every division should have a patron god or hero; to these a portion of the domain should be appropriated, and at their temples those who are charged with their support should meet together from time to time, in their several divisions, for the sake of mutual help and friendship. All the citizens of a state should be known to one another; for when there is darkness and not light in the daily intercourse of life, there can be no justice or right administration. Every man should be true and simple, and should not allow others to take advantage of him.

And now the game opens, and we begin to move the pieces. At first sight, our constitution may appear unsuitable to a legislator who has not despotic power; but on second thoughts will be deemed to be if not the very best, the second best. For there are three forms of government, a first, a second, and a third best, out of which Cleinias has now to choose. The first and highest form is that in which friends have all things in common, including wives and property, — in which they have common fears, hopes, desires, and do not even call their eyes or their hands their own. This is the ideal state; than which there never can be a truer or better — a state, whether inhabited by gods or men, which will make the dwellers herein blessed. Here is the pattern on which we must ever fix our eyes; but we are now concerned with another, which is next in degree, and we will afterwards proceed to a third; Cleinias may choose out of them.

Inasmuch as our citizens are not fitted either by nature or education to receive the saying, Friends have all things in common, which whether in heaven or on earth is the true principle of happiness and immortality, let them retain their houses and private property, but use them in the service of their country, who is their God and parent. Their first care should be to preserve the number of their lots. This may be secured in the following manner: where there is a family the lot shall be left to the best-beloved child, who will become the heir of all the family interests and duties, to gods, home, and country. Of the remaining children, the females must be given in marriage according to the law; childless males will have children assigned to them. How to equalize families and allotments will be one of the chief cares of the supreme council. When families have too many children they may give to those who have none, or couples may abstain from having children, or take special care to obtain them; and if all these methods fail, we may have recourse to our old plan of a colony. If, on the other hand, a war, or flood, or plague diminish the number of the allotments, new citizens will have to be introduced; and you certainly ought not to introduce those who have had no regular education. Still necessity is too much for God, and cannot be contended against.

Wherefore we will say to our citizens: Good friends, honor order and equality, and above all the number 5040. Secondly, respect the original division, which must not be infringed by buying and selling; for the law says that the land which a man has is sacred — God gave him the lot, and he will assuredly punish the alienation of his gift. And those who alienate either house or lot, shall be cursed by priests and priestesses, and their curses shall be written down on cypress records for the instruction of posterity. The all-seeing eye of the chief magistrate will be upon them, and he will punish those who disobey God and the law.

To appreciate the benefit of such an institution a man requires to be well educated; for he certainly will not make a fortune in our state. No man will be allowed to exercise any illiberal occupation. The law also provides that no man shall have gold or silver, but only some coin for daily use, which will not pass current in other countries. The common Hellenic currency is to be used exclusively in defraying the expenses of expeditions, or of embassies, or when a man is on foreign travels; but in this case he is to deliver up the remnant on his return home to the treasury from which the issue comes, on pain of losing the sum in question; and his accomplice, if he has any, is to be mulcted in an equal sum. No money is to be given or taken as a dowry, or to be lent on interest, or at all, except to an honest man. The law will not protect a man in recovering either interest or principal. All these regulations imply that the aim of the legislator is not to make the city as rich as possible, or

as mighty as possible, but the greatest virtue and the greatest happiness are to be his principles. Now men can hardly be at the same time very virtuous and very rich. Over-much honesty is not consistent with excess of wealth. And why is this? Because he who makes twice as much and saves twice as much as he ought, receiving where he ought not and not spending where he ought, will be at least twice as rich as he who makes money where he ought, and spends where he ought. On the other hand, an utterly bad man is generally profligate and poor, while he who acquires honestly, and spends what he acquires on noble objects, can rarely be very rich. A very rich man is not a good man, and therefore not a happy one. Now the object of our laws is to make the citizens as friendly and happy as possible, which they will be, not when there are the most wrongs and suits, but when there are the fewest. And, therefore, we say that there is to be no silver or gold in the state, nor any retail trade or money-making, which will lead men to neglect that which is the object of all money-making, that is to say, the soul first and afterwards the body; which are not good for much without music and gymnastic. Money is to be held in honor last or third; the highest interests being those of the soul, and in the second class are to be ranked those of the body. This is the true order of legislation, which would be inverted by placing health before temperance, or wealth before health. Let our citizens take the lot upon these conditions.

It might be well if every man could have come to the colony having equal property: but equality is impossible, and therefore we must avoid causes of offense by valuations of properties, and proportionate taxation. With a view to the attainment of this, let us make four classes in which the citizens may be placed according to their original property, or the changes of their fortune. The greatest of evils is faction; and this, as the law will say, is caused by extremes of poverty or wealth. The limit of either shall be the lot, which must not be diminished, and may be increased fourfold, but not more. He who exceeds the limit shall be deprived of his property, and the excess divided between the informer and the gods. All property other than the lot must be inscribed in a register, so that any disputes which arise may be easily determined.

The city shall be in a suitable situation, and in the centre of the country, and shall be divided into twelve portions. First, we will erect an acropolis, encircled by a wall, within which are to be placed the temples of Hestia, and Zeus, and Athene. Beginning at this point, we will divide the city and the entire country into twelve portions, containing 5040 lots. Each lot shall be divided into two parts, and there shall be a residence on both. The distance of one part of the lot shall be compensated by the nearness of the other; the badness and goodness by the greater or less size. The twelve

mother for care and education. And, as I said before, the Cnosians ought to take an interest in the colony, and select 100 elders of their own citizens, to whom shall be added 100 of the colonists, to be their rulers; and when the colony has been started, the Cnosians may return home and leave the colonists to themselves. The thirty-seven shall have the following functions: first, they shall be guardians of the law; secondly, of the registers of property in the four classes — not including the two, three, four minae, which are allowed as a surplus. He who is found to possess what is not described in the registers, in addition to the confiscation of such property shall be proceeded against by law, and if he be cast he shall lose his share in the public property or distributions of property; he shall all his life long be confined to the lot; and his sentence shall be inscribed in some public place. The thirty-seven guardians are to continue in office twenty years only, and to commence holding office at fifty years, or if later, not to remain after seventy.

Generals have now to be elected, and commanders of horse and brigadiers of foot. The generals shall be proposed by the guardians of the law, and elected by those who are or have been of the age for military service. Any one may challenge the person nominated and start another candidate, whom he affirms upon oath to be better qualified. The three who obtain the greatest number of votes shall be elected. The generals thus elected shall propose the taxiarchs or brigadiers, and the challenge may be made, and the voting taken, in the same manner as in the previous case. Assemblies for elections are to be held in the first instance, and until the prytanes and council come into being, by the guardians of the law in some holy place; and they shall divide the citizens into hoplites and cavalry, placing in a third division all the rest. All are to vote for general and cavalry officers. The brigadiers are to be voted for by all who carry shields. Next, the cavalry are to choose phylarchs in the presence of the army; but captains of archers and other irregular troops shall be appointed by the generals themselves. The generals of cavalry shall be proposed and voted upon by the same persons who vote for generals of the army. The two who have the greatest number of votes shall be leaders of all the horse. Disputes about the voting may be raised once or twice, but not oftener.

The council shall consist of 360, who may be conveniently divided into four sections of ninety each, making ninety counselors of each class. In the first place, all the citizens shall vote for members of the council taken from the first class; and they shall all be compelled to vote under pain of fine — this shall be the business of the first day. On the second day a similar election shall be made from the second class. On the third day, ninety members of the council

shall be elected from the third class; but the compulsion to vote shall only extend to the voters of the three first classes, who, if they fail to vote, shall pay a fine according to their class. On the fourth day, members of the council shall be elected from the fourth class, they shall be elected by all, but there shall be no compulsion except on members of the first and second class, who if they abstain from voting shall be punished by fines. On the fifth day, the names shall be exhibited, and out of them every citizen shall choose 180 of each class; these are to be reduced by lot to ninety, and 90×4 will form the council for the year.

The mode of election which has been described is a mean between monarchy and democracy, and such a mean should ever be observed in the state. For servants and masters cannot be friends, and, although equality makes friendship, we must remember that there are two sorts of equality. One of them is the bare external rule of number and measure; and there is also a higher equality, which is the judgment of Zeus. This latter has little place in human affairs, but that little is the source of all the good which cities or individuals ever attain. This is that equality which gives more to the better and less to the inferior, and is the true political justice; to this the legislator looks, and we in our state desire to look, not to the interests either of tyrants or mobs. But justice cannot always be strictly enforced, and then equity and mercy have to be substituted: and for a similar reason, when true justice will not be endured, we must have recourse to the rougher justice of the lot, which God must be entreated to guide.

These are the principal means of preserving the state, but perpetual care will also be required. The sailor has to keep a lookout for the ship night and day; and the vessel of state is tossing in a political sea, and therefore watch must succeed watch, and rulers must join hands with rulers, never allowing their vigilance to relax. Of the 360 senators, the greater part may be permitted to go and manage their own affairs, but a twelfth portion must be set aside in each month for the administration of the state. Their business will be to receive information and answer embassies, also to prevent or heal internal disorders; wherefore they should exercise authority over all assemblies. These matters will be ordered by the monthly division of the council.

Besides the council, there ought to be wardens of ways, buildings, harbors, market-places, fountains, and the like. The temples should have their priests and priestesses, whether hereditary or newly appointed, and there should be officers having dominion over men and beasts: three kinds will be enough. The first may be called wardens of the city; the second, wardens of the agora; the priests are the third kind, and they will commonly hold family priesthoods; and if these do not exist in any of the families of the new colonists,

let them be created. Some of our magistrates shall be elected by vote, some by lot; and the upper and lower classes shall mingle in a friendly manner in the election. The appointment of priests should be left to the God — that is, to the lot in which the God will manifest his will, the person elected undergoing a scrutiny, in proof of his being in his own person, and that of his father and mother, free from impurity and homicide. The laws which are to govern the temples should be brought from Delphi, and executed under the direction of the interpreters of them. Priests and priestesses are to be of sixty years of age, and shall hold office for a year only; the twelve tribes shall be formed into bodies of four, who will elect four apiece, making twelve in all. The three who have the greatest number of votes shall be appointed, and undergo a scrutiny; the remaining nine shall go to Delphi, in order that the God may select one out of each triad — and they shall be appointed for life. When any one dies, another shall be elected from the tribe of the deceased. There shall also be treasurers of the temples and groves, having authority over the produce and the letting of them.

The defense of the city should be committed to the generals, and officers, and prytanes, and to the wardens of the city and agora. The defense of the country shall be on this wise: there are twelve districts and twelve tribes, and in each there shall be five wardens of the country, and each of the five shall select twelve others out of their own district, of not more than thirty or less than twenty-five years of age. Every month they shall have one of the twelve portions of the country allotted to them, and go from one to the other, and back again from west to east, and from east to west, changing the stations in their progress backwards and forwards in different months, that they may know the country at all seasons of the year. Every third year they shall have new wardens of the country, and commanders of the watch. While on service, their first duty will be to see that the country is well fortified, trenching and throwing up works in different places, with the assistance of the inhabitants; they will use the beasts of burden and the laborers whom they find on the spot, but taking care to interfere as little as possible with the regular course of agriculture. They will keep the roads in good order, and render every part of the country as inaccessible as possible to enemies, and as accessible as possible to friends. They will restrain and preserve the rain which comes down from heaven, making the barren places fertile, and the wet places dry. They will ornament the fountains with plantations and buildings, and guide the streams to the temples and groves of the gods; providing water by irrigation at all seasons of the year. In sacred places the youth should make gymnasia for themselves, and warm baths for the aged; there the weary frame of the rustic, worn with toil, will be kindly received, and experience far better treatment than at the hands of a country doctor.

The duties of the service will be useful as well as ornamental, for the sixty police will be the guardians of the several portions of the country assigned to them; and they will also determine any smaller disputes between the citizens up to three minae. In still lesser causes, the five rulers may decide alone; but in the greater, the seventeen shall determine. Every judge except the highest of all shall give an account. If the wardens of the country do any wrong to the inhabitants, let them submit to the decision of the villagers in the neighborhood, where the question is only of a mina; but in suits of a greater amount, or in cases of appeal, the injured party may bring his suit into the common courts, and, if he obtain a verdict, may exact a double penalty.

The wardens, while on their two years' service, shall live and eat together, and he who is absent from the daily meal without permission, or sleeps out at night, shall be regarded as a deserter, and liable to be punished by any one who meets him. If any of the rulers is guilty of such an irregularity, the whole company of sixty shall have him punished; and he of them who screens him shall be liable to a still heavier penalty. He who is not a good servant will not be a good master; and a man should pride himself more upon serving well than upon commanding: (1) upon serving the laws and the gods; and (2) upon serving ancient and honorable men. The twelve and the five should serve and be served by themselves, determining not to use the labor of the villagers for their private advantage, but only for the good of the public. Let them search the country through, and acquire a perfect knowledge of every locality; with this view, hunting and field sports should be encouraged. The service to whom these duties are committed, is the secret or rural police.

Next we have to speak of the election of the wardens of the agora and of the city. The wardens of the city shall be three in number, and they shall have the care of the streets, roads, buildings, also of the water supply, which they will provide pure and abundant. They shall be chosen out of the highest class, and when the number of candidates has been reduced to six, three out of the six shall be taken by lot, and, after being tested by a scrutiny, shall be admitted to their office. The wardens of the agora shall be five in number — ten are to be first elected, and every one shall vote for all of them; the ten shall be afterwards reduced to five, as in the former election. The first and second class shall be compelled to go to the assembly, but not the third and fourth, unless they are specially summoned. The wardens of the agora shall have the care of the temples and fountains which are in the agora, and shall punish those who injure them by stripes and bonds, if they be slaves or strangers; and by fines, if they be citizens. And the wardens of the city shall have a similar power of inflicting imprisonment and fines in their own department.

In the next place, there must be ministers of music and gymnastic; one class of them superintending gymnasia and schools, and the education and housing of youth, male and female — the other having to do with contests of music and gymnastic. In musical contests there shall be one set of judges of solo singing or playing, who will judge of rhapsodists, flute-players, harp-players, and the like, and another of choruses. Each chorus of men, and boys, and maidens, must have a leader — one will be enough, and he should not be less than forty years of age; secondly, there must be a master of monody, aged not less than thirty years; he will introduce the competitors to the stage, and refer the judgment of them to the judges. The choregus is to be elected for a year in an assembly at which all who take an interest in music are compelled to attend, and no one else. Anybody may challenge on the ground that so and so is unfit; and to this the other party may reply that he is fit. One is to be chosen by lot out of ten who are elected by vote. Next shall be elected out of the second and third classes the judges of gymnastic contests, who are to be three in number, chosen, after they have been tested, out of twenty who have been elected by the three highest classes — these being compelled to attend at the election.

One minister remains, who will have the general superintendence of the education of either sex. Let him be not less than fifty years old, and the father of children born in wedlock, of one sex if not of both; and let him and the electors agree in regarding his office as the highest in the state. For the right growth of the first shoot in plants and animals, tame or wild, including man, is the chief cause of matured perfection. Man is a civilized animal, but he becomes either the gentlest or the fiercest of all creatures, accordingly as he is well or ill educated. Wherefore he who is elected to preside over education should be the best man possible. He shall hold office for five years, and shall be elected out of the guardians of the law, by the votes of the other magistrates with the exception of the senate and prytanes; and the election shall be held by ballot in the temple of Apollo.

When a magistrate dies before his term of office has expired, another shall be elected in his place; and, in case the guardian of an orphan dies, another shall be elected by the relations within ten days; and they shall be fined a drachma a day for every day which they delay.

The city which has no courts of law is not a city; and a judge who is silent, and either in preliminary trials, or in arbitrations, leaves the inquiry to the litigants is not a good judge, and therefore a few judges are better than many, but the few must be good. The matter should be clearly stated by both sides, and time and deliberation will elicit the truth. Before going to law, causes should first be tried among neighbors who know the circumstances, and if they

cannot be settled by them, let them be referred to a higher court; and if the two courts do not agree, to a higher still, of which the decision shall be final.

Every magistrate is a judge, and every judge is a magistrate, on the day on which he is deciding a suit. Let the supreme tribunal be that on which the litigants shall agree; and let there be two other tribunals, one for public and the other for private causes. The high court of appeal shall be composed of all the officers of state; they shall meet on the last day of the year, and choose one judge for each court: and those who are elected, after a scrutiny shall decide causes, and be judges of appeal. They shall give their votes openly, in the presence of the magistrates who have elected them; and if any one charges another with deciding against him unfairly, he shall lay his accusation before the guardians of the law, and if the judge be found guilty he shall pay damages to the extent of half the injury, unless the guardians of the law deem that he is worthy of a severer judgment.

Offenses against the state should be judged by the whole people, because they are all injured by them; and the trial of them should take place before three of the highest magistrates, upon whom the defendant and plaintiff can agree. Also in private suits all should judge as far as possible, and therefore there should be a court of law in every ward; for he who has no share in the administration of justice, appears to himself to have no share in the state. The final judgment shall rest with that court which, as we maintain, has been established in the most incorruptible form possible. And now having done with the courts and the election of rulers, we may proceed to the actual legislation. "I like your way, Stranger, and particularly approve your manner of joining the beginning to the end." Then so far our old man's game of play has gone off well. "Say, rather, our serious and noble pursuit." Perhaps; but let me ask you whether you ever observed the manner in which painters put in and their apprentices put in and rub out color; I want you to remark that their endless labor will last but a short time, unless they leave behind them some successor who will restore the picture, and make good the ravages of time. "Certainly." And is not this what you and I have to do at the present moment? We are in the evening of life ourselves, and therefore we must leave our work of legislation to be improved and perfected by the next generation; not only making laws for them, but making them lawgivers. "We must do our best." Let us address them as follows: Beloved saviors of the laws, we give you an outline of legislation which you must fill up. Hear now in what way your work is to be accomplished: Megillus, and Cleinias, and I are agreed, and we hope that you will agree with us in thinking, that the whole energies of a man should be devoted to the acquisition of manly virtue, whether this is to be gained

by study, or habit, or some kind of possession, or desire, or opinion, or knowledge; all impediments to virtue he must disregard. Rather than accept institutions which tend to degrade and enslave him, he should fly his country and endure any hardship. These are our principles, and we would ask you to judge of the laws by this standard, and praise or blame them accordingly as they are or are not capable of implanting this character.

And first of laws concerning religion. In the consideration of these we shall have to return to the number 5040, of which the twelfth part is $420 = 20 \times 21$, and this corresponds to the numbers of the twelve tribes, and each tribe may be further subdivided by 12. Every divisor is a gift of God, and corresponds to the months of the year and to the movement of the universe. Every city has a number, but some are more fortunate than others, and nothing can be more fortunate than our number, which can be divided by all numbers up to 12, with the exception of 11, and even by 11, if 2 families are deducted. The truth of this may be easily proved when we have leisure. But leaving the proof for the present, we will proceed to assign to each division some god or demi-god, who shall have altars raised to them, and sacrifices offered twice a month; and assemblies shall be held in their honor, twelve for the divisions of the tribes, and twelve for the city. The object of these will be to promote friendship and acquaintance and family intercourse; for families must be acquainted before they marry; if they are not, great mistakes will arise. Let there be innocent dances of young men and maidens, who may have the opportunity of seeing one another in modest undress. To the details of all this the masters of choruses and the guardians will attend, embodying in laws the results of their experience; and after ten years making the laws permanent, with the consent of the legislator, if he be alive, or, if he be not alive, the guardians of the law shall perfect them and settle them once for all. At least, if any further changes are required, the magistrates must take the whole people into counsel, and obtain the sanction of all the oracles.

Whenever any one who is between the ages of twenty-five and thirty-five wants to marry, let him do so; but first let him hear the strain which we will address to him:—

Son of a virtuous sire: you should marry, but not for wealth; even a little inferiority in this respect may be well; nor should you avoid poverty, for your object is to have a well-balanced and harmonious home. A man is commonly disposed to marry some one who is like himself in property and character. This, however, is not for the interests of the state: hence the need of a law that the rich and mighty shall not marry the rich and mighty. Some will be angry and others will make merry at the notion that the passionate are to marry the dull, or the dull the passionate; for

they do not understand that the state is a cup in which two elements mingle, the one frothing wine, the other sober water, and the admixture of these is an excellent drink. Not that any written law is capable of effecting this, which must be left to the influence of public opinion. These are our precepts about marriage; and the former precept must not be forgotten, that every one should seek to attain immortality and raise up a fair posterity to serve God. This is the prelude of the law, to which if a man will not listen, and at thirty years of age remains unmarried, let him pay an annual fine: if he be of the first class, 100 drachmas; if of the second, 70; if of the third, 60; and if of the fourth, 30. This fine shall be consecrated in the temple of Herè; and if he refuse to pay, a tenfold penalty shall be exacted by the treasurer of Herè, who shall be responsible for the payment. Further, the unmarried man shall receive no honor or obedience from the young, and he shall not retain the right of punishing others. A man is neither to give nor receive a dowry; and in our state he will not grow old in poverty, for every one is provided with the necessaries of life. If the woman is not rich, her husband will not be her humble servant. He who obeys this law does well, and he who disobeys shall pay a fine according to his class, which shall be exacted by the treasurers of Herè and Zeus as before in the case of the unmarried.

The betrothal of the parties shall be made by the next of kin in various degrees, or if there are none, by the guardians. The offerings and ceremonies of marriage shall be determined by the interpreters of sacred rites. Let the wedding party be moderate, and never exceed a man's means; five male and five female friends, and a like number of kinsmen, are enough. The expense should not exceed for the first class, a mina; and for the second class, half a mina. Extravance is to be regarded as vulgarity and ignorance of nuptial proprieties. Much wine is only to be drunk at the festivals of Dionysus, and certainly not on the occasion of a marriage. The bride and bridegroom, who are taking a great step in life, ought to have all their wits about them; they should be especially careful of the night on which God may give them the seed of increase, and which this will be none can tell. Their bodies and souls should be in the most temperate condition; they should abstain from all that partakes of the nature of disease or vice, which will otherwise become hereditary. There is an original divinity in man which preserves all things, if used with proper respect. He who marries should make the second house the nest and nursery of his young; he should leave his father and mother, and then he will have more affection for them; "there ought to be a *desiderium* to get rid of *offensiones*." He will go forth as a colony and will bring up his children in another place, handing on the lamp of life to another generation.

About property in general there is little difficulty, with the exception of property in slaves, concerning whom there is great difference of opinion. The slavery of the Helots is affirmed by some to be the greatest good, and by others the greatest misfortune of Sparta. To a certain extent there is the same doubt about the slavery of the Mariandynians at Heraclea and of the Thessalian Penestae. This makes us ask, What shall we do with our slaves? to which every one would agree in replying, Let us have the best and most attached whom we can get. All of us have heard stories of slaves who have saved the lives and properties of their masters, and been better to them than a son or a brother. "Certainly." Yet there is an opposite doctrine, that slaves are good for nothing and not to be trusted; as Homer says, "Slavery takes away half a man's understanding." And different persons treat them in different ways; there are some who never trust them, and beat them like dogs, until they make them not thrice, but many times as slavish as they were before; and others pursue the opposite plan. Man is a troublesome animal, as has been often shown, Megillus, in your Messenian wars; and great mischiefs have arisen in countries where there are large bodies of slaves who speak a common language. Two rules may be given for their management: first, that the slaves who come from the same country should be dispersed; and secondly, that they should be treated by their masters with perfect justice, even more than equals, and for his own sake quite as much as theirs. For the truly just man is he who hates injustice when easy; and he who is righteous in the treatment of his slaves, as of any inferiors, has in him the seed of virtue. Masters should never play with their slaves; this, which is a common practice, is a great piece of folly, and increases the difficulty and painfulness of managing them to both parties. "You are quite right."

Next as to habitations. These ought to have been spoken of before; for no man can marry a wife and have slaves, who has not a house for them to live in. Let us supply the omission. The agora should be in the centre of the city, and the temples in the neighborhood of the acropolis. Near them should be the residences of the magistrates, and the courts of law in which capital offences are to be tried. Matters serious in themselves are rendered more serious by their proximity to the gods. As to walls, Megillus, let them sleep in the earth, as at Sparta; "Cold steel is the best wall," as the poet tells us. Besides, what an absurdity there would be in sending our youth to dig fosses and raise buildings in defense of the borders of our country, and then to build a city wall, which is very unhealthy, and is apt to make people fancy that they may run there and rest in idleness, not knowing that true rest must always follow toil, and that toil of another sort is the consequence of idleness. If, however, there must be a wall, the private houses had

better be so arranged as to form one wall; this will have an agreeable aspect, and the building will be safer and more defensible. The inhabitants will keep the wall in repair under the superintendence of the aediles, who will enforce cleanliness, and preserve the public buildings or excavations from the encroachments of individuals. The aediles will also take care to let the rains flow off easily, and will regulate other matters concerning the general administration of the city. What remains may be left to the guardians of the law.

And now, having provided buildings, and having married our citizens, we will proceed to speak of their mode of life. In a well-constituted state, individuals cannot be allowed to live as they please. Why do I say this? Because I am going to enact that the bridegroom shall not absent himself from the common meals They were instituted originally with a view to war, and, though deemed singular when first founded, they have tended greatly to the security of states. There was a difficulty in introducing them, but there is no difficulty in them now. There is, however, another institution about which I would speak, if I dared. I may preface my proposal by remarking that disorder in a state is the source of all evil, and order of all good. Now in Sparta and Crete there are common meals for men, and this, as I was saying, is a divine and natural institution. But the women are left to themselves; they live in dark places, and, being weaker, and therefore wickeder, than men, they are at the bottom of a good deal more than half the evil of states. This must be corrected, and the institution of common meals extended to both sexes. Unhappily, the very idea of female syssitia is lost, and there is something ludicrous in the attempt to revive them. Women are likely to resist any attempt to make them eat and drink in public; they will dare the legislator to come and take them out of their holes. And in any other state such a proposal would be drowned in clamor, but in our own I think that I can show the attempt to be just and reasonable. "There is nothing which we should like to hear better." Listen, then; having plenty of time, we will go back to the beginning of things, which is an old subject with us. "Right." Either the race of mankind never had a beginning and will never have end, or the time which has elapsed since man first came into being is all but infinite. "No doubt." And in this infinity of time there have been combinations and destructions, and all kinds of order and disorder, desires of meats and drinks of all sorts, and vicissitudes of the seasons, affecting animals in numberless ways. "Certainly." Vines and olives were at length discovered, and the blessings of Demeter and Persephone, of which one Triptolemus is said to be the author; before his time the animals took to eating one another. And there are nations in which mankind still sacrifice one another, and other nations in which either to sacrifice or to eat animals is deemed impious — they offer

fruits or cakes moistened with a little honey; and some have led a sort of orphic existence, abstaining from everything that has animal life, and eating only that which is without life. Perhaps you will ask me what is the bearing of these remarks? "That is certainly passing in my mind." I will endeavor to explain their drift. I see that the virtue of human life depends on the due regulation of three wants or desires: the first is the desire of meat, the second of drink; these begin with birth, and refuse to listen to any voice other than that of pleasure and pain. The third and fiercest and greatest need is felt latest; this is love, which is a madness setting men's whole nature on fire. These three disorders of mankind we must endeavor to restrain by three mighty influences — fear, and law, and reason, who, with the aid of the Muses and the gods of contests, may extinguish our lusts.

But to return. After marriage, let us proceed to the generation of children, and then to their nurture and education — thus gradually approaching the subject of syssitia. There are, however, some other points which are suggested by the three words — meat, drink, love. "Proceed." The bride and bridegroom ought to set their mind on having a brave offspring. Now a man only succeeds when he takes pains; wherefore the bridegroom ought to take special care of the bride in the period before the birth of children. And let there be a jury of matrons appointed by the magistrates, who shall attend at the temple of Eilithyia until noon, and inform against any man or woman who does not observe the laws of married life. The time for becoming parents and the care of the parents shall last for ten years only; if at the expiration of this period they have no children, they may part, if they have the consent of their relatives and the official matrons, with a due regard to the interests of either; or if a dispute arise, the matrons shall enter the houses of the young people, and advise and threaten them. If their efforts fail, let them go to the guardians of the law; and if they fail, the offender, whether man or woman, shall be deprived of citizenship, and, unless the sentence be annulled, shall be forbidden to be present at all family ceremonies. If when the time for begetting children has ceased, either husband or wife have connection with others who are of an age to beget children, they shall be liable to the penalties for adultery. But when both parties have ceased to beget children there shall be no penalties; men and women ought to live soberly and maintain a good reputation; this, however, is only to be enforced when there is great disorder of manners.

The first year of children's lives is to be registered in their ancestral temples; the name of the archon of the year is to be inscribed on a white wall in every phratry, and the names of the living members of the phratry at the side. The limit of marriage for a woman shall be from sixteen years to twenty; for a man, from thirty to

thirty-five. The age of holding office for a woman is to be forty for a man thirty years. The time for military service for a man is to be from twenty years to sixty; for a woman, from the time that she has ceased to bear children until fifty.

Book VII. Now that we have married our citizens and brought their children into the world, we have to find nurture and education for them. This is a matter of precept rather than of law, and cannot be precisely regulated by the legislator. For minute regulations are apt to be transgressed, and frequent transgressions impair the habit of obedience to the laws. I speak darkly, but I will try to exhibit my wares in the light of day. Am I not right in saying that a good education tends to the improvement of body and mind? "Certainly." And the comeliness of the body ought to begin as soon as possible after birth. "Very true." And we observe that the first shoot of every living thing is the greatest, and there are many who contend that man is not at twenty-five twice the height that he was at five. "True." And growth without symmetrical exercise of the limbs is the source of endless evils in the body. "Yes." The body should have the most exercise when growing most. "What, the bodies of young infants?" Nay, the bodies of unborn infants. I should like to explain to you the sort of gymnastics which may be used during the process of gestation. The Athenians are fond of cock-fighting, and in our country the people who keep cocks, far from thinking that they have enough movement in fighting one another, take them out for long walks, holding them in their hands or under their arms; this is done for the sake of health, that is to say, not their own health, but the health of the cocks. Here is a proof of the use and glory of motion, whether of rocking, swinging, riding, or tossing upon the wave; for all these kinds of motion have a great effect in increasing strength and the powers of digestion. Hence we infer that our women, when they are with child, should walk about and fashion the embryo; and the children, when born, should be carried by stout nurses, and not suffered to walk until they are three years old, lest they should grow rickety. Shall we impose penalties for the neglect of these rules? The greatest penalty, that is, ridicule and the difficulty of making the nurses do as we bid them, will be incurred by ourselves. "Then why speak of the matter?" In the hope that heads of families may learn that the due regulation of them is the foundation of law and order in the state.

And now, leaving the body, let us proceed to the soul; but we must first repeat that perpetual motion by night and by day is good for all, and especially for the infant; his life should be borne upon the wave. This is proved by the Corybantian cure of motion, and by the practice of nurses who rock children in their arms, lapping them at the same time in sweet measures. What is the reason of

this? The reason is obvious. The affections, both of the Corybantes and of the children arise from fear, and this fear is occasioned by something wrong which is going on within them. Now a violent external commotion tends to calm the violent internal one, communicating sleep and peace to the restless palpitating heart, and bringing others who are awake back to their right minds by the help of dances and offerings to the gods. There seems to be reason in that. "No doubt." Observe also that the mind of a child which is habitually in a state of terror will be likely to grow up timorous, and the overcoming of fear in childhood will become courage. "Very true." The motion of children will inspire their souls with one virtue which we are desirous of implanting in the soul of the young. "Of course." Softness enervates and irritates the temper of the young, and violence renders them mean and misanthropical. "But how is the state to educate them when they are as yet unable to understand the meaning of words?" Why, surely they roar and cry, like the young of any other animal, and the nurse knows the meaning of these intimations of the child's likes or dislikes, and the occasions which call them forth. About three years is passed by a child in a state of imperfect articulation, and this is no insignificant portion of human life, quite long enough to make him either good or ill-tempered. Now you should contrive that, during these first three years, the infant should be as free as possible from fear and pain. "Yes, and he should have as much pleasure provided for him as possible." There I cannot agree with you; for I consider the influence of pleasure in the beginning of education to be fatal. "Explain." My principle is that a man should neither pursue pleasure nor wholly avoid pain. He should embrace the mean, and cultivate that state of calm which the religious feeling of mankind, taught by inspiration, attributes to God; and he who would be like God should neither be too fond of pleasure himself, nor should he permit any other, male or female, young or old, to be thus given; above all, not the infant, who in infancy is being fashioned and formed more than at any other time. I shall be laughed at for saying that a woman in her pregnancy should be carefully watched, and not suffered to indulge in excitement; her ways should be gentle and gracious.

"I quite agree with you about the duty of avoiding extremes and following the mean."

Let us now consider a further matter. The unwritten customs or usages of our ancestors are made up of details which are not laws, but they fill up the interstices of law, and are the props and ligatures in which the strength of the whole building depends. Laws without customs never last. No wonder, then, that habit and custom overflow into the domain of law. "Very true." And there may be great advantage in the influence exercised by custom upon three-years-old children From three to six their minds have to be

amused; and they must receive gentle chastisement, about which the same rule holds as in the case of slaves — neither to punish them in hot blood, nor by sparing to spoil them. Children at that age invent amusements for themselves when they meet, and the nurses should bring parties of them to their own village temple, and they should keep good order among them, being responsible themselves to the twelve women whom the guardians of the law appoint. The twelve shall be appointed, one out of each of the twelve tribes, and when appointed, they shall go to the temples, and reprove and chastise offenders; and, in case their authority is disputed, shall bring them before the magistrates. After six years of age there shall be a separation of the sexes; the boys going to learn riding and the use of arms, and the girls may, if they please, also learn. Here I may note a practical error in early training. The folly of mammas and nurses believes that the left hand is by nature different from the right, whereas the left leg and left foot are acknowledged to be the same as the right. But the truth is that nature made all things to balance, and the use of the other hand, which is of little importance in the case of the plectrum of the lyre, may make a great difference in the art of the warrior, who should be a sort of pancratiast, in every part of his body whole and perfect, and able to fight and balance himself in any position. If a man were a Briareus, he should be able to hurl a hundred darts with a hundred hands; at any rate, let him make good use of two. To all these matters the magistrates, male and female, should attend; the women superintending the nursing and amusement of their children, and the men superintending their education, that all of them, boys and girls alike, may be sound, wind and limb, and not spoil the gifts of nature by bad habits.

Education has two branches: gymnastic, which is concerned with the body; and music, which is designed for the improvement of the soul. And gymnastic has two parts, dancing and wrestling. Dancing aims at the preservation of stateliness and freedom; wrestling is concerned with the training of the limbs and parts of the body, and gives the proper flexure and extension to each of them, diffusing harmony throughout the frame. There is no military use in the complex systems of wrestling which pass under the names of Antaeus and Cercyon, or in the science of boxing, which is attributed to Amycus and Epeus; but good wrestling and the habit of extricating the neck, hands, and sides, should be diligently learnt and taught; and in our dances imitations of war should be practiced, as in the dances of the Curetes in Crete and of the Dioscuri at Sparta, or as in the dances which were taught and practiced by the goddess Athene, and are still performed in her honor. Youths who are not yet of an age to go to war should take part in religious processions armed and on horseback, moving slower or faster as they chant the

prayers; and there should be games and rehearsals, which, whether in war or peace, are of great political importance.

Next follows music, to which we will once more return; and here I shall venture to repeat my old paradox, that amusements have great influence on laws. He who has been taught to play at the same games and with the same playthings will be content with the same laws. There is no greater evil in a state than the spirit of innovation. Even in external nature change is a dangerous thing; in the changes of the seasons and winds, there is danger to our bodies and the habits of our minds; changes of diet are also dangerous. And in everything but what is bad the same rule holds. Every one venerates and acquiesces in the laws to which he is accustomed; and if they have continued during long periods of time owing to some providential arrangement, and he has no knowledge or memory of any other, he is absolutely afraid to change them. Now by what device shall we create this spirit of immobility in the laws? I say, By not allowing innovations in the plays and games of children. The children who are always changing their plays, when they are grown up, will change their laws. Changes in mere fashions are not serious evils, but changes in the praise and blame of characters are most serious; and rhythms and music are representations of characters, and therefore we must avoid novelties in dance and song; and no better method can be imagined of accomplishing this than that of the Egyptians. "What is their method?" The consecration of dances and hymns at appointed festivals and in honor of certain gods; having been first selected by individuals, they should be solemnly ratified by all the citizens, and an "act of uniformity" should be passed by them. He who introduces other hymns or dances shall be excluded by the priests and priestesses, with the help of the guardians of the law; and if he refuses to submit, he may be prosecuted. But we must not be too ready to speak about such great matters. Even a young man, when he hears something new and strange, stands and looks this way and that, and, like a traveller in an unknown land, tries to find out where he is and whither he is going; and at our age a man ought to be very sure of his ground in so singular an argument. "Very true." Then, leaving the point which we are considering to receive further examination at some other time, let us look forward to the end of our laws about education, for that may probably throw light upon our present difficulty. "Let us do as you say." The ancients used the term νόμοι to signify harmonious strains, and perhaps they dreamed or fancied that there was a connection between the songs and laws of a country. And we say: Whosoever shall transgress the strains by law established is a transgressor of the laws, and shall be punished by the guardians of the law and by priests and priestesses. "Let this be as you say." How can we legislate about them so as to

command respect? Moulds or types of them must be first made, and one of the types shall be, Abstinence from evil words at sacrifices. When a son or brother blasphemes at a sacrifice there is a sound of ill omen heard in the family. "Very true." Yet this is a common practice. Many a chorus stands by the altar uttering inauspicious words, and he is crowned victor who excites the hearers most with lamentations. Such lamentations should be reserved for evil days, and if they are ever uttered should be uttered only by hired mourners, like the Carians who follow a funeral singing barbarously, and let not the singers of them be crowned or arrayed in gold. Peace and the song of peace shall be the first of our types. "Agreed." Our second law or type shall be, that prayers ever accompany sacrifices; and our third, that prayers shall be only for good, for they are requests, and our poets must be made to understand this. "Certainly." Were we not saying just now that the golden and silver images of Plutus were not to be allowed in our city? and did not this show that we were dissatisfied with the poets; and may we not reasonably fear that, if they compose prayers which are bad prayers, they will bring the greatest misfortunes on the state? And we must therefore make a law that the poet is not to contradict the laws or ideas of the state; nor is he to show his poems to any private persons until they have first received the *imprimatur* of the director of education. After prayers to the gods, there naturally follow hymns to the gods; and after these, prayers and hymns to the heroes and demi-gods. There will be no danger in praising the dead, but until a man's life is finished we must wait. And men and women may be equally deserving of praise. There are ancient songs, poems, figures of the dance, many of which are excellent, and out of these a selection will be made by judges, who ought not to be less than fifty years of age. They will choose some, and reject or amend others, sometimes with the aid of the poets themselves, their object being to bring the hymns and dances into accordance with the intentions of the legislator. The regular and temperate music is the style in which to educate children, who, if they are used to this, will deem the opposite kind to be illiberal, or, if they are used to the other, will count this to be cold and unpleasing. "Very good." Further, a distinction should be made between the melodies of men and women. Nature herself seems to teach that the grand or manly style should be assigned to men, and to women the temperate and orderly. How this is to be carried out in detail is a further consideration. I am only, like the shipwright, laying down the keel of the vessel of the soul in which we are to sail through life. Human affairs are hardly serious, and yet to be serious about them is a disagreeable necessity; and if we can discover how to be serious, that will best beseem us. "Very true." I say, then, that concerning the serious we should be

serious, and that the nature of God is a serious reality. But man is a piece of mechanism and the plaything of the gods; and therefore his aim should be to pass through life, not in grim earnest, but in play; and he should play as many good plays as he can — man and woman alike — in an opposite way to that which is now in vogue. "How is that?" The common opinion is, that work is for the sake of play, war of peace; whereas in war there neither is, nor ever will be, lesson or amusement worth speaking of. The life of peace is that which men should chiefly desire to lengthen out and improve. They should live sacrificing, singing, and dancing, with the view of propitiating gods and heroes. I have already told you the type which they should follow: —

"Some things, as the poet says, you will devise for yourself — others, God will suggest to you."

These words of his may be applied to our pupils. They will teach themselves, and God will teach them the art of propitiating him; for they are his puppets, and have only a small portion in truth. "You have no great opinion of human nature." You must not wonder at my depreciating man when I compare him with God; but, if you are offended, I have no objection to rate him a little higher.

Next follow the buildings; there will be gymnasia and schools in the midst of the city, and outside the city circuses and open spaces for riding-places and archery. In all of these there should be instructors of the young, drawn from foreign parts by pay, and they shall teach them music and war. Education shall be compulsory; parents shall not be allowed to send their children to school or not, as they please; for they belong to the state more than to their parents. And I say further, without fear or scruple, that the same education in riding and gymnastic shall be given both to men and women. The ancient traditions about the female hosts of the Sauromatidae, who practice the art of riding as well as archery and the use of arms, is an entirely credible tradition which confirms me in this view; and if I am right, nothing can be more foolish than our modern fashion of training men and women differently, whereby one half of the power of the city is lost. For reflect — if women are not to have the education of men, some other must be found for them, and what other can we propose? Shall they, like the women of Thrace, tend cattle and till the ground; or, like our own, spin and weave, and take care of the house? or shall they follow the Spartan custom, which is between the two? — there the maidens share in gymnastic exercises and in music; and the grown women are not wholly lost in domestic service, although they are not, like the Amazons, trained to the use of spear and shield; nor can they imitate the warrior goddess, even in the extremity of their country's need. Compared with our women, the Sauromatian women are like

men. But your legislators, Megillus, as I maintain, only half did their work; they took care of the men, and left the women to take care of themselves.

"Shall we suffer the Stranger, Cleinias, to run down Sparta in this way?"

"Why, yes; for we cannot retract the liberty which we have already conceded to him."

What will be the manner of life of men in moderate circumstances, freed from the toils of agriculture and business, and having common meals for both sexes; from which they are dismissed by the magistrates, male and female, who will inspect their conversation, and at whose biddings, when libations have been offered, they will return home? Are men who have these institutions only to eat and fatten like beasts? He who lives like a fatted beast will share the fate of a fatted beast, which is to be destroyed by some other more valiant beast than himself. True; they have not all things common, which is the best way of life; but the second best way of life also confers great blessings; and even in that, men have a work to do far greater, or rather twice as great as the work of any Pythian or Olympic victor; for they indeed work for the body only, but we both for body and soul. And this higher work ought not to be interfered with by any by-work, but should be pursued night and day; for life is not long enough for the completion of it. The watchmen of the city should not sleep, and the master of the household should be up early and before all his servants; and the mistress, too, should awaken her handmaidens, and not be awakened by them. Much sleep is not required either for our souls or bodies. When a man is asleep, he is no better than if he were dead; and he who loves life and wisdom will have no more sleep than is necessary for health, which is not much. Magistrates who are wide awake at night are terrible to the bad; but they are respected by the wise and good, and useful to themselves and the state.

When the morning dawns, let the boy go to his instructors. As the sheep need the shepherd, so the boy needs a master; he may be called *animal ferae naturae*, and is the most unmanageable and deceitful of all creatures; for he has the springs of intelligence in him not yet regulated. Let him be taken out of the hands of mothers and nurses, and tamed with bit and bridle, being treated as a freeman in that he learns and is taught; but as a slave in that he is chastised and smitten by all other freemen, as his master is when he does wrong. And the freeman who neglects to chastise him, shall himself be reprimanded by the inspector of education.

We must now give instructions to our president of education — him we will address as follows: We have spoken to you, O illustrious teacher of youth, of the song, the time, and the dance, and of martial exercises; but of prose writings, and of music, and of the

use of calculation for military and domestic purposes we have not spoken, nor yet of the higher use of numbers in reckoning divine things — such as the revolutions of the stars, or the arrangements of days and months, or of months in years, of which the true calculation is necessary to the knowledge of the order of seasons and festivals, which enliven and waken the city; giving the gods their due, and making men to grow in wisdom. There are many things about which we have not as yet instructed you — and first, as to reading and the lyre: Shall the pupil be a perfect scholar and musician, or not even enter on the study? He should certainly enter on the study, and apply himself to letters from the age of ten to thirteen. At thirteen he will begin to handle the lyre, and continue to learn music until he is sixteen, and no longer, however fond he or his parents may be of the pursuit. The study of letters he should carry to the extent of reading and writing, without caring for calligraphy and tachygraphy, if he has no natural taste for them. And here arises a question as to the learning of compositions, whether in poetry or prose, when unaccompanied with music. They are a dangerous species of literature. Speak then, O guardians of the law, and tell us what we shall do about them? "You seem to be in a difficulty." Why, yes; there is a difficulty in setting a single voice against the opinion of all the world. "But have we not already disregarded the opinion of the world in many of our enactments?" That is very true. I see that you would marshal me on the unpopular road, which the many hate, and you would have me cast in my lot with the few who are better than the many. "Certainly." Then I will begin by observing that we have many poets writing in hexameters, trimeters, and various other metres, comic as well as tragic, with whose compositions, as all the world affirms, youth are to be imbued and saturated. Some would have them learn by heart entire poets, while others prefer extracts; and this is supposed to constitute a gentleman's education. Now I am of opinion, and if I am not mistaken everybody would agree with me, that some of the things which they learn are good, and some bad. "Then how shall we reject some and select others?" A happy thought suddenly occurs to me; this discourse, which has lasted the live-long day, is just a sample of what we want, and is moreover an inspired work and a kind of poem. I am naturally pleased in looking back at all this creation of mine; which appears to me to have a wonderful propriety, and is just the thing for a young man to hear. I would venture, then, to offer to the legislator this treatise of laws as a sample of what he wants; and in case he should find any compositions of the same family, written or oral, I would have him preserve them with the utmost care, and commit them in the first place to the teachers who are willing to learn them (he should turn off the teacher who refuses), and let them communicate the lesson to the young.

I have said enough of reading and writing; and now we will proceed to the teachers of the lyre. The teacher of the lyre will be reminded of the advice which was given by us to the sexagenarian minstrels: they were to be quick to perceive the rhythms suited to the expression of virtue, and reject the opposite. With a view to perfecting the imitation, the pupil and his instructor are to use the lyre on account of the distinctness of the notes; the voice and note should coincide note for note; nor should there be harmonies and contrasts of intervals, or variations of times or rhythms. Three years' study is not long enough to give a knowledge of these complexities. And when so many subjects of education are necessary, the pupil should not be overwhelmed with the unnecessary. The tunes and hymns which are to be consecrated for each festival, and to be handed down in after ages, have been already determined, and the regulation of them is left to our president of music.

Let us now proceed to dancing and gymnastic, which must also be taught to boys and girls by masters and mistresses. Our minister of education will have a great deal to do. But he is an old man, and how can he get through so much hard work? There is no difficulty; for the law will provide him with assistants, male and female, as many as he pleases; and he will consider how important his office is. For if education prospers, the vessel of state sails merrily along; or if education fails, the very mention of the consequences in an infant state would be ill-omened. Of dancing and gymnastics something has been said already. We include under them the various uses of arms, and the movements and positions of the body corresponding to them, as well as military tactics. There should be public teachers of both arts, paid by the state, and women as well as men should be trained in them. The maidens should learn the armed dance, and the grown-up women be practiced in the drill and use of arms, if only in case of extremity, when the men are gone out to battle, and they are left to guard their families. Birds and beasts defend their young, but women, instead of fighting, run to the altars, thus degrading man below the level of the animals. There is something unseemly in such cowardice, to say nothing of the real harm. And therefore women are enjoined by law to learn the art of war.

Wrestling is to be pursued as a military exercise, but the meaning of this, and the nature of the art, can only be explained when action is combined with words. Next follows dancing, which is of two kinds; imitative, first, of the serious, which is beautiful; and, secondly, of the ludicrous, which is grotesque. The first kind may be further divided into the dance of war and the dance of peace; the first of the two is the Pyrrhic, in which the movements of attack and defense are imitated — the postures of hurling, slinging

shooting, striking, or again of escape and guard. Of all these the true style is manly and direct, and indicates strength and sufficiency of body and mind. The second is the dance of peace, and is sometimes of a debatable sort; allowing the personification of Pan and Silenus, and of nymphs and satyrs in their cups, as an accompaniment of Dionysiac mysteries. But this is a kind of dance which can hardly be allowed in a civilized state, and cannot be characterized either as warlike or peaceful. Let us proceed, then, to another which is not doubtful, and is of two kinds. The first kind is the more violent, being an expression of joy and triumph after toil and danger; and there is another more tranquil, which symbolizes the continuance and preservation of good. As the emotion is more or less violent, the dancer is possessed by more or less courage or self-control. No one who speaks or sings can avoid gesture, and gesture is the imitation of words. Every one must imitate harmonically or inharmonically, and this is the origin of the art of dancing. The warlike kind is appropriately called the Pyrrhic, and the peaceful kind is termed Emmeleia, or the dance of order. The types of these dances are to be fixed by the legislator, and the guardians of the law are to adapt them to the several festivals, and consecrate them to the good of the state.

Thus much of the fair forms and noble souls which are personated in choral dances. Comedy, which is the opposite of them, remains to be considered. For the serious implies the ludicrous, and opposites cannot be understood without opposites. But a man of repute will desire to avoid doing what is ludicrous. He should leave such performances to slaves: they are not serious, and there should be some element of novelty in them. Concerning tragedy, let our law be as follows: When the inspired poet comes to us with a request to be admitted into our state, we will reply in courteous words — We also are tragedians and your rivals; and the drama which we enact is the best and noblest, being the imitation of the truest and noblest life, with a view to which our state is ordered. You are poets, and we are poets and rivals of yours, and our hope is to perform a play which is the creation of perfect law. And we cannot allow you to pitch your stage in the agora, and make your voices be heard above ours, or suffer you to address our women and young men, and people in general, on the most opposite principles to our own. Come then, soft sirs, children of the Lydian Muse, and present yourselves first to the magistrates, and if they decide that your hymns are as good and better than ours, you shall have your chorus; but if not, not.

There still remain three kinds of knowledge which are to be learnt by freemen — arithmetic, geometry of surfaces and of solids and thirdly, astronomy. Few can make an accurate study of such sciences; and of special students we will speak at another time.

But the many must be content with the study of them which is absolutely necessary, and may be said to be a divine necessity, being of that sort against which God himself is unable to contend "What are these divine necessities of knowledge?" Necessities of a knowledge without which neither gods nor demi-gods can govern the world. Nay, he is not a rational being who is not acquainted with one and two — odd and even; who cannot distinguish day and night, and is ignorant of the revolutions of the stars; to every higher knowledge some such knowledge is necessary — a fool may see this — but how much, is a matter requiring more careful consideration. "That is true." I think that the legislator cannot enter into such details, and therefore we must defer the more careful consideration of the subject to a better opportunity. "You seem to fear our habitual want of training in these subjects." Still more I fear the danger of bad training, which is far worse than none at all. "Very true." I think that a gentleman and a freeman may be expected to know as much as an Egyptian child. In Egypt, arithmetic is a game which is taught children by a distribution of apples or garlands in numbers which admit of division and subdivision; or a calculation is made of the various combinations which are possible among a set of boxers or wrestlers; or vessels of gold and silver are separated or intermingled, and the child counts them. The knowledge of arithmetic which is thus acquired is a great help, either in drawing up an army or in the management of a household; and wherever measure is employed, men are more wide-awake in their dealings, and they get rid of their ridiculous ignorance. "What do you mean?" I have observed the existence of this ignorance among my countrymen — they are as bad as pigs — and I am heartily ashamed both on my own behalf and on that of all the Hellenes. "In what respect?" I will endeavor to explain by asking you a question. You know that there are such things as length, breadth, and height? "Yes." And the Hellenes imagine that they are commensurable (1) with themselves, and (2) with each other; whereas they are not always commensurable with themselves, and never with each other. But if this is true, then we are in an unfortunate case, and may well say to our compatriots that not to possess necessary knowledge is a disgrace, though to possess such knowledge is nothing very grand. "Certainly." There are kindred errors about commensurable and incommensurable quantities, which anybody whose intelligence is worth anything ought to understand. The discussion of these questions is a much better amusement for old men than their favorite game of draughts. "Yes, mathematics and the game of draughts seem to me to have much in common." These are the subjects in which youth should be trained. They may be regarded as amusements, and will do great good and no harm; I think that we may include

them provisionally. "Yes; they will fill up the details which are wanting in our laws." The next question is, whether astronomy shall be made a part of education. About the stars there is a strange notion prevalent. "What is that?" The notion that there is an impiety about inquiring into the nature of God and the world, whereas the very reverse is the truth. "What do you mean?" The idea may seem absurd and at variance with the usual language of age, and yet if true and advantageous to the state, and pleasing to God, ought not to be withheld. "Of what knowledge are you going to speak?" My dear friend, what falsehoods we and all the Hellenes tell about the sun and moon. "What falsehoods?" We are always saying that they and certain of the other stars go different ways, and we term them planets. "Yes; and I have seen Lucifer and Hesperus go all manner of ways; and the sun and moon do as they always do. But I wish that you would explain your meaning further." You will easily understand what I have had no difficulty in understanding myself, though we are both of us past the time of learning. "True; but what is this marvelous knowledge which youth are to learn, and of which we are ignorant?" Men say that the sun, moon, and stars are planets or wanderers; but this is the reverse of the fact. Each of them moves in one orbit only, and not in many; nor is the swiftest of them the slowest as appears to human eyes. What a great insult should we offer to Olympian racers if we were to put the first last and the last first! And if that is a ridiculous error in speaking of men, how much more in speaking of the gods? "Yes; something worse than ridiculous." Certainly, the gods cannot be very well pleased at our telling falsehoods about them. "Very true." Then people should at least learn enough about them to avoid this.

Enough of education. Similar principles should regulate hunting and other matters. There is something which is neither law nor yet admonition, which has often entered into our discourse, as we found in speaking of the nurture of young children. And therefore the whole duty of the citizen will not consist in mere obedience the laws. The perfect citizen is he who regards not only the to laws but the precepts of the legislator. This may be illustrated by the example of hunting. Now of this there are many kinds — hunting of fish and fowl, man and beast, enemies and friends; but the legislator cannot include in his enactments all these varieties. He must praise and blame hunting, having in view the discipline and exercise of youth. And the young man will regard his praises and censures much more than his penalties; neither the love of pleasure nor the fear of pain will hinder him. The legislator will proceed to express himself in the form of a pious wish — O, my young friends, he will say, may you never be induced to hunt for

fish, either by day or night; or for men, whether by sea or land. Never let the wish to steal enter into a corner of your minds; neither be ye fowlers, for this is not a gentlemanlike occupation. Land animals alone remain, which may be hunted by night in a good-for-nothing way, and also by day, likewise in indolent fashion, resting at intervals, and using snares and nets. The only mode of hunting which the legislator can praise is with horses and dogs, running, shooting, striking at close quarters; above all, stalking them. There is no other kind which is esteemed by men of courage. The law, then, shall be as follows:

Let no one hinder the true, holy order of huntsmen; but let the nightly hunters who lay snares and nets be everywhere prohibited. Let the fowler confine himself to waste places and to the mountains. The fisherman is also permitted, except in harbors and sacred streams, and pools and lakes; but in all other places he may fish, provided he does not defile the waters by the use of impure juices.

Book VIII. Next, with the help of the Delphian Oracle, we will appoint festivals and sacrifices. The times and number of them may be left to us. "The number, yes." Then let us determine the number of them to be 365, one for every day in the year. There shall always be one magistrate daily sacrificing according to rites prescribed by a convocation of priests and interpreters, who shall cooperate with the guardians of the law, and supply what the legislator has omitted. For the law will only appoint twelve greater festivals, according to the number of the twelve gods after whom the tribes are named. These shall be celebrated every month with musical and gymnastic contests appropriate to the gods and the seasons. There shall also be female festivals in honor of the goddesses who are worshipped by women only, and a festival of the gods below. Pluto shall have his own in the twelfth month. He is not the enemy, but the friend of man who releases the soul from the body, which is at least as good a work as to unite them. Further, consider that our state has leisure and abundance, and wishing to be happy, like an individual, should lead a good life, and a good life is immunity from doing or receiving injury, of which the first is very easy, and the second very difficult of attainment, and is only to be acquired by perfect virtue. A good city has peace, but the evil city is full of wars within and without. Wherefore the citizens should practice war at least one day in every month, and should have contests and sacrifices and hymns in praise of victory — the victory which they celebrate being the victory in the battle of life, as well as the victory of the festival. Let poets celebrate them; not, however, every poet — but he should be a man of fifty years old at least, and himself a distinguished person, who has done great deeds. Of such a one the poems may be sung

even though they are not quite equal to his deeds. To the president of education and the guardians of the law shall be committed the judgment, and no song which has not been licensed by them, even though sweeter than those of Thamyris and Orpheus, shall be recited, but only the praises or censures which they approve These regulations about poetry, and about military expeditions, apply equally both to men and to women.

The legislator may be conceived to make the following address to himself: With what object am I training my citizens? Are they not strivers for mastery in combats? Certainly, will be the reply. And if they were boxers or wrestlers, would any man in his senses think of entering the lists without many days' practice? And would he not as far as possible imitate all the circumstances of the contest, putting on gloves and using the weapons of the contest; and if he had no one to box with, would he not practice on a shadow, heedless of the laughter of the spectators? "That would be the way to learn." And shall the soldiers go to the greatest of all contests, and fight for life and kindred and property unprepared, because sham fights are thought to be ridiculous? Will not the legislator require that his citizens shall practice war daily, performing lesser exercises without arms, while the combatants on a greater scale will carry arms, and take up positions, and lie in ambuscade? And let their combats be not without danger, that opportunity may be given for distinction, and the brave man and the coward may receive their meed of honor or disgrace. If occasionally a man is killed, there is no great harm done; the homicide did not mean to kill him. There are others as good as he is, and the state can better afford to lose a few than to lose the only means of testing them.

"We agree, Stranger, that the state should legislate about warlike exercises." But then why have such military amusements become obsolete? Do we we not all know the reasons, which are (1) the inordinate love of wealth? This absorbs the soul of a man, and leaves him no time for any other pursuit. Knowledge and action are valued by him only as they tend to the attainment of wealth. All is lost in the desire of heaping up gold and silver; anybody is ready to do anything, right or wrong, for the sake of eating and drinking, and the indulgence of his animal passions. "Most true." This is one of the causes which prevents a man being a good soldier, or anything else which is good; he becomes a shopkeeper or a servant, and sometimes, if he happens to be brave, a burglar or a pirate. Many of these latter are men of fine character, and greatly to be pitied, because their souls are hungering and thirsting all their lives long. But let me give you the other reason. The bad forms of government (2) are a reason — democracy, oligarchy, tyranny, which, as I was saying, are not states, bu

states of discord, in which the rulers are afraid of their subjects, and therefore do not like them to become rich or valiant, or indeed soldiers at all. Now the state for which we are legislating has escaped these two causes of evil; the society is perfectly free, and has plenty of leisure, and is not allowed by the laws to be absorbed in the pursuit of wealth: hence we have an excellent field for a perfect education, and for the introduction of martial pastimes. Let us proceed to describe the character of these pastimes. Activity of body — quickness of foot to escape or take — quickness of hand or arm to grasp — are, in the strictest sense, military qualities; and yet you have not the greatest military use of them unless the competitors are armed. The runner must enter the lists in armor, and in the races which our heralds proclaim, no prize is to be given except to armed warriors. Let there be five courses: first, the stadium; secondly, the diaulos or double course: thirdly, the horse course; fourthly, a long course; fifthly, a race between a heavy-armed soldier, who shall pass over sixty stadia and finish at the temple of Ares, and an archer, who shall go among the mountains across country a distance of a hundred stadia, and his goal shall be the temple of Apollo and Artemis. The contests of each kind shall be in number three, — one for boys, another for youths, a third for men in heavy and light armor; the course for the boys we will fix at half, and that for the youths at two thirds of the entire length. Women shall also join in the race: young girls shall run naked, and from thirteen until marriage, or until they are eighteen or twenty years old, they shall still run, but at this age shall be suitably draped. As to trials of strength, single combats in armor, or battles between two and two, or of any number up to ten, shall take the place of wrestling and the heavy exercises. And there must be experts, as there are now in wrestling, to determine what is a fair hit and who is conqueror. Instead of the Pancratium, let there be contests in which the combatants wear light shields and hurl javelins and throw stones. The next provision of the law will relate to horses, which, as we are in Crete, need be rarely used by us, and never in chariots; our horse-racing prizes will only be given to single horses, whether foals, half-grown, or full-grown. Their riders are to wear armor, and they may also be archers; a Cretan archer or javelin-man does good service. Women, if they have a mind, may join in the exercises of men.

But enough of gymnastics, and nearly enough of music. All musical contests will take place on holy days, months, and years, whether every third or every fifth year, which are to be fixed by the guardians of the law, the judges of the games, and the president of education, who for this purpose shall become legislators and arrange times and persons. The principles on which such contests are to be ordered have been often repeated to the first legislator; no more

need be said of them, neither are the details of them any great matter. But there is another subject of the highest importance, which, if possible, should be determined by the laws, not of man, but of God; or, if a direct revelation is impossible, some bold and sincere man seems to be needed, who, alone against the world, having reason for his guide, will speak plainly of the corruption of human nature, and go to war with the mightiest passions of mankind. "I do not know what you mean." I dare say, and therefore I will make my meaning plainer. In speaking of education, I seemed to see young men and maidens in friendly intercourse with one another; and there arose in my mind a natural fear about a state, in which, as I reflected, the young of either sex are well fed, and have little to do, and have their time chiefly occupied in festivals and dances. How can the voice of reason be lifted up, as with the force of a law, against those passions which are the ruin of numbers of both sexes? The prohibition of wealth, and the influence of education, and the all-seeing eye of the ruler, have a good effect in promoting temperance; but they will not wholly extinguish the temptation to loves male and female, in both sexes, which have been the destruction of states; and against this evil what remedy can be devised? Lacedaemon and Crete, excellent as their institutions are in many respects, afford us no help here; on the subject of love, as I may say in confidence, they are against us. Suppose a person were to urge that you ought to follow nature and the example of animals, and restore the natural use which existed in the days of Laius; he would be quite right, but he would not be supported by public opinion in either of your states. Or try the matter by another test, which we always apply to all laws, the test of virtue; who will say that the permission of such things tends to virtue? Will the spirit of courage pass into the soul of him who gives up his person to another? Will the seducer be gifted with temperance? And will any one, who has a notion of law, be found to praise such actions, or to make them legal?

But to judge of this matter truly, we must understand the nature of love and friendship, which may take very different forms. For we speak of friendship, first, when there is some similarity or equality of virtue; secondly, when there is some want; and either of these, when in excess, is termed love. The first kind is gentle and communicable; the second is fierce and unmanageable; and there is also a third kind, which is ambiguous, and is under the dominion of opposite principles — the one urging the lover to take his fill of the bloom of youth, the other forbidding him. The one is of the body, and has no regard for the character of the beloved; but he who is under the influence of the other disregards the body, and is a looker rather than a lover, and has a true reverence for the modesty and courage and wisdom of his friend, with whom he would fain associate in holy purity. Here are three kinds of love: ought the legislator to

prohibit all of them equally, or to allow the virtuous love to remain?" "The latter, clearly.' I expected to gain your approval, and therefore I need not go out of my way to censure the Spartan law. I will reserve the task of persuadin Cleinias for another occasion. "Very good." How we are to make right laws on this subject is in one point of view easy, and in another most difficult; for we know that most men do abstain in some cases, and for the most part willingly, from intercourse with the fair. "When is that?" There is an unwritten law which prohibits members of the same family from such intercourse. And this law is willingly obeyed, and no thought of anything else ever enters into the minds of men in general. "That is true." A little word is enough to put out the fire of their lusts. "What is that?" The declaration that they are hateful to the gods, and of all abominable things the most abominable and unholy. The reason is that everywhere, in jest and earnest alike, this is the doctrine which is repeated to all from their earliest youth. They see on the stage that such monsters as Oedipus and Thyestes, when detected, are put to death. There is an undoubted power in public opinion when no breath is heard adverse to the law. And the legislator who would enslave these slavish passions must consecrate such a public opinion all through the city. "Good; but how will you set about creating this public opinion?" You are right in asking that question, for I promised to try and find some means of restraining loves to their natural objects. Men should not be the destroyers of their kind, spilling the power of life upon the ground; and they should abstain from the women whom they do not intend to make mothers. A law which would accomplish this as effectually as incest is at present prohibited by law, would be of endless benefit, first, as being in accordance with nature, and getting rid of excesses in meats and drinks and adulteries and frenzies, making men love their wives, and having other excellent effects. I can imagine that some lusty youth overhears what we are saying, and roars out in abusive terms that we are legislating for impossibilities. And so a person might have said of the syssitia, or common meals; but this is refuted by facts, although even now they are not extended to women. "True." There is no impossibility or super-humanity in my proposed law, as I shall endeavor to prove. "Do so." Will not a man find abstinence more easy when his body is sound than when he is in some peculiar or diseased condition? "Yes; when he in is good condition he will find abstinence more easy." Have we not heard of Iccus of Tarentum and other famous wrestlers who abstained wholly? And yet they had not the benefits of education which we bestow on the minds of our citizens, and in their bodies they were far more lusty. "Yet the fact remains." And shall they have abstained for the sake of an athletic contest, and our citizens be incapable of a similar endurance for the sake of a victory which is higher and nobler far

—the highest and noblest of all? "What victory is that?" The victory over pleasure, which is true happiness; whereas the slavery to pleasure is misery. Will not the fear of impiety enable us to conquer that which the inferior animals learn to conquer? "That is reasonable." And therefore the law must say right out, that our citizens ought not to fall below the other animals, who dwell together in great flocks, and are pure and chaste until the time of procreation comes, when they marry, and are ever after faithful to their contract. Our citizens may be expected to be a little better than the brutes; and if the corruption of public opinion and the practice of lawless love is too great to allow our first law to be carried out, then our guardians of the law must turn legislators, and try their hand at a second law. They must minimize the appetites, diverting the strength of youth into other channels, and making the practice of love secret and shameful. Three higher principles or elements may be brought to bear on the single principle which is corrupt. "What are they?" Religion, honor, and the higher love of the qualities of the soul. Perhaps this is a dream only, yet the best of dreams; and if not the whole, yet, by the grace of God, a part of what we desire may be realized. Either men may learn to abstain wholly from any loves, natural or unnatural, except of their wedded wives; or, at least, they may give up unnatural loves; or, if detected, may be punished with loss of citizenship, as aliens from the state in their morals. "I entirely agree with you," said Megillus, "but would like to hear what Cleinias says." "I will give my opinion by and by."

We were speaking of the syssitia, which will be a natural institution in a Cretan colony. Whether the institution is to follow the model of Crete or Lacedaemon, or one different from either, is not a question of much importance. The manner of them will be determined without difficulty. We may, therefore, proceed to speak of the mode of life among our citizens, which in other cities will be far more complex, and must at any rate be twice as complex as in this; a state which is inland and not maritime requires only half the number of laws. There is no trouble about retail traders, merchants, hotels, mines, customs, loans, compound interest, or a thousand other things. The legislator has only to regulate the affairs of husbandmen and shepherds, and keepers of bees, and the makers of implements, who will be easily managed, now that the principal questions relating to marriage, education, and government have been settled.

Let us begin with husbandry: First, let there be a law of Zeus, the God of boundaries, against removing a neighbor's landmark, which is the real impiety of "moving the immovable." The least stone which marks an agreement is more sacred than the greatest rock which is not a boundary, Zeus the god of kindred, and Zeus the god of strangers, are the witnesses of them, and their wrath is

terrible. The impiety of removing them shall receive two punishments: the first will be inflicted by the God himself; the second will be a fine imposed by the judges. In the second place, the differences between neighbors about encroachments must be guarded against. He who encroaches shall pay twofold the price of the injury; of all such matters the wardens of the country shall be cognizant, or in greater cases the military force of the division. The injury done by cattle, the decoying of bees, the firing of your own wood without thinking of your neighbor, the encroachment on his plantations, shall all be visited with proper damages. Such details have been determined by previous legislators, and need not now be mixed up with greater matters. Ancient husbandmen made excellent rules about streams and waters; and we need not digress from them into another channel. Anybody may take water from the main stream, if he does not cut below the open well of his neighbor; but he must not do any damage or take the water through a house or temple. If land is without water the occupier shall dig down to the clay, and if at this depth he find no water, he shall have a right of getting water from his neighbors to supply his household; and if they are limited, he shall receive from them a measure, fixed by the wardens of the country, of water. When two persons live on lands or in a house, one above and the other beneath, the upper must not turn the heavy falls of rain on the under at his pleasure, or the under refuse an exit. If they cannot agree in the matter they must go before the wardens of the city or country, and if a man refuses to abide by their decision, he must pay double the damage which he causes.

In autumn God gives us two boons — one the joy of Dionysus not to be laid up — the other to be laid up. About the fruits of autumn let the law be as follows: He who gathers the wild grape or fig before the time of the vintage, which is the rising of Arcturus, shall pay fifty drachmas as a fine to Dionysus, if he gathers on his own ground; if on his neighbor's one third of a mina, and two thirds of a mina if on that of another. The cultivated vine or fig a man may gather when he pleases on his own ground, but on that of others he must pay the same penalty of removing what is not his. If he be a slave who has gathered, he shall receive a stroke for every grape or fig. A metic may purchase the cultivated fruits, and a stranger may eat of the same, if he have not more than one attendant. This right of hospitality, however, does not extend to the wild vine. A slave who eats of the wild vine or fig-tree shall be beaten, and the freedman shall receive an admonition. Pears, apples, pomegranates, may be taken secretly, but he who is detected in the act of taking them shall be lightly beaten off, if he be not more than thirty years of age. An exception to this law must be made for the stranger and the elder; the latter, however, if he goes beyond the law, and

carries away as well as eats, shall fail in the competition of virtue, if anybody brings up his offense against him.

Water is also in need of protection; being, unlike the other elements which conspire in the growth of plants, easily corrupted. And therefore he who spoils another's water, whether in springs or reservoirs, either by trenching, or by any sort of pollution or poisonous impurity, shall pay a penalty and repair the damage. At the getting in of the harvest everybody shall have a right of way over his neighbors' ground, provided he is careful to do no damage beyond the trespass, unless any damage which he does is attended with three times the benefit to himself. Of all this the magistrates are to take cognizance, and they are to have the power of fining where the injury done is not more than three minae; any greater damage can only be tried in the public courts. A charge against a magistrate is to be referred to the public courts, and any one who decides corruptly shall pay twofold to the aggrieved person. Lesser matters of detail relating to punishments and modes of procedure, and summonses, and the number of witnesses, do not require the mature wisdom of the aged legislator; young men may determine them by experience.

The following are to be the regulations respecting handicrafts: No citizen, or servant of a citizen, is to practice them. For the citizen has already a trade and mystery, which is the care of the state; and no man can practice two trades, or practice one and superintend another. For the same reason, no smith should be a carpenter, and no carpenter having many slaves who are blacksmiths should look after them himself; but let each man practice one art which is to be his livelihood. Every man is to be one man and not many. The wardens of the city should see to this, punishing the citizen who offends with temporary deprival of his rights — the foreigner shall be imprisoned, fined, exiled. Any disputes about contracts shall be determined by the wardens of the city up to fifty drachmas — above that sum by the public courts. No customs are to be exacted either on imports or exports. Nothing unnecessary is to be imported from abroad, whether for the service of the gods or for the use of man — neither purple, nor other dyes, nor frankincense, — and nothing needed in the country is to be exported. These things are to be decided on by the twelve guardians of the law, who are next in seniority to the five eldest. Arms and the materials of arms are to be imported and exported only with the consent of the generals, and then only by the state. There is to be no retail trade in anything For the distribution of the produce of the country, the Cretan laws afford a rule which may be usefully followed. All shall be required to distribute corn, grain, animals, and other valuable produce, into twelve portions. Each of these shall be subdivided into three parts — one for freemen, another for servants, and the third shall be sold

for the supply of artisans, strangers and others. And where the produce of the land exceeds the average let the whole still be equally distributed into three portions, and let the citizens determine how much they will give to slaves or freemen, and how much they will distribute among the animals.

Next as to houses — there shall be twelve villages, one in the centre of each of the twelve portions; and in every village there shall be temples and a market-place — also shrines for heroes or for any old Magnesian demi-gods who linger about the place. In every division there shall be temples of Hestia, Zeus, and Athenè, surrounded by buildings on eminences, which will be the guard-houses of the police. The rest of the country shall be arranged in thirteen portions, corresponding to the bands of artisans. One of these bands will be settled around the city, and divided into twelve parts, according to the divisions of the city; the remainder will be settled in the country. And the magistrates will fix them on the spots where they will be most serviceable in supplying the wants of the husbandmen.

Next in importance to the regulation of the temples, is the fair dealing and good order of the markets — this will be the care of the wardens of the agora. They will also see that the sales effected by the citizens to strangers are legally made. The law shall be, that on the first day of each month the auctioneers to whom the sale is intrusted shall offer grain; and at this sale a twelfth part of the whole shall be exposed, and the foreigner shall supply his wants for a month. On the tenth, there shall be a sale of liquids, and on the twenty-third of animals, skins, woven or woolen stuffs, and other things which husbandmen have to sell and foreigners want to buy. None of these commodities, any more than barley or flour, or any other food, may be retailed by a citizen to a citizen; but foreigners may sell them to one another in the foreigners' market. There must also be butchers who will sell parts of animals to foreigners and craftsmen, and their servants; and foreigners may buy fire-wood wholesale of the commissioners of woods, and may sell retail to foreigners. All other goods must be sold in the market, in the presence of the magistrates, and in the place indicated by them, and shall be paid for on the spot. He who gives credit, and is cheated, will have no redress. In buying or selling, any excess or diminution of what the law allows shall be registered. The same rule is to be observed about the property of metics. Anybody who has a handicraft may come and remain twenty years from the day on which he is enrolled, at the expiration of which time he shall take what he has and depart. The only requirement which is to be imposed upon him as the tax of his sojourn is good conduct; and he is not to pay any tax on buying and selling. But if he wants to extend the time of his sojourn, and has done any service to the

state, and he can persuade the ecclesia to grant his request, he may remain. The children of metics may also be metics; and the period of twenty years, during which they are permitted to sojourn, is to count, in their case, from their fifteenth year.

No mention occurs in the Laws of the Ideas of Plato. The will of God, the standard of the legislator, and the dignity of the soul, have taken their place in the mind of Plato. If we ask what is that truth or principle which, towards the end of his life, seems to have absorbed him most, like the idea of good in the Republic, or of beauty in the Symposium, or of the unity of virtue in the Protagoras, we should answer the priority of the soul to the body: on that his later system mainly hangs; and in the Laws, as in the Sophist and Politicus, we pass out of the region of metaphysical or transcendental ideas into that of psychology.

The opening of the fifth book, though abrupt and unconnected in style, is one of the most elevated passages in Plato. The religious feeling which he seeks to diffuse over the commonest actions of life, the blessedness of living in the truth, the great mistake of a man living for himself, the pity as well as anger which should be felt at evil, the kindness due to the suppliant and the stranger, have the temper of Christian philosophy. The remark that elder men, if they want to educate others, should begin by educating themselves; the necessity of creating a spirit of obedience in the citizens; the desirableness of limiting property; the relative nature of political equality, have also the tone of a modern writer. In many of his views of politics, Plato seems to us like some modern politicians, to be half socialist, half conservative.

In the Laws, we remark a change in the place assigned by him to pleasure and pain There are two ways in which even the ideal systems of morals may regard them: either like the Stoics, and other ascetics, we may say that pleasure must be eradicated; or if this seems unreal to us, we may affirm that virtue is the true pleasure; and then, as Aristotle says, "to be brought up to take pleasure in what we ought, exercises a great and paramount influence on human life." Or as Plato says in the Laws, "A man will recognize the noblest life as having the greatest pleasure and the least pain, if he have a true taste." If we admit that pleasures differ in kind, the opposition between these two modes of speaking is rather verbal than real. The Greek philosopher may speak of the "contemplation of the ideas," or the Christian father of the *fruitio Dei*, as the first of pleasures. Throughout the greater part of the writings of Plato, these two views seem to alternate with each other. In the Republic, the mere suggestion that pleasure may be the chief good is received by Socrates with a cry of abhorrence; but in the Philebus, innocent pleasures vindicate their right to a place in the scale

of goods. In the Protagoras, speaking in the person of Socrates rather than in his own, Plato admits the calculation of pleasure to be the true basis of ethics, while in the Phaedo he indignantly denies that the exchange of one pleasure for another is the exchange of virtue. So wide of the mark are they, who would attribute to Plato entire consistency in thoughts or words.

He distinctly acknowledges that the second state is inferior to the first — in this, at any rate, he is perfectly consistent; but he still casts longing eyes upon the ideal, which he acknowledges to be impossible in practice. Several features of the first state are retained in the second: the citizens, if not actually communists, are to be in spirit communistic; they are to seek after equality and moderation; a certain amount of wealth is permitted to them, and their burdens and honors are to be proportioned to this. The constitution in the Laws is a timocracy of wealth, modified by an aristocracy of merit. Yet the political philosopher will observe that the first of these is a fixed and permanent principle, the latter contingent and uncertain. Wealth, after all, plays a great part in the Second Republic of Plato; like other politicians, he deems that a property qualification will contribute to the stability of the state. The four classes seem to be derived from the constitution of Cleisthenes, just as the form of the city which is clustered around a citadel set on a hill, is suggested by the Acropolis at Athens. Plato, writing under Pythagorean influences, seems really to have supposed that the well-being of the city depended almost as much on the number 5040 as on justice and moderation. Yet he is not prevented by Pythagoreanism from observing the effects which climate and soil exercise on the characters of nations.

The colony is to receive from the mother-country her first constitution, and some of her guardians of the law. The guardians of the law are to be ministers of justice, and the president of education is to take precedence of them all. They are to take measures for the defense of the country: they are to enforce education upon unwilling parents; they are to provide for the supply and purity of the waters, and for other matters relating to the public health; they are to superintend buildings; to keep the registers of property; to hear appeals from inferior courts; and they are to be superannuated at seventy years of age. Several questions of modern politics seem to be anticipated by Plato in the functions which he assigns to them. He hopes that in his state will be found neither poverty nor riches; and therefore neither the legislator, nor his subjects, have any need to consider the danger of falling into poverty. Almost in the spirit of the Gospel he would say, "How hardly can a rich man dwell in a perfect state." For he cannot be a good man who is always gaining too much and spending too little (cp. Arist. Ethics, iv. 2, 3). Plato, though he admits wealth as a political element, is

not one of those who supposes that the love of money is the foundation of a really great community. A man's soul, as he frequently repeats, is more to be esteemed than his body; and his body, than the things of his body. He has never, like modern writers, idealized the wealth of nations, any more than he has worked out the problems of political economy.

The constitution of the army is democratic; the soldiers are supposed to be the best judges of their leaders. The way of carrying out the democratic principle is as follows: The guardians of the law nominate generals, and the generals retain the nomination of the inferior officers. But if any one is ready to swear that he knows of a better man, he may put the claims of the candidate for the office of general to the vote either of the whole army, or of the division of the service which he is destined to command. Except in the case of these military elections, in which all who have ever borne arms take part, there is no assembly or general meeting of the people. In the election of the council, the legislator attempts to mix aristocracy and democracy. This is effected first, as in the Servian constitution, by balancing wealth and numbers; the people are divided into four classes, of whom the first, though inferior in numbers, has an equal vote with the three others. Secondly, all classes are compelled to vote for the first and second class; but the fourth class is not compelled to vote for the third, nor the third and fourth for the fourth. Thirdly, out of the 180 persons who are thus chosen from each of the four classes, 720 in all, 360 are to be taken by lot; these form the council for the year. By such measures Plato proposes to carry out what he calls the judgment of Zeus, or the law of proportion (Aristotle's distributive justice, N. E. v. 6), in the constitution of states.

These political adjustments of Plato's will be criticised by the practical statesman, as being for the most part fanciful and ineffectual. He will observe, first of all, that the only real check on democracy is the division into classes. The second of the three proposals, though ingenious, and receiving some light from the apathy to politics which is often shown by the higher classes in a democracy, would have little power in times of excitement and peril, when the precaution was most needed. At such political crises, all the lower classes would vote equally with the higher. The subtraction of half the persons chosen at the first election by the chances of the lot, would not raise the character of the senators; and is open to the objection of uncertainty, which necessarily attends this and similar double schemes of representative government. The voters cannot be expected to retain the continuous political interest which would be required for carrying them out. Who could select 180 persons of each class, fitted to be senators? And whoever were chosen in the first instance, by a particular vote, his wishes might be neutralized by

the action of the lot. Yet the scheme of Plato is not really so extravagant as the actual constitution of Athens, in which all the senators appear to have been elected by lot (ἀπὸ κυάμου βουλευταί); at least, after the revolution made by Cleisthenes, for the constitution of the senate which was established by Solon probably had some aristocratic features, though their precise nature is unknown to us. The ancients knew that election by lot was the most democratic of all modes of appointment, seeming to say in the objectionable sense, "that one man is as good as another." Plato, who is desirous of mingling different elements, here makes a partial use of the lot which he applies to candidates already elected by vote.

Similar principles are applied to inferior offices. In the elections to them, Plato endeavors to mix or balance in a friendly manner "demus and not demus." Only the priests are to be directly appointed by God, that is, by the lot. The commonwealth of the Laws, like the ideal state, cannot dispense with a spiritual head, which is the oracle of Delphi. To this the choice of some of the higher officers, and the settlement of disputes about ceremonies and purifications, as well as changes in the law, are to be referred. Plato is not disposed to encourage amateur attempts to revive religion in states For, as he says in the Laws, "To institute religious rites is the work of a great intelligence only." Both the Republic and the Laws bear witness to the great national and political importance of the Delphian oracle.

In forming marriage connections, Plato supposes that the public interest will prevail over private inclination. There was nothing in this very shocking to the notions of Greeks, among whom the feeling of love towards the other sex was almost deprived of sentiment or romance. Married life is to be regulated solely with a view to the good of the state. The newly married couple are not allowed to absent themselves from their respective syssitia, even during their honeymoon; they are to give their whole mind to the procreation of children; their duties to one another at a later period of life is not a matter about which the state is equally solicitous. Divorces are readily allowed for incompatibility of temper. As in the Republic, physical considerations seem almost to exclude moral and social ones. To modern feelings there is a certain degree of coarseness in his treatment of the subject. Yet Plato also makes some shrewd remarks on marriage, as for example, that he who does not marry for money will not be the humble servant of his wife. And he shows a true conception of the nature of the family, when he requires that the newly married couple "should leave their father and mother," and have a separate home. He also provides against extravagance in marriage festivals; which in some states of society, as appears to be the case among the Hindoos, has been a social evil of the first magnitude.

In treating of property, Plato takes occasion to speak of property in slaves. They are to be treated with perfect justice; but, for their own sake, to be kept at a distance. The motive is not humanity towards the slave, of which there are hardly any traces (although Plato allows that many in the hour of peril have found a slave more attached than members of their own family), but the self-respect which the freeman and citizen owes to himself. If they commit crimes, they are doubly punished; only if they inform against treasonable and illegal practices of their masters, they are to receive a protection, which would probably be ineffectual, from the guardians of the law. Plato still breathes the spirit of the older Hellenic world, in which slavery was a necessity, because leisure must be provided for the citizen.

The education propounded in the Laws differs in several points from the Republic. Plato seems to have reflected as deeply and earnestly on the importance of infancy as Rousseau, or Jean Paul (compare the saying of the latter, — "Not the moment of death, but the moment of birth, is probably the more important"). He would fix the amusements of children, in the hope of fixing their characters in after-life. In the spirit of the statesman who said, "Let me make the ballads of a country, and I care not who makes their laws," Plato would have said, "Let the amusements of children be unchanged, and they will not want to change the laws." The "Goddess Harmonia" plays a great part in Plato's ideas of education. The natural restless force of life in children, "who do nothing but roar until they are three years old," is gradually to be reduced to law and order. As in the Republic, he fixes certain forms in which songs are to be composed: (1) they are to be strains of peace; (2) they are to be hymns or prayers addressed to the gods; (3) they are to sing only of the lawful and good. The poets are again expelled, or rather ironically invited to depart; and those who remain are required to submit their poems to the censorship of the magistrates. Youth are no longer compelled to commit to memory many thousand lyric and tragic Greek verses; yet, perhaps, a worse fate is in store for them. Plato has no belief in the "liberty of prophesying;" and having guarded against the dangers of poetry, he remembers that there is an equal danger in prose-writers. He cannot leave his old enemies, the Sophists, in possession of the field; and therefore he proposes that youth shall learn by heart, instead of the compositions of poets or prose-writers, his own inspired work on laws. These, and music, and mathematics, are the chief staple of his education.

Mathematics are to be cultivated not as in the Republic with a view to the higher science of the idea of good, but rather with a religious and political aim. They are a sacred study which teaches men how to distribute the portions of a state, and which is to be

pursued in order that they may learn not to blaspheme about astronomy. Against three errors Plato is in profound earnest. First, the error of supposing that the three dimensions of length, breadth, and height, are really commensurable with one another. The difficulty which he feels is analogous to the difficulty which he formerly felt about the connection of ideas, and equally characteristic of ancient philosophy: he fixes his mind on the point of difference, and cannot at the same time take in the similarity. Secondly, he is puzzled about the nature of fractions: like the arithmeticians in the Republic, 525 E, he is disposed to deny the possibility of their existence. Thirdly, his optimism leads him to insist (unlike the Portuguese king who thought that he could have improved on the mechanism of the heavens) on the perfect or circular movement of the heavenly bodies. He appears to mean, that instead of regarding the stars as overtaking or being overtaken by one another, or as planets wandering in many paths, a more comprehensive survey of the heavens would enable us to infer that they all alike moved in a circle around a centre (cp. Timaeus, fol. 40; Rep. x. 617). He probably suspected, though unacquainted with the true cause, that the appearance of the heavens did not agree with the reality: at any rate, his notions of what was right or fitting easily overpowered the results of actual observation. To the early astronomers, who lived at the revival of science, as to Plato, there would have seemed to be nothing absurd in *à priori* astronomy, and they would probably have made fewer real discoveries if they had followed any other track.

The singular passage in Book VII. p. 803, in which Plato describes life as a pastime, like many other passages in the Laws, is imperfectly expressed. Two thoughts seem to be struggling in his mind: first, the reflection to which he returns at the end of the passage, 804 B, that men are playthings or puppets, and that God only is the serious aim of human endeavors: this suggests to him the afterthought that, although playthings, they are the playthings of the gods, and that this is the best of them. The cynical, ironical fancy of the moment insensibly passes into a religious sentiment. Life is a play in the higher sense, as well as a sort of mystery in which we have the gods for playfellows. Men imagine that war is the irserious pursuit, and they make war that they may return to their amusements. But neither wars nor amusements are the true satisfaction of men, which is to be found only in the society of the gods, in sacrificing to them and propitiating them. Like a Christian ascetic, Plato seems to suppose that life should be passed wholly in the enjoyment of divine things.

In one of the noblest passages of Plato, he speaks of the relation of the sexes (pp. 835–842). Natural relations had been established of old; a "little word" had put a stop to incestuous connections

between members of the same family. But unnatural unions still continued to prevail at Crete and Lacedæmon, and were even justified by the example of the gods. They, too, might be banished, if the feeling that they were unholy and abominable could sink into the minds of men. The legislator is to cry aloud, and spare not, "Let not men fall below the level of the beasts." Plato does not shrink, like some modern philosophers, from "carrying on war against the mightiest lusts of mankind;" neither does he expect to extirpate them, but only to confine them to their natural use and purpose, by the enactments of law, and by the influence of public opinion.

Book IX. Punishments of offenses, and modes of procedure, will be our next subject. The idea that in a well-ordered state there will be great criminals who require to be punished by the law, is a disgrace to us; but as we are legislating for men and not for gods, there will be no uncharitableness in apprehending that there may be some rampant citizen whose heart, like the seed trodden under the hoof of the ox, will be hardened against the law. In stern regard of him, and at the same time with a remoter eye to the general infirmity of human nature, I will lay down the law concerning the robbing of temples, beginning with a prelude. To the robber we will say, — O, sir, the complaint which troubles you is not human; but some curse or plague has fallen upon you, in consequence of the crimes of your ancestors, of which you must purge yourself: go and perform sacrifices of expiation, frequent the society of the good, avoid the evil; and if you are cured of the fatal impulse, well — but, if not, you had better find some way of escaping from life.

These are the accents, soft and low, in which we address the criminal. And if he refuse to listen to them, then cry aloud as with the sound of a trumpet: Whosoever robs a temple, if he be a slave or foreigner, shall be branded in the face and hands, and scourged, and then cast naked beyond the border. And perhaps this may improve him: for the law aims either at the reformation of the criminal, or the repression of crime, and no punishment is designed to inflict useless injury. But if the offender be a citizen, he must be incurable, and death is the least penalty which he deserves. His iniquity, however, shall not be visited on his children, nor is his property to be confiscated, or any fine inflicted upon him, or upon any one, which will interfere with the integrity or cultivation of the lot: the guardians of the law are to be careful about this.

If a fine is inflicted upon a man which he cannot pay, and for which his friends are unwilling to be security, he shall be imprisoned and chastised, but not exiled or deprived of citizenship; though he may be put to death, or imprisoned, or beaten, or pilloried, or posted

at a temple on the borders. Capital offenses shall come under the cognizance of the guardians of the law, and a college of the best of the exarchons of the previous year. The mode of procedure we shall leave to the lawgivers of the future, and only determine the mode of voting. The votes are to be given openly, in the presence of an audience of the citizens, and after a previous oral examination of the parties made by the senior judge: on the first day, the plaintiff and defendant shall make their speeches; and the judges, beginning with the eldest, shall ask questions and collect evidence during three days, which, at the end of each day, shall be deposited in writing on the altar of Hestia; and when they have evidence enough, after a solemn declaration that they will decide justly, they shall vote and end the case.

Next to religion, the preservation of the constitution is the first object of the law. The greatest enemy of the state is he who attempts to set up a tyrant, or breeds plots and conspiracies; not far below him in guilt is a magistrate who either knowingly, or in ignorance, fails to bring the offender to justice. Any one who is good for anything will give information against traitors. The mode of proceeding in such cases will be the same as in cases of sacrilege; the penalty, death. But neither in this case nor in any other is the son to bear the iniquity of the father, unless father, grandfather, great-grandfather, have all of them been capitally convicted, and then the family are to be sent off to the mother-country, retaining their property, with the exception of the lot and its fixtures. And ten are to be selected from the second sons of the other citizens — one of whom is to be chosen by the oracle to be heir of the lot. This third law about the judges and processes of treason, and the removal of families, shall apply equally to the traitor, the sacrilegious, and the conspirator.

A thief whether he steals much or little, must refund twice the amount, if he is able to do so without impairing his lot; if he cannot, he must go to prison until he either pays or satisfies the plaintiff, or, in case of a public theft, the city. "But should all the different kinds of thefts incur the same penalty?" You remind me of what I know — that legislation is never perfect. The men for whom laws are made may be compared to the slave who is being doctored, according to our old image, by the unscientific doctor. For he, if he chance to meet the educated physician and gentleman talking to his patient, and entering into the philosophy of his disease, would say, as doctors delight in doing, 'You fool, instead of curing the patient you are educating him!" And he would be quite right, and not far wrong, if he went on to observe, that he who legislates in our fashion preaches to the citizens instead of legislating for them. "Perhaps." There is, however, one advantage which we possess — that being amateurs only, we may either take

the most ideal, or the most necessary and utilitarian view. "But why offer such an alternative? as if all our legislation must be done to-day, and nothing put off until to-morrow. Like builders, or other constructors, we may surely rough-hew them first, and shape and place them afterwards." That will be the best way of getting the most general view of our laws. The writings of legislators are like any other writings in prose or verse, and are the most important of all, and should be studied like the rest with a view to our instruction in good and evil. Are not Solon and Lycurgus as much disgraced as Homer and Tyrtaeus, when they write ill about the institutions of life? The laws of states ought to be the models of writing, and what is at variance with them should be deemed ridiculous. And we may further imagine them to express the affection and good sense of a father or mother, and not the fiats of a tyrant? "Very true."

Let us inquire more particularly about sacrilege, theft, and other crimes, for which we have already legislated in part. And this leads us to ask, first of all, whether we are agreed or disagreed about the nature of the beautiful and just. "To what are you referring?" I will endeavor to explain. All are agreed that justice is beautiful, whether in men or things, and no one who maintains that a very ugly man who is just, is in his mind fair, would be thought extravagant. "Very true." But if beauty is to be attributed to justice, are just sufferings beautiful, or only just actions? "What do you mean?" Why, our own laws supply a case in point; for we enacted that the robber of temples, and the enemy of our laws, should die; and this was just, but the reverse of beautiful. "That is true." But are we consistent in holding this language? I have already said that the evil are involuntarily evil; and the evil is unjust. Now the voluntary cannot be the involuntary; and if you two come to me and say, "Shall we legislate?" of course, I shall reply, "Then will you distinguish what crimes are voluntary, and what involuntary, and shall we impose lighter penalties on the first, and heavier on the latter? Or shall we refuse to determine what is the meaning of voluntary and involuntary, and maintain that our words have come down from heaven, and that they should be at once embodied in a law?" All states legislate under the idea that there are two classes of actions, the voluntary and the involuntary, but there appears to be great confusion about them reigning in the minds of men; and the law can never act unless they are distinguished. "That is true, Stranger." And we must either abstain from affirming that actions are involuntary, or explain the meaning of this statement: for not to speak the truth is impiety Believing, then, in the involuntariness of actions, I must endeavor to show that they must be divided on some other principle than the voluntary and involuntary. "Do so by all means." Hurts may be

voluntary, or involuntary: and involuntary hurts, whether great or small, are not injuries: and, on the other hand, a benefit may be an injury. An act which gives or takes away anything is not simply just; but the legislator has to consider the animus of the agent, and to provide satisfaction and retribution with a view to the reconciliation of the parties. "Excellent." Where injustice, like disease, is remediable, there the remedy must be applied in word or deed — with the assistance of pleasures and pains, of bounties and penalties, or any other influence which may inspire man with the love of justice, or hatred of injustice; and this is the noblest work of law. When the legislator perceives the evil to be incurable, he will consider that the death of the offender will be a good to himself, and in two ways a good to society: first, as he becomes an example to others; secondly, because the city will be quit of a rogue; and in such a case, but in no other, the legislator will punish with death. "I think that there is truth in what you say. I wish, however, that you would distinguish more clearly the difference of injury and harm, and the complications of voluntary and involuntary." I will endeavor to comply with your request. You will admit that anger is of a violent and destructive nature? "That cannot be denied." And further, that pleasure is different from anger, and is derived from an opposite source to anger, working by persuasion and the force of deceit? "Yes." Ignorance is the third source of error; which the legislator may note as being of two kinds — simple ignorance, and ignorance doubled by conceit of knowledge; the latter, when accompanied with power, is a source of terrible errors, but excusable when only weak and childish. We are in the habit of saying that one man masters, and another is mastered by pleasure and anger. "Just so." But no one says that one man masters, and another is mastered by ignorance. "Very true." All these motives actuate men and sometimes drive them different ways. "That is often the case." Now I am in a position to define the nature of just and unjust. By injustice I mean the dominion of anger and fear, and pleasure and pain, and envy and desire in the soul, whether doing harm or not: by justice I mean the rule of the opinion of the best, whether in states or individuals, extending to the whole of life; although actions done in error are often thought to be involuntary injustice. No controversy need be raised about names at present; we are only desirous of fixing in our memories the heads of error. And the pain which is called fear or anger is our first head of error; the second, is the head of pleasures and desires; and the third, of hopes which aim at true opinion about the best, the latter falling into three divisions, accordingly as they proceed from anger, desire, ignorance, making in all five. And the laws relating to them may be summed up under two heads. "What are they?" Deeds of violence and irregularity, deeds of darkness and

deceit; to which may be added the combination of both, and these last should be visited with the utmost rigor of the law. "Very properly."

Let us now return to the enactment of laws. We have treated of sacrilege, and of treason, and of sedition. Any of these crimes may be committed by a person not in his right mind, or in the second childhood of old age. And if this is proved before the select tribunal, the person in question shall only have to pay for the injury, and not be punished further. In case of homicide he shall be exiled for a year, and if he return before the expiration of the year, shall be retained in the public prison two years.

Murder has next to be considered. There is first of all involuntary homicide. He who unintentionally kills another man at games or at gymnastics duly authorized by the archons, whether death follow immediately or after an interval, shall be aquitted, subject only to the purification required by the Delphian Oracle. Any physician whose patient dies against his will shall in like manner be acquitted. Any one who unintentionally kills a slave, with or without weapons, shall bear the master of the slave harmless, or pay a penalty amounting to twice the value of the slave. To this let him add a purification greater than in the case of the deaths at the games; and this, if a man kills his own slave, is all that is required of him. If he kill a freeman, let him also make purification, not forgetting the ancient tradition which says that the murdered man is indignant at seeing his murderer walk about in his own former haunts, and that he terrifies him with the consciousness of his crime. For which reason he should go into exile for a year, and keep away from his own land or that of the murdered man. If the homicide complies with this condition, the nearest kinsman of the deceased shall take pity upon him and be reconciled to him; but if he refuses to remain in exile, or attempts to go and sacrifice before he has been purified, then let the kinsman proceed against him, and demand a double penalty. Or if he neglects this duty, then he himself shall incur a curse, and another shall proceed against both of them, and demand of the murderer a punishment of five years instead of one. If a stranger involuntarily kill a stranger, any one may proceed against him in the same manner; and the homicide, if he be a metic, shall be banished for a year; but if he be an entire stranger, whether he have murdered metic, citizen, or stranger, he shall be banished forever; and if he return, he shall be liable to banishment and loss of property. If he come back by sea against his will, he shall be kept with his feet in the water waiting for a vessel to sail; or if he be brought back by land, the magistrates shall send him unharmed beyond the border.

Next follows murder done from anger, which is of two kinds — either arising out of a sudden impulse, and attended with remorse

or retaliation of an injury, which is attended by no remorse. The cause of both is anger, and both are intermediate between voluntary and involuntary. The one who acts from sudden impulse, though not wholly involuntary, bears the image of the involuntary, and is therefore the more excusable of the two, and should receive a gentler punishment. The act of him who nurses his wrath is more voluntary, and therefore more culpable. The degree of culpability depends on the presence or absence of intention, to which the degree of punishment should correspond. For the first kind of murder, that which is done from anger, let two years' exile be the penalty; for the second, that which is accompanied with malice prepense, three. When the time of exile has expired, the judges shall send twelve of their number to inquire into the manner of life of the exiles; and they shall impose a rule upon them, which shall be binding. He who after returning repeats the offense, shall return no more. He who in a fit of anger kills his own slave, shall purify himself; and in the case of another man's slave, he shall pay to him double the value. Any one may proceed against the offender if he appear in public places, not having been purified; and the accuser shall receive double the penalty. If a slave kill his master, or a freeman who is not his master, in anger, the kindred of the murdered person may do what else they please with him, but they must not spare his life. If a father or mother kill their son or daughter in anger, let them remain in exile for three years; and on their return let them separate, and not continue to cohabit, or have the same sacred rites with those whom they have deprived of a brother or sister. The same penalty is decreed against the husband who murders his wife, or the wife who murders her husband. Let them be absent three years, and on their return never join in the feasts or meals of their children. Nor is the brother or sister who have lifted up their hands against a brother or sister, ever to partake of the hearth or sacrifices of their parents. If a son feels such violent hatred against his father or mother as to take the life of either of them, then, if the father forgive him before his death, he shall only suffer the penalty due to involuntary homicide; but if he be unforgiven, there are many laws against which he has offended; he is at once guilty of outrage, impiety, sacrilege, and deserves to be put to death many times over. If, as the law supposes, he may not kill the author of his being even in defense of his own life, no other penalty can be inflicted upon him. If a brother kill a brother in self-defense, or a citizen a citizen, or a slave a slave, or if a citizen and stranger kill one another, let them be free from blame, as he is who slays an enemy in battle. But if a slave kill a freeman, let him be as a parricide. In all cases, however, the forgiveness of the injured party may acquit the agents of all but the pollution; and of this the penalty is a year's exile.

Enough of actions that are involuntary, or done in anger; let us proceed to voluntary actions. The great source of voluntary crime is the desire of money, which is begotten by evil education; and this arises out of the false praise of riches, common both among Hellenes and barbarians, which, although in the third rank of goods, is placed by them in the first. For the body is not for the sake of wealth, but wealth for the body, as the body is for the soul. If this were better understood, the crime of murder, of which avarice is the chief cause, would soon cease among men. Next to avarice, ambition is a source of crime, dangerous to the ambitious man himself, as well as to the chief men of the state. And next to ambition, base fear is a motive which has led many a one to commit murder, in order that he may get rid of the witnesses of his crimes. Let this be said as a prelude to all enactments about crimes; there may be added a doctrine of revenge or retaliation in the world below; and if a man is deterred by the fear of this, he will have no need of the law; but if he disobey, let the law be as follows: He who of malice prepense kills one of his kindred, shall in the first place be outlawed; neither temple, harbor, nor agora shall be polluted by his presence. And if a kinsman of the deceased refuse to proceed against his slayer, he shall take the curse of pollution upon himself, and also be liable to suffer punishment at the hands of any one who will avenge the dead. Let him who is willing, after due sacrifices and purifications, carry out the process of justice appointed by the legislator. The exact mode will be best determined by a conclave of prophets and guardians of the law, and the judges of the cause shall be the same as in cases of sacrilege. He who is convicted shall be punished with death, and not be buried within the limits of the country of the murdered person. He who runs away shall undergo perpetual banishment; and if he return, he may be put to death with impunity by any of the citizens, or bound and delivered to the archons. He who brings an accusation shall demand satisfactory bail of the accused, and if this is not forthcoming, the magistrate shall keep him in prison against the day of trial. If a stranger commits murder by the hand of another, he shall be tried in the same way as in the cases previously supposed, but he shall not be deprived of burial in the land.

If a slave kill a freeman, whether by his own hand or that of another, let him be taken to the grave of the murdered man, and there receive as many stripes at the hand of the public executioner as the person who took him pleases; and if he survive he shall be put to death. If a slave be put out of the way to prevent his informing of some crime, his death shall be punished like that of a citizen. If the putting of him to death have arisen out of some of those horrible crimes which occur in families where there is a bad state of society, of which the legislator, however unwilling, cannot avoid to

take cognizance, he will repeat the old saw or myth of the divine vengeance against the perpetrators of such atrocities. The myth will say that the murderer must suffer what he has done: if he have slain his father, he must be slain by his children; if his mother, he must become a woman and perish at the hands of his offspring in another age of the world. Such a preamble announcing the anger of the gods may terrify him; but if, notwithstanding, he falls into the recklessness of crime, and murders father or mother or brethren or children, the mode of proceeding shall be as follows: Him who is convicted, the ministers of the judges shall slay, and expose naked without the city in a place where three ways meet; and all the magistrates shall cast a stone upon his head and justify the city, and he shall be thrown unburied beyond the border. But what shall we say of him who deprives Destiny of her right, and takes the life which is dearest to him, that is to say, his own; and this not from any disgrace or calamity, but from cowardice and indolence? The manner of his burial and the purification of his crime is a matter for God to decide and for his kinsmen to execute. Let him, at any rate, be buried alone in some undistinguished spot, and be without name or monument. If a beast kill a man, not in a public contest, let him be slain and carried without the border by the relations of the deceased. Also inanimate things which have caused death, except in the case of lightning and other visitations from Heaven, shall be carried without the border. If the body of a dead man is found, and the murderer, after every effort to detect him, remains unknown, the trial shall take place all the same, and the unknown murderer, if found guilty, shall be warned not to partake of the sacrifices or come within the borders of the land; if discovered, he shall die the death, and his body shall be cast out. A man is justified in taking the life of a thief entering the house by night, of a robber, of a violator of women or youth; and he may take the life of another in defense of father, mother, brother, or other relations.

The nurture and education which are necessary to the existence of men have been considered, and the punishment of acts of violence which destroy life. There remain maimings, wounding, and the like, which admit of a similar division into voluntary and involuntary. About this class of actions the preamble shall be: Whereas men would be like wild beasts unless they obeyed the laws, the first duty of citizens is the care of the public interests, which unite and preserve states, as private interests distract them. A man may know what is for the public good, but if he be undisciplined, human nature will impel him to seek pleasure instead of virtue, and so darkness will come over his soul and over the state. If he had knowledge, he would have no need of law; for knowledge is the perfection of law. But such a freeman, "whom the truth makes

free," is hardly to be found; and therefore law and order are necessary, which are the second best, and they regulate many things, but not everything. For actions have innumerable characteristics, which must be partly determined by the law and partly left to the judge. The judge must determine the fact; nor can the law always prescribe the punishment. What shall the law prescribe, and what shall be left to the judge? A city is unfortunate in which the tribunal is either secret and speechless, or, what is worse, noisy and public, and, like a theatre, resounding with the applause and censure of the advocates. Such courts a legislator would rather not have; but if he must have them, he will speak plainly himself, and leave as little as possible in the power of the advocate. But where the courts are good, and presided over by well-trained judges, the penalties to be inflicted may be in a great measure left to them; and as there are to be good courts among our colonists, there will be no need for us to determine beforehand the exact proportion of the penalty and the crime. Returning, then, to our legislator, let us indite a law about wounding, which shall run as follows: He who wounds with intent to kill, and fails in his object, shall be tried and punished as if he had succeeded. But as God has favored both him and his victim, instead of being put to death, he shall be allowed to go into exile and take his property with him, the damage due to the sufferer having been previously estimated by the court, which shall be the same as would have tried the case if death had ensued. If a child intentionally wound its parent, or a servant his master, or if brother or sister wound brother or sister with malice prepense, the penalty shall be death. If a husband or wife wound one another with intent to kill, the penalty which is inflicted upon them shall be perpetual exile, and their property and family shall be placed in the hands of trustees. If they have no children, their kinsmen male and female shall meet, and after a consultation with the priests and guardians of the law, shall appoint an heir of the house; for the house and family belong to the state, being a 5040th portion of the whole. And the state is bound to preserve her families happy and holy; therefore, when the heir of a house has committed a capital offense, or is in exile for life, the house is to be purified, and then the kinsmen of the house are to inquire about those who are conspicuous for virtue, and introduce one of them to be the heir and priest of the house. He shall assume the fathers and ancestors of the family, while the first son dies in dishonor and his name is blotted out.

Some actions are intermediate between the voluntary and involuntary, and differ in degree. Anger is of this class. If a man wounds another in anger, let him pay double the value of the injury, if curable; or fourfold, if curable, and at the same time dishonorable; and fourfold, if incurable; this is to be assessed by the

judges. If the wounded person is incapable of military service, beside the other penalties which he undergoes the injurer shall serve in his stead, or be liable to a suit for refusing to serve. If brother wounds brother, then their parents and kindred, of both sexes, shall meet and judge the crime. The damages shall be assessed by the parents; and if the amount fixed by them is disputed, the opinion of their male kindred is to prevail; or in the last resort, an appeal shall be made to the guardians of the law. Children who wound their parents are to be tried by judges of at least sixty years of age, who have children of their own; and they are to determine whether death, or what greater or in any degree less punishment, is to be inflicted upon them — no relatives are to take part in the trial. If a slave in anger smite a freeman, he is to be delivered up by his master to the injured person. If the master suspect collusion between the slave and the injured person, he may try the matter. And if he fail he shall pay three times the injury; or if he obtain a conviction, the contriver of the conspiracy shall be his slave. He who wounds another unintentionally, shall pay single and not double damages. The lawgiver cannot control accidents.

In all outrages and acts of violence, the elder is to be more regarded than the younger; as among the gods so also among men. An injury done by a younger man to an elder is abominable and hateful; but the younger man who sustains an injury at the hands of an elder is to bear with him patiently, considering that he who is twenty years older is *loco parentis*. Let him keep his hands, too, from the stranger; instead of taking upon himself to chastise him when he is insolent, he shall bring him before the wardens of the city, who, not without thought of the God who protects strangers, shall inflict upon him as many blows as he has given; or if he be innocent, they shall warn and threaten his accuser. When an equal strikes an equal, whether an old man an old man, or a young man a young man, let them use only their fists and have no knives. He who being above forty years of age commences a battle, or retaliates, shall be counted mean and base. To this preamble, let the law be added: —

If a man smite another who is his elder by twenty years or more, let the bystander, in case he be older than the combatants, part them; or if he be younger than the person struck, or of the same age with him, let him defend him; and let the striker be brought to trial, and if convicted imprisoned for a year or more at the discretion of the judges. If he be a stranger, he shall be imprisoned for two years, and if a metic for three. He who is standing by and gives no assistance, shall be punished according to his class in one of four penalties — a mina, fifty, forty, thirty drachmas. The generals shall form the court who try this class of offense. Laws are

made to instruct the good, and in the hope that there may be no need of them; also to control the bad, whose hardness of heart will not be hindered from crime. The uttermost penalty is reserved for the parricide and matricide, who despises the universal moral sense and tradition of mankind; for such there are reserved tortures worse than death in the world below. These, however, are not believed by them, else there would be no such criminals — wherefore the tortures which will then await them must be anticipated in this life. Let the law be as follows:

If a man, being in his right mind, dares to smite his father and mother, or his grandfather and grandmother, let the passer-by come to the rescue; and if he be a metic or stranger who comes to the rescue, he shall have the first place at the games; or if he do not come to the rescue, he shall be a perpetual exile. Let the citizen in the like case be praised or blamed, and the slave receive freedom or 100 stripes. The wardens of the agora, the city, and the country, shall see to the wrong, and the passer-by who is a native of the country shall help; or if he do not, he shall be under a curse.

If a man be convicted of assaulting his parents, let him in the first place be banished and hindered from sacrificing; and if he will not be hindered, let him be beaten at the pleasure of the magistrates; and if he return from banishment, let him be punished with death. If any freeman consort with him, let him be purified before he return to the city. If a slave strike a freeman, whether citizen or stranger, let the bystander be bound under a penalty to seize and deliver him into the hands of the injured person. Let him inflict upon him as many blows as he pleases, and return him safely to his master. The law shall run as follows: The slave who strikes a freeman shall be bound by his master, and not set at liberty without the consent of the person whom he has injured. All these laws shall apply to women as well as to men.

Book X. The greatest wrongs arise out of youthful insolence, and the greatest of these are committed against public temples: they are in the second degree great when private rites and sepulchres are insulted; in the third degree, when committed against parents; in the fourth degree, when they offend against rights of property in the rulers; in the fifth degree, when the civil rights of individuals are violated. Most of these offenses have been already considered; but there remains the question of admonition and punishment of offenses against the gods. Let the admonition be in the following terms: No man who ever did or said anything impious, had a true belief in the existence of the gods; but either he thought that there were no gods, or that they did not care about men, or that they were easily appeased by sacrifices and prayers. "What shall we say or do to such persons?" My good

sir, let us first hear the jests which they in their superiority will make upon us. "What will they say?" Probably something of this kind: Strangers, you are right in thinking that some of us do not believe in the existence of the gods; while others assert that they do not care for us, and others that they are propitiated by prayers. But we want you to preach to us before you threaten us; prove that there are gods, and that they are too good to be bribed. Poets, priests, prophets, rhetoricians, even the best of them, speak to us of atoning for evil, and not of avoiding evil. From gentle legislators we ask for instruction, which may, at least, have the persuasive power of truth, if no other. What have you to say to this? "Well, there is no difficulty in proving the being of the gods. The sun, and earth, and stars, moving in their courses, the recurring seasons, are evidences of their existence; and there is the general opinion of mankind." I am afraid that the unbelievers — not that I have any respect for them — will despise us. You do not seem to see that their impiety proceeds, not from sensuality, but from ignorance in the garb of wisdom. "What do you mean?" At Athens there are current tales, written both in metre and out of metre, of a kind which are not tolerated in a well-regulated state like Lacedaemon. The oldest of them speak of the origin of the world, and the birth and life of the gods. Now these tales have not a good influence on family relations; but as they are old we will let them pass, and consider tales of another kind, invented by young men of our time, who are fond of repeating that the gods are earth and stones, which can have no care of human things, and that theology is a cooking-up of words. "One such doctrine is bad enough, and alas! you imply that there are many of them." What shall we say or do? Shall we suppose some impious man to charge us with assuming the existence of the gods, and make a defense? Or shall we leave the preamble and go on to the laws? "No man hurries us, and we have often said that the shorter and worse method should not be preferred to the longer and better. The proof that there are gods who are good, and the friends of justice, is the preamble of all law." Come, then, and let us talk with the impious, who have been brought up from their infancy to believe and practice religion, and have heard their own fathers and mothers praying for them at sunset and sunrise; who have seen mankind prostrate in adoration at every turn of fortune, and have despised and disbelieved all this. Can we refrain from being angry with them, when they compel us to argue on such a theme? Let us address them as follows: —

O my son, you are young; time and experience will make you change many of your opinions. Do not be hasty in forming a conclusion about the nature of the gods; and let me mention to you a fact which I know. You and your friends are not the only or the

first persons who have held these opinions about the gods. There are always a considerable number who are infected by them: I have known many of these persons, and can assure you that no one who was an unbeliever in his youth ever persisted till he was old in denying the existence of the gods. The two other opinions, first, that the gods exist and have no care of men, secondly, that they care for men, but may be propitiated by sacrifices and prayers, may indeed last through life in a few instances, but even this is not common. I would beg of you to be patient, and learn the truth of the legislator and others; in the mean time abstain from impiety. "Thus far your address is admirable."

I will now speak of a strange doctrine, which is regarded by many as the crown of philosophy. They say that all things come into being either by art or nature or chance, and that the greater things are done by nature and chance, and the lesser things by art, which receives from nature the larger creations and fashions them in detail. "What do you and they mean?" They mean to say that fire, water, earth, and air all exist by nature and chance, and not by art, and that out of these the sun, moon, stars, and earth were afterwards framed, they being absolutely inanimate substances, moved by chance, according to a natural kindred of hot and cold, hard and soft.

Thus, in their opinion, the heaven and earth were created, as well as the animals and plants, and by these two causes — nature and chance. Art came later, and is of mortal birth; by her power were invented certain images and partial imitations of the truth, of which kind are music and painting; but they say that there are other arts which combine with nature, and have a deeper truth, such as medicine, husbandry, mathematics. Also the greater part of politics they imagine in a less degree to coöperate with nature, having more of art, and that legislation is wholly a work of art. "How do you mean?" In the first place, they say that the gods exist neither by nature nor by art, but by the laws of states, which are different in different countries; and that virtue is one thing by nature and another by convention; and that justice is altogether conventional, and made by law. This is repeated to young men, both in prose and verse, and leads to all manner of impieties, and the pretended life according to nature, and in disobedience to law; for nobody believes the gods to be such as the law affirms. "Too true; and O! how injurious to states and to families!" But then, what should the lawgiver do? Should he stand up in the state and threaten all mankind with the dire consequences of unbelief, at the same time making no attempt to calm and persuade them? "Nay Stranger, a legislator who is worth anything ought never to weary of endeavoring to help the people in their belief that there are gods. law and art should be affirmed by him to be the creations of mind.

Yes, Cleinias; but we are entering on questions which are difficult and tedious. "And shall our patience, which was not exhausted in the inquiry about music or drink, weary now of discoursing about the gods? Laws may be difficult, but when written down they remain, and time and diligence will decipher them; to complain of their tediousness would be an impiety." Most true. And the general spread of unbelief shows that the legislator should do something in vindication of the laws. "He should." You agree with me, Cleinias, that the heresy consists in supposing earth, air, fire, and water to be the first of all things. These the heretics call nature, and conceive them to be prior to the soul. "I agree." You would further agree that natural philosophy is the source of this impiety: the study appears to be pursued in a wrong way. "In what way do you mean?" The error seems to consist in transposing first and second causes. "I do not yet understand your meaning." I mean to say that they err in not knowing that the soul is before the body, and prior to the harmony of all things, and the ruler of them all in their vicissitudes. And if the soul is prior to the body, then the things of the soul are prior to the things of the body. "Certainly." In other words, opinion, attention, mind, art, law, are prior to sensible qualities; and the first and greater works of creation are the results of art and mind, whereas the works of nature, as they are improperly termed, are secondary and subsequent. "Quite true." When they speak of nature they seem to mean the generation of the first elements. And if the soul is first, and not fire and air, then the soul most truly exists in the order of nature. But this can only be if the soul is prior to the body. "Most true." Shall I go at once to the point? "By all means." I am afraid that the greenness of our argument will ludicrously contrast with the ripeness of our ages. But as we must go into the water, and the stream is strong, I will first try the experiment of crossing by myself, and if I arrive at the bank, you shall follow. Remembering that you are not in the habit of answering questions, I will interrogate myself with the view of establishing the priority of the soul to the body. "Do so." I must first pray the gods to assist at the demonstration of their own existence — never was there a more fitting occasion. Let me now hold fast to the rope, and enter into the depths: Shall I put the question to myself in this form? Do all things last forever, and is nothing moved? or do some things abide and some things move? "The last." And are they moving or abiding in some place or places? "Yes." There may be motion in the same place, as in revolution on an axis, which is imparted swiftly or slowly to the lesser and larger circle; and there may be motion in different places, having sometimes one centre of motion and sometimes more. When different bodies impinge upon one another they are divided by bodies at rest, and unite with other bodies meeting them in an opposite direc-

tion, and they grow by union while their constitution remains the same, but are destroyed either by union or division, when their constitution is lost. There is a growth from one dimension to two, and from a second to a third, which becomes perceptible to sense; and these are all the motions possible with the exception of two. "What are they?" Just the two with which our inquiry is concerned; for our inquiry relates to the soul. Now there is one kind of motion which only moves other things; there is another which is self-moved. "Granted." That which moves and is moved by another is the ninth kind of motion; that which is self-moved and moves others is the tenth. And this tenth kind of motion is the mightiest, and is really the first, and is followed by that which was improperly called the ninth. "How do you mean?" Must not that which is moved by others finally depend upon that which is moved by itself? Nothing can be effected by any transition prior to self-motion. Then the first and eldest principle of motion, whether in things at rest or not at rest, will be the principle of self-motion; and that which is changed by others and moves others will be the second. "True." Let me ask another question:—

What is the name which is given to self-motion when manifested in any material substance? "Life." The soul is life? "Very good." And has not everything three principles, (1) the essence, (2) the definition of the essence, (3) the name. And sometimes the name leads us to ask the definition, sometimes the definition to ask the name; for example, number may be defined as that which is divisible into two equal parts, and the definition and the name coincide in the same entity? "Very true." And what is the definition of that which is named "soul?" Must we not reply the self-moved? And have we not proved that the self-moved is the source of motion in other things? "That has been proved." And the motion which is not self-moved will be inferior to this? "True." And if so, we shall be right in saying that the soul is prior and superior to the body, and the body by nature subject and inferior to the soul. "Quite right." And we agreed that if the soul was prior to the body, the things of the soul were prior to the things of the body? "Certainly." And therefore desires, and manners, and thoughts, and true opinions, and recollections, are prior to the length and breadth and force of bodies. "Of course." In the next place, we acknowledge that the soul is the cause of good and evil, just and unjust, and is equally the cause of all things. "Certainly." And the soul which orders all things must also order the heavens? "Of course." One soul or more? More; I will answer for you; less than two are inconceivable, one good, the other evil. "Most true." The soul directs all things in heaven and earth and sea by her movements, which we call will, consideration, attention, deliberation, opinion true and false, joy, sorrow, courage, fear, hatred, love, and

similar affections. These are the primary movements, and they receive the secondary movements of the body, and guide all things to increase and decline, separation and union, and to all the qualities which accompany them — cold, hot, heavy, light, hard, soft, white, black, sweet, bitter; and all these the soul receives by the help of the divine mind — herself divine — guiding all things into truth and happiness; or under the impulse of folly working out an opposite result. For the controller of heaven and earth and the circle of the world is either the wise and good soul, or the foolish and vicious soul, working in them. "What do you mean?" If we say that the whole course and motion of heaven and earth is in accordance with the workings and reasonings of mind, clearly the best soul must have the care of the heaven, and lead the heaven along that better way. "True." But if the heavens move wildly and disorderly, then they must be under the guidance of the evil soul. "True again." What is the nature of the movement of the soul? We must not lead people to suppose that they can see and know the soul with their bodily eyes, any more than they can see objects by darkening their eyesight looking at the midday sun; they had better look at an image only. "How do you mean?" Let us find in the ten kinds of motion an image of the motion of the mind. You remember, as we said, that all things are divided into two classes; and some of them were moved and some at rest. "Yes." And of those which were moved, some were moved in the same place, others in more places than one. "Just so." The motion which was in one place was circular, as in the motion of a top; this is akin to the course of mind. "What do you mean?" The motion of the top in the same place, and in the same relations, is an excellent and ingenious image of the motion of mind. "Very true." The motion of the other sort, which has no relation or order or proportion, is a species of motion akin to folly and nonsense. "Very true." After what has been said, there is no difficulty in distinctly stating that, since the soul carries round all things, some soul which is either very good or the opposite, carries round the circumference of heaven. But we cannot suppose that soul to be other than the best. Again, the soul carries round the sun, moon, and stars, and there is good reason for believing that if the sun has a soul, then either the soul of the sun is within and moves the sun as the soul moves the body; or, secondly, the sun is contained in some external air or fire, which the soul provides; or, thirdly, the course of the sun is given by the soul acting in some miraculous manner without the body. "Yes, in one of those ways the soul must guide all things." And this soul of the sun, which is better than the sun, whether driving him in a chariot or employing any other agency, is by every man called a god? "Yes, by every man who has any sense." And of the seasons, stars, moon, and year, in like manner,

may be affirmed that the soul or souls from which they derived their excellence are divine; and without insisting on the manner of their working, no one can deny that all things are full of gods. "No one." And now let us offer an alternative to the gentleman who denies that there are gods. "What alternative?" Either he must show that the soul is not the origin of all things, or he must live for the future in the belief that there are gods.

Next, as to the man who believes in the gods, but refuses to believe that they take care of human things; let him too have a word of admonition. Best of men, we will say to him, some affinity to the gods leads you to honor them and to believe in them. But there are strokes of fortune, which you have observed; the rewards of wicked men are often praised by poets and approved by the world, and these draw you away from your natural piety. Perhaps you have seen the wicked growing old in prosperity, and leaving great offices to their children? Or you have watched the tyrant succeeding in his career of crime? And by reason of all these things you were led to believe in an irrational way that the gods take no care of human things. That your error may not increase, I will endeavor to purify your soul. Do you, Megillus and Cleinias, make answer for the youth, and when we come to a difficulty, I will get you over the water. "Very good." There is no difficulty in proving to him that the gods care for the small as well as the great, for he heard what was said of their goodness and of their having all things under their hand. "He certainly heard." Then now let us inquire what is meant by the virtue and goodness of the gods. Are not temperance and wisdom the component elements of virtue, and their opposites of vice? "That is what we say." And is not courage a part of virtue, and cowardice a part of vice? "Certainly." And to the gods we ascribe virtues; but are idleness and indolence virtues? "Of course not." And is God to be conceived of as a careless, indolent fellow, whom the poet would compare to a drone? "Impossible." Can we be right in praising any one who cares for great matters and leaves the small to take care of themselves? Whether God or man, he who does so, must either think that the neglect of such matters is of no consequence, or he may be indolent and fastidious. But no one would say that he neglected them if he were unable to attend to them. "Certainly not."

And now we will examine both classes of offenders against the gods — the one who say that they may be appeased, the other that they take no care of small matters; do they not acknowledge that the gods know all things, and have all power, human and divine, and that they are best? "Certainly." Then they cannot be indolent, for indolence is the offspring of idleness, and idleness of cowardice, and there is no cowardice in God. "True." If they neglect small matters, they must either know or not know that such things are

not to be regarded. Shall we say that they know, or not knowing, that they neglect their duty, overcome by the seductions of pleasure or pain? "How can that be?" Has not human nature a living soul, and is not man the most religious creature in the earth, and the possession of the gods, as the heavens, are also their possession? And the gods being the most provident beings, should take care of their property, whether small or great. Consider further, that the greater the power of perception, the less the power of action. "What do you mean?" It is harder to see and hear the small than the great, but easier to control them. Suppose a physician who had to cure a patient — would he ever succeed if he attended to the great and neglected the little? "Impossible." And is not life made up of littles? — the pilot, general, householder, statesman, all attend to small matters; and even the builder will tell you that large stones will not lie without small ones. Let us not then suppose God to be inferior to mortal craftsmen, who in proportion to their skill are careful in the details of their work; or that the best and wisest is a lazy good-for-nothing, who wants a holiday, and thinks small matters, which are also the easiest, to be beneath his notice. "Never, never!" He who charges the gods with neglect has been forced to admit that he is in error; but I should like further to persuade him that the author of all has put all together for the preservation of the whole, and that the smallest part has an appointed state of action or passion, and that the least action or passion of any part has a presiding minister. You, we say to him, are a minute fraction of this universe, created with a view to the whole; the blessed world is not made for the sake of you, but you are made to increase the blessedness of the whole; for the good physician and the good artist regard the whole first, and afterwards the parts. And you are annoyed at not seeing how your own part is working for the good of the whole. The soul has many changes of bodies; and all that the player can do is to put the pieces into their right places. "What do you mean?" I mean that God acts in the way which is simplest and easiest. Where change is ever going on, and new forms and fashions of life are springing up, the transposition of the Cosmos is endless; and yet there is not much trouble in the government of the world. "What do you mean?" I mean to say that when the king saw the actions of the living souls, and the virtue and vice which were in them, and the indestructibility of them (although they were not eternal), he contrived to place them where virtue might conquer and vice be overcome as far as possible; and with this view he changed their place and seat as far as their natures allowed, leaving the direction of their separate actions to men's own wills and characters, which make us to be what we are. "That is very reasonable." All things which have a soul are changing, and possess in themselves the source of change. In which change they

move according to the law and order of fate; when they change gradually they move along the surface of the ground; when they change greatly for the worse, they are weighed down into Hades and the infernal world. And in all great changes in the direction of good and evil which are produced by the will of the soul and the mighty influence of others, there is a change of place. The good soul, which has intercourse with the divine nature, passes into some holy or better place. The evil soul, in like manner, as she grows worse changes her place for the worse. That is the law of the gods in heaven — the worse to the worse, the better to the better, like to like, in life and in death, and in every state of being or of suffering. You, O youth, who fancy you are neglected by the gods, shall depart to more unrighteous souls, and shall endure what those who are like you see fit to impose upon you. That is the law which will govern you, and which no man will ever boast that he has escaped. Thou art not so little that thou canst creep into the earth, or so high that thou canst mount to heaven; but either here, or in the world below, or in some other place, you shall pay the penalty. The same tale explains the fate of those wicked men whom you saw in great prosperity, and whom you made the mirror of a divine justice, not considering their latter end in relation to the whole. And yet without the knowledge of this you can form no idea of their real happiness or unhappiness. If Cleinias and this reverend company succeed in persuading you that you know not what you say about the gods, God will help you; but if there is still any deficiency of proof, hear our answer to the third opponent.

Enough has been said to prove that the gods exist and care for us; that they can be propitiated, or that they receive gifts is not to be allowed or admitted for an instant. "Let us proceed." Tell me, by the gods, I say, how the gods are to be propitiated by us? Are they not rulers, charioteers, pilots, perhaps generals, or physicians healing the strife of bodily disease, husbandmen observing the perils of the seasons, shepherds watching their flocks? To whom shall we compare them? We acknowledged that the world is full both of good and evil, but having more of evil than of good. There is an immortal conflict going on, in which gods and demi-gods are our allies; and the most extraordinary care is required to save the property of the gods, that is to say, the soul of man, which is preserved by justice and virtue, and destroyed by folly and wickedness. There is little of the first to be found on earth; and brutal and unjust natures fawn upon their keepers, who may be dogs or shepherds, or may be the most perfect of masters. But we affirm that dishonesty is to human souls what disease is to human bodies, what plague or pestilence is to the seasons, what injustice is to states. 'Just so." And they who maintain that the gods can be appeased, must say that they forgive the sins of men, if they are allowed to

share in their dishonesties; as you might suppose wolves to throw the dogs a bit, and then to be left by them in peace, that they may devour the flock. "That is the argument." But let us apply our images to the gods — are they the pilots who are bribed to drown the ship — or the charioteers who are bribed to lose the race — or the generals, or doctors, or husbandmen, who are perverted from their duty — or the dogs who are seduced by wolves? "God forbid." Are they not rather our best guardians; and shall we suppose them to fall short even of a moderate degree of human and canine virtue, which will not pervert justice for reward? "Impossible." He, then, who maintains such a doctrine, is the most blasphemous of mankind.

And now our three points are proven; and we are agreed (1) that there are gods, (2) that they have a care for man, (3) that they are inflexible in justice. I have spoken warmly, from a fear lest this impiety of theirs should lead to a perversion of life. And our warmth will not have been in vain, if we have succeeded in persuading these men to abominate themselves, and to change their ways. "There may be a hope of doing so; and, at any rate, the sermon does credit to the lawgiver's ingenuity." Then now that the preamble is completed, we will make a proclamation commanding the impious to leave their ways; and in case they refuse, the law shall be added: If a man is guilty of impiety in word or deed, let the bystander inform the rulers, and let the rulers bring him before the court. If the rulers fail in the fulfillment of their duty, the offender may be accused by any one who likes; and if he be found guilty, he shall be fined for each offense. All such criminals are to be imprisoned. There shall be three prisons: one for common offenses against life and property; another, in connection with the nocturnal council, which is to be called the house of improvement; a third, in some desolate and wild region in the centre of the country, which shall be called the house of vengeance. There are three causes of impiety, and from each of them spring two kinds of impiety, six in all. First, there is the impiety of those who deny the existence of the gods; these may be honest men, who are only dangerous because they make converts; but there is also a vicious and self-indulgent class of them, who are full of craft and licentiousness. To this latter belong diviners and enchanters, despots and demagogues, generals, hierophants of private mysteries, and cunning Sophists. The first class shall be only imprisoned and admonished. The second class should be put to death, if they could be, many times over. The two other sorts of impiety, first, of those who deny the care of the gods, and secondly, of those who affirm that they may be propitiated, have similar subdivisions, varying in degree of guilt. Those who have learnt to blaspheme, from ignorance or evil education, shall be imprisoned for five years at

least, and not allowed to see any one but members of the council, who shall converse with them touching their souls' health. If any of the prisoners come to their right mind, at the end of five years, let them be restored to sane company; but he who again offends shall die. As to that class of monstrous natures who not only believe that the gods are negligent, or may be propitiated, but pretend to practice on the souls of quick and dead, and promise to charm the gods, and to effect the overthrow of houses and states — he, I say, who is guilty of these things, shall be bound in the central prison, and shall have no intercourse with any freeman, receiving only his daily rations of food; and if he die, let him be cast beyond the border. But his sins shall not be visited upon his children, who, like other orphans, shall be educated by the state. Further, let there be a general law which will have a tendency to repress actions of impiety. A man shall not be allowed to have religious services in his house, but he shall go with his friends to pray and sacrifice in the temples. The reason of this is, that religious institutions can only be framed by a great intelligence. But women and weak men are always consecrating the event of the moment; they are under the influence of dreams and visions, and awakenings, and they build altars and temples in every village, and on every open spot. The law is designed to prevent this, and also has an eye to the reformation of offenders, who will thus be deterred from secret, impious practices on themselves, or on better men than themselves, and on the state. Therefore let the law run, — No one shall have private religious rites; and if a man or woman who has not been previously noted for any impiety offend in this way, let him be admonished to remove his rites to a public temple; but if he be one of the impious sort who has sacrificed in impurity, being of full age and serious purpose, he shall be brought to trial before the guardians, and if he be found guilty, let him die.

Book XI. As to dealings between man and man, the simplest principle is — Thou shalt not take what is not thine; and may I do to others as I would that they should do to me. First, of treasure trove: May I never find, or desire to find, or be induced by the counsel of diviners, to lift a treasure which one who was not my ancestor has laid down; for I shall not gain so much in money as I shall lose in virtue. The saying, "Move not the immovable," may be repeated in a new sense; and there is a common belief which asserts that such deeds prevent a man from having a family. To him who is careless of these consequences, and, despising the word of the wise, reaps where he has not sown, and lifts a treasure which is not his — what will be done by the hand of the gods, God only knows, — but I would have him who sees the offender inform the magistrates in town or country; and when they have received the

information, let them send to Delphi and act upon the decision of the oracle. If the informer be a freeman, he shall be honored; if a slave, he shall be enfranchised; but if the freeman do not inform, he shall be dishonored, and the slave put to death. If a man leave anything great or small, intentionally or unintentionally, in the possession of another, let him deem the deposit sacred to the goddess of ways. And he who appropriates the same, if he be a slave, shall be beaten with many stripes; if a freeman, he shall pay tenfold, and be held to have done a dishonorable action. If a person says that another has something of his, and the other allows that he has, but maintains the property in dispute to be his own, let the ownership be proved out of the registers of property; and if neither party is found to be the owner, and he is not present, possession shall be given to him who offers the best security on his behalf; or if the property is not registered, let it remain with the three eldest archons, and if the thing be an animal, the defeated party must pay the cost of his keep to the archons. A man may do as he pleases with his slave, and he may carry off his friend's slave for safe keeping. If any one claims a slave he must produce three responsible persons as securities; and if he do not, he will be liable, if he be cast, to pay double damages for violence. A freedman who does not pay due respect to his patrons, may also be seized. Due respect consists in going three times a month to the hearth of his patron, and offering to do what he can for him; promising to marry whom he will, and not to get richer than his master; or if he does, to give the excess to his master. He is not to remain in the state except with the consent of the archons, for more than twenty years; and whenever his census exceeds that of the third class, he must in any case leave the state within thirty days, taking his property with him. If he is convicted of offending against this law he is to die, and his property to be confiscated. All suits about these matters are to be decided in the tribes, unless the parties have made the matter up, or appointed arbiters. If anybody claims a beast, or anything else, let the possessor go to the seller or giver within thirty days, if in the city, or within five months — of which the middle month is to be reckoned from the summer solstice — if the goods have been received from a stranger. All purchases and exchanges are to be made in the agora, and paid for on the spot; no credit is allowed. If credit is given, or purchases are made elsewhere, no law shall enforce payment. No law shall protect the money subscribed for clubs. He who sells anything of greater value than fifty drachmas, shall abide in the city for ten days, and let his whereabouts be known to the buyer, in case of any reclamation. When a slave is sold who is subject to epilepsy, stone, or any other invisible disorder, the buyer, if he be a physician, or if he be warned, shall have no redress; but in other cases within six months, or in epileptic disor-

ders within twelve months, he may have a jury of physicians to be agreed upon by both parties; and the seller who loses the suit, if he be an expert, shall pay twice the price; or if he be a private person the bargain shall be rescinded, and he shall refund. If a person knowingly sells a homicide to another, who is informed of his character, there is no redress. But if the judges — who are to be the five guardians of the law — decide that the purchaser was not aware, then the seller is to pay threefold, and to purify the house of the buyer. He who exchanges money for money, or beast for beast, must warrant either of them to be sound and good. As in the case of other laws, let us have a preamble, relating to all this class of crime. Adulteration is a kind of falsehood about which the many are in the habit of saying, that at proper times the practice is right. But the legislator will tell them that no man should invoke the gods when he is practicing deceit or fraud in word or deed. For he is the enemy of Heaven, first, who swears falsely, not thinking of the gods by whom he swears; and, secondly, he who lies in the presence of his superiors: and superiors are better in relation to worse, the elders to the younger, parents to children, men to women, and rulers to subjects. The trader who cheats in the agora, outrages the names and presence of gods and rulers. If after hearing this he will still be dishonest, let him listen to the law: The seller shall not have two prices on the same day, neither must he praise his goods, nor offer to swear about them. If he break the law, any citizen not less than thirty years of age may smite him. If he sell fraudulent goods, the slave or metic who informs against him shall have the goods; the citizen, if he fail in proving the charge, shall be dishonored; or if he succeed, shall offer up the goods in question to the gods of the agora. The cheating tradesman, if he is detected, shall be deprived of his goods, and shall have a stripe inflicted upon him for every drachma of their value, after proclamation has been made by a herald of the crime. The wardens of the agora and the guardians of the law shall learn of experienced persons the rogueries and tricks of the vendors, and write on a column the laws and regulations of the agora.

The subject of retail trades follows next in order, which in their natural use are the reverse of mischievous; for every man is a benefactor who reduces what is unequal to symmetry and proportion. Money is the instrument by which this is accomplished, and the shopkeepers, and merchants, and hotel-keepers do but supply and equalize the wants of mankind. Why, then, does any dishonor attach to a beneficent occupation? Let us consider the fact first, and then speak of the remedy. "What is your drift?" Dear Cleinias, there are few men in the world who are so gifted by nature and improved by education, as to be able to control their desires or who, when they might have wealth, keep their heads and prefer

moderation to accumulation. The great majority think that they can never have enough, and the consequence is that retail trade has fallen into disrepute and become a reproach. Whereas, however ludicrous the idea may seem, if noble men and noble women could be induced to open a shop, and to trade upon incorruptible principles, then the aspect of things would change, and retail traders would be regarded as nursing fathers and mothers. But now, when the trader goes and settles in remote and distant places, he receives the sea-tossed sailor hospitably at first, but in the end he treats him as an enemy and a captive, whom he only liberates for an enormous ransom. This is what has brought retail trade into disrepute, and against this the legislator ought to provide. Men have said of old, that to fight against two enemies of opposite kinds is beyond the strength of mortals; and the two enemies are wealth and poverty — the one corrupting men by luxury; the other, through misery, depriving them of the sense of shame. What remedies are there for this disease in the body politic? The first remedy is, to have as few retail traders as possible; the second is, to give retail trade over to a class who cannot be made worse than they are; and the third is, to restrain the insolence and meanness of the retailers.

Let us make the following laws: (1) In the city of the Magnetes which the god is founding anew, none of the 5040 citizens shall be a retailer or merchant, or do any service to any private persons who are not his equals, except to his father and mother, or to any of his elder kindred, being freemen. He who follows an illiberal calling, may be cited for dishonoring his family, and kept in bonds for a year; and if he offend again, he shall be bound for two years; and for every offense his punishment shall be doubled; (2) Every retailer shall be a metic or a foreigner; (3) The guardians of the law shall have a special care of this part of the community, which, not having received the benefit of education, has peculiar temptations. They shall consult with the retailer, as in the similar case of fraud, and find out what prices will yield the traders a moderate profit, and fix them.

When a man does not fulfill his contract, he being under no legal or other impediment, the case shall be brought before the courts of the tribes, if not previously settled by arbitration. The makers of household implements are sacred to Hephaestus and Athene; the makers of weapons to Ares and Athene: all of whom, remembering that the gods are their ancestors, should be ashamed to deceive in the practice of their craft. If any man is lazy in the fulfillment of his work, and fancies, like a fool, that the God who gave him the means of life will forgive him because he is an acquaintance, he will be punished by the God; and let the law follow: He who fails in his undertaking shall pay the value, and do the work gratis in a specified time. The contractor, like the seller, is enjoined by law to

charge the simple value of his work; in a free city, art should be a true thing, and the artist should not be practicing on the ignorance of others. If, on the other hand, he who has ordered the work does not pay the workman according to agreement, and, for the sake of making a little money, dishonors Zeus and Athene, and breaks the bonds of society, the law shall punish him. If he does not pay at the time agreed, let him pay double; and although interest is not allowed in other cases, let him receive, after the expiration of a year, compound interest at the rate of an obol a month for every drachma (equal to 200 per cent.). And we may observe, by the way, in speaking of craftsmen, that if our military craft do their work well, the state will praise those who honor them, and blame those who do not honor them. The law advises rather than commands this; not that the first place of honor is to be assigned to the warrior — that is reserved for those who obey the laws.

Most of the dealings between man and man are now settled, with the exception of such as relate to orphans and guardianships. This subject must be considered when we speak of the intentions of dying persons, and of those who die intestate. I say "must," for mankind cannot be allowed to do absolutely what they will with their own, in defiance of the laws and customs of the living. For a dying person is a strange being, and is not easily managed. "What do you mean?" He wants to be master of all he has, and is apt to use angry words. "What does he say?" He says, I ought to be allowed to do what I will with my own, and to give much to those who deserve well of me, and little to those who deserve ill. "There is reason in that." O Cleinias, in my judgment the older lawgivers were too soft-hearted, and wanting in insight into human affairs. "What do you mean?" I mean to say that they were too ready to listen to the outcry of dying persons, and hence they gave by law an absolute power of bequest to the dying man. But I would say to him, — O creature of a day, you know neither the nature of your property, nor your own nature. For you are not your own, and your property is not your own, but belongs to your whole family, who have preceded and will follow you, and property and family alike belong to the state. And therefore, fearing that you may make a bad disposition of your property, I will take out of your hands the charge of what you leave behind you, with a view to the interests of all. And I hope that you will not quarrel with us, for you are going the way of all mankind. Let this be our address to the living and dying, and let the law be as follows: The father who has sons shall appoint one of them to be the heir of the lot; and the lot of any other son who shall be adopted by another shall also be recorded; and if he has still a son who has no lot, and has a chance of going to a colony, he may give him the money which is over; or if he has more than one son, he may divide the money

between them. A son who has the family inheritance, and a daughter who is betrothed, are not to share in the bequest of money; and the son or daughter who, having inherited one lot, acquires another, is to give back the first inheritance to the next of kin. If a man has only daughters, he may adopt their husbands; or if he have lost a son, he may adopt another in his will. If he have no children, he may give away a tenth of his acquired property to whomsoever he will; but he must adopt an heir to inherit the lot, and leave to him the rest. Also he may appoint guardians for his children; or if he die without appointing them or without making a will, the nearest kinsmen, — two on the side of the father and two on the side of the mother, and one friend of the departed, are to be appointed guardians under the authority of the fifteen eldest guardians of the law, who are to be the special trustees of the orphan. The whole number of fifteen shall be divided into committees of three, who will succeed one another every year for five years. If a man dying intestate have daughters, the dead must not be offended at the law looking, first to relationship, and secondly to the preservation of the lot. The legislator cannot regard the character of the heir, which to a father is the first consideration. The law will therefore run as follows: If the intestate leave daughters, they are to marry, first, their maternal uncles, who shall take possession of the dead man's lot; secondly, the sons of their brothers, if they are of suitable age; thirdly, of their sisters; fourthly, their uncles; fifthly, their cousins by a paternal uncle; sixthly, their cousins by a paternal aunt. They will first take the male line and then the female, and they must suit in point of age. Concerning this the judge shall decide, after having made an inspection of the youth naked, and of the maiden naked down to the waist. If the maiden has no first or second cousins or nephews, she may choose whom she likes, with the consent of her guardians; even a colonist may return home and become heir to her father's lot. If he be a kinsman, he will take the lot by law; if not, he must have her guardian's consent, and also hers. When a man dies without children and without a will, let a young man and young woman, being the nearest of kin and of the same family, go forth and take up their abode in the desolate house. The legislator foresees that laws such as those about the marriage of relations will sometimes press heavily, and that there may be innumerable obstacles to his intention being fulfilled; *e. g.* when there are mental and bodily defects in the persons who are enjoined to marry. He is aware of these impediments, and he must be excused for not being always able to reconcile the general principles of public interest with the particular circumstances of individuals; and he is willing to allow the same excuse in the individual, who is not always able to bear the burden which the lawgiver has in ignorance imposed upon him. And

where this is the case, arbiters must be chosen, who will determine equitably the causes which arise under the law. "How will that be?" A rich cousin may sometimes have an eye to a grander match, or the requirements of the law can only be fulfilled by marrying a madwoman. To meet such cases let the law run as follows: If any one comes forward and says of a testamentary law, respecting marriage or any other matter, that the lawgiver, had he been alive, would not have required the carrying out of the law, and that he has left the fifteen to be the trustees for the orphan; to the fifteen let them go; and their decision shall be final in smaller cases, but in the greater causes there shall be an appeal to the court of select judges, and he who fails in his cause shall suffer loss of reputation.

Orphans shall have a sort of second birth to make their sad condition as light as possible. The guardians of the law shall be their parents, who shall be admonished to take care of them. And what admonition can be more appropriate than the assurance which we formerly gave that the souls of the dead watch over mortal affairs? About this there are many tales and ancient traditions, which may be taken on trust from the legislator. Let men fear, in the first place, the gods above; secondly, the souls of the departed, who naturally care for their own descendants; thirdly, the aged living, who are quick to hear of any neglect of family duties, especially in the case of orphans, who are the holiest and most sacred of all deposits, and the special care of guardians and magistrates. And those who bring them up well will receive a return in the care of themselves and their families. He who listens to the preamble of the law will never know the severity of the legislator; but he who disobeys, and injures the orphan, will pay twice the penalty he would have paid if the parents had been alive. More laws might have been made about orphans, did we not suppose that the guardians have children of their own and property of their own which are protected by the laws; and the duty of the guardian is the same as that of a father, though his honor or disgrace is greater. A legal admonition and threat may, however, be of service. The guardian of the orphan and the guardian of the law who is over him, shall ove the orphan as his own child, and take more care of his or her property than of his own. If he neglect his trust, the archon shall fine him; and in a superior court the guardian may have the archon fined for neglect in a double penalty. Also the guardian of the orphan who is careless may be fined on the information of any of the citizens in a fourfold penalty, half to go to the orphan and half to the prosecutor of the suit. When the orphan is of age, if he thinks that he has been ill-used, his guardian may be brought to trial by him within five years. Or if the archon has neglected the orphan, he shall pay damages to him; but if he have defrauded him, he shall be deposed.

If irremediable differences arise between fathers and sons, the father may want to renounce his son, or the son may indict his father for imbecility. Such violent separations only take place when the family are "a bad lot;" if only one of the two parties is bad, the differences do not grow to so great a height. But here arises a difficulty. Although in any other state a son who is disinherited does not cease to be a citizen, in this he does; for the number of citizens cannot exceed 5040. And therefore he who is to suffer such a penalty ought to be abjured, not only by his father, but by the whole family. The law therefore should run as follows: If any man's evil genius or temper lead him to disinherit his son, let him not do so lightly or on the instant; but let him have a council of his relations male and female, including the maternal relations of his son, and set forth to them the propriety of disinheriting him, and allow his son to answer. And if more than half his relations male and female, being of full age, condemn him, let him be disinherited. If any other citizen desires to adopt him, he may, for young men's characters often change in the course of life. But if, after ten years, he remains unadopted, let him be enrolled in a colony. If disease, or old age, or evil disposition drive a man out of his senses, and he is ruining his house and property, and his misfortune is only known to those who live with him, and his son doubts about trying his lunacy, let him lay the case before the guardians of the law, and consult with them. And if, after the cause has been heard, the father is decided to be imbecile, he shall live like a child in the house, and have no more control over his property.

If a man and his wife are of incompatible tempers, ten guardians of the law and ten of the matrons shall take their case in hand, and reconcile them if possible. If, however, their swelling souls cannot be pacified, the wife may try and find a new husband, and the husband a new wife; probably they are not very gentle creatures, and should therefore be joined to milder natures. Married persons may separate and marry again when they have few or no children, or when in old age they require special care. If a woman dies, leaving children male or female, the law would advise, though unwilling to compel, the widower to abstain from a second marriage; if she leave no children, he shall be compelled to marry. Also a widow, if she is old enough to live honestly without marriage, is not to marry; but in case a widow or widower have no children, they may marry for the sake of them. There is sometimes an uncertainty which parent the offspring is to follow: in unions of a female slave with a male slave, or with a freedman or freeman, or of a freewoman with a male slave, the offspring is to belong to the master; and in such cases the slave and the child are to be sent away to another place. Concerning duty to parents, let the preamble be as follows. We honor the gods in their lifeless images, and believe that we pro-

pitiate them. But he who has an aged father or mother has a far more sacred and living image, of which the cherishing will do him much more good than the worship of any other image. "What do you mean by cherishing them?" I will tell you. Oedipus and Amyntor and Theseus cursed their children, and their curses took effect. This proves that the gods hear the curses of parents who are wronged; and shall we doubt that they hear and perform their blessings too, when in the joy of their hearts they pray for their children's good? "Surely not." And, as we were saying, we cannot possess any image which the gods count more honorable than a withered father and mother; and when honor is done to them, the God who hears their prayers is rejoiced, and their influence is greater than that of any lifeless image; they pray that good or evil may come to us in proportion as they are honored or dishonored, but the image is silent. "That is excellent." Every man of sense fears and reverences the prayers of parents, because he knows that they are often fulfilled. Ancient relatives are a blessing to the good, whereas the bad fear them. Wherefore let every one honor his parents, and if this preamble fails of influencing him, let him hear the law: If any one cares not for his parents more than he cares for himself and his children, let the aggrieved person go or send to three of the guardians of the law and three of the women who are concerned with marriages. Women up to forty years of age, and men up to thirty, who are found guilty of thus offending, shall be beaten with stripes. After that age they are to be brought before a court of elder persons, who may inflict any punishment upon them which they please. If the injured party is unable to inform, some other freeman shall be bound to inform; and if a slave informs he shall be set free, — if the slave of one of the parties, by the magistrate; if owned by another, at the cost of the state.

The injuries which one person does to another by the use of incantations and magic potions, whether given in food, ointments, or any other form, are of two kinds; they affect either the body or the mind. There is no use in arguing with a man who can be affected by waxen images set at doors or sepulchres, or in places where three ways meet. But to the wizards themselves we must address a solemn preamble, begging them not to treat mankind like children, or compel the legislator to expose their imposture, and show that the doctor who is ignorant of medicine and the wizard who is not a diviner, are equally quacks. Let the law be as follows: He who bewitches another's cattle or bees, or does him any other harm, is to be punished with death if he be a physician, and if he be a private person he is to suffer the punishment awarded by the court. And the wizard who is not a soothsayer is to be punished in like manner by the court; and he who is a soothsayer is to be put to death; and any one who injures another is to pay damages at least equal to the injury.

Every one who does wrong is to suffer punishment by way of admonition. The foolish youth who is incited by others is to have a lighter punishment; and he whose folly is occasioned by his own jealousy or desire or anger is to suffer more heavily. Punishment is to be inflicted, not for the sake of vengeance, for what is done cannot be undone, but for the sake of prevention and information. And there should be a proportion between the punishment and the crime, in which the judge, having a discretion left him, must, by estimating the crime, second the legislator, who gives the outlines, which he, like a painter, must fill up. That is just the work which remains to be done, if gods and heroes are propitious to us in our legislation.

A madman is to be guarded by his relatives, and is not to be allowed to go about the city. Neglect of this is to be punished in the first class by a fine of a hundred drachmas, and proportionally in the others. Now madness is of various kinds; in addition to that which arises from disease there is the madness of passion. No one is to speak evil of another, but those men who are of a different opinion are to instruct one another without speaking evil; for out of a little heat and a few harsh words there often spring up most serious evils. No one should seek to rouse the passions which education has calmed. He who feeds and nurses his wrath is liable to fall into ribald jests at the expense of his opponent, with a loss of character or dignity to himself. And for this reason he must be forbidden to use any ribald word in a temple, or at sacrifices, or games, or other public places; and if he offend, his words must be noted by the archon, and he himself shall not claim the prize of virtue. In any other place the reviler who indulges in anger, whether he be the beginner or not, may be chastened by an elder. No man shall use ridicule in anger, and even without anger ridicule is equally culpable. Nor can we allow the comic poet to ridicule our citizens, under a penalty of expulsion from the contest or a fine of three minæ. There may be comic fun in which there is no offense; but the question of offense shall be determined by the director of education, who is to be the licenser of theatrical performances.

The good man who is in adversity will not be allowed to starve in a well ordered city; he will never be a beggar. Therefore let the law be as follows: No beggar shall be allowed; and he who begs shall be expelled by the magistrates both from town and country.

If a slave, male or female, does any harm to the property of another, who is not himself a party to the harm, the master shall compensate the injury or give up the offending slave. But if the master says that there was complicity in the sufferer of the injury, he may put him on his trial for malpractices, and recover from him twice the value of the slave; or if he is cast he must make good

the damage and deliver up the slave. The damage done by a horse or other animal shall be compensated in like manner.

A witness who will not come of himself may be summoned, and if he fail in appearing, he shall be liable to punishment: if he swears that he does not know he may leave the court. A judge who is called upon as a witness must not vote. A free woman may witness, and plead, and bring her action, if she have no husband, and be more than forty years of age, but while her husband lives she can only be a witness. A slave, male or female, and a child may witness and plead, but they must give sureties that they will appear at the trial; for they may be charged with false witness. Such charges are to be proceeded with, pending the trial, and the other accusation shall be kept under seal by the archons until the trial for perjury comes off. He who is twice convicted of perjury is not to be compelled, and if three times, is not to be allowed to witness, or, if he persists, is to be punished with death. When more than half the evidence is proved to be false there must be a new trial.

The best things in human life are liable to be defiled and perverted. And Justice, which has been the civilizer of mankind, is no exception to this principle. Fair though she be, she has fallen into an evil name. An art has sprung up which is said to make the worse appear the better cause, and only requires money in return for such a service. Such an art will be banished by the legislator, and requested to depart to another city. To the disobedient let the voice of the law be heard saying: He who tries to pervert justice in the minds of the judges, or to increase litigation, shall be brought before the supreme court. If he does so from ambition, let him be silenced, and, if he offend again, put to death. If he have acted from a love of gain, let him be exiled if he be a foreigner, or if he be a citizen let him be put to death.

Book XII. If a false message be taken to or brought from other states, whether friendly or hostile, by ambassadors or heralds, who are the ministers of Hermes and Zeus, they shall suffer a fixed penalty. Stealing is mean; plundering is shameless. Let no man deceive himself by the example of the gods, for no god or son of a god ever practiced either force or fraud. On this point the legislator is better informed than all the poets and mythologers put together. He who listens to him shall be forever happy, but he who will not listen shall have the following law directed against him: He who steals much, or he who steals little, of the public property, is deserving of the same penalty; for they are both impelled by the same evil motive. When the law punishes one more lightly than the other, this is done under the idea, not that he is less guilty, but that he is more curable. Now a thief who is a foreigner or slave

may be curable; but the thief who is a citizen, and has had the advantages of education, should be put to death, for he is incurable.

Many laws have been made about military expeditions; the great principle of all is that no one, male or female, in war or peace, in great matters or small, shall be without a commander. Whether a man stands or walks, or exercises, or pursues, or retreats, or washes, or eats, he must do everything according to a common rule. We should practice from our earliest youth every one to obey, every one to command. All dances, relaxations, endurances of meats and drinks, weather, and hard beds, should have a view to war, and care should be taken not to destroy the natural covering and use of the head and feet by wearing shoes and caps; for the head is the lord of the body, and the feet are the best of servants. The soldier should have thoughts like these; and let him hear the law: He who is enrolled shall serve, and if he fails to serve, or returns home before the expedition is finished, he shall be indicted for cowardice before his own arm of the service, and if he be found guilty he shall suffer the penalty which the courts award, and never be allowed to contend for any prize of valor, or to accuse another of misbehavior. After the courts for desertion have been held, the generals shall hold another court, in which the several arms of the service will award prizes for the expedition which has just concluded. The prizes are to be crowns of leaves, and he who obtains a first, second, or third prize shall offer up the prize at the temple of some war god. Let the indictment be scrupulously true, for Justice is a serious maiden, to whom falsehood is naturally hateful. When men have lost their arms, care should be taken to distinguish between cases in which they have lost their arms from necessity and from cowardice. For example, if Patroclus had been brought in alive from the field, he might have been reproached with having lost the divine armor. And a man may lose his arms in a storm at sea, or from a fall, and under many other circumstances, which should be carefully distinguished. Language has made the distinction for us in the use of the two terms, "thrower away of a shield" (ῥίψασπις), and "loser of arms" (ἀποβολεὺς ὅπλων), one being the voluntary, the other the involuntary relinquishment of them. Let the law be as follows: If any one is overtaken by the enemy, having arms in his hands, and he leaves them behind him voluntarily, choosing base life instead of honorable death, he shall receive an appropriate punishment. The old legend of Caeneus the Thessalian, who was changed by the gods from a woman into a man, may teach by contraries the right sort of punishment. Let him be changed from a man into a woman — that is to say, let him be all his life out of danger, and never again be admitted by any commander into the the ranks of his army; and let him pay a heavy fine according to his class.

All magistrates, whether temporary or permanent, must give an account of their magistracy. But where shall we find the magistrate who is worthy to supervise them, or to judge of the crooked ways into which they may have been driven by the difficulties of their position? For there are many causes of the dissolution of states; which like ships have their cables, and girders, and cords easily relaxed, and fall into a state of atony. Nothing tends more to the good and preservation of states, than the supervision of them by examiners who are better than the magistrates; failing in this they fall to pieces, and become many states instead of one. Wherefore let the people meet after the summer solstice, in the precinct of Apollo, and in his presence appoint three men of not less than fifty years of age; each citizen voting, not for himself, but for him whom he thinks the best. The persons selected shall be reduced to one half, who have the greatest number of votes, if the number named be an even number; but if an odd number, he who has the smallest number of votes shall be withdrawn. The division shall continue until three only remain; and if the number of their votes be equal, a distinction between the first, second, and third shall be made by lot. The three shall be crowned with laurel, and proclamation made, that the city of the Magnetes, once more preserved by the gods, presents her three best men to Apollo and the Sun, to whom she dedicates them while they remain judges. They shall choose in the first year of their office twelve judges, to continue until they are seventy-five years of age; afterwards three a year, who, while they hold office, shall dwell within the precinct of the God. They are to divide all the magistracies into twelve classes, and may apply any methods of inquiry, and inflict any punishments which they please; in some cases singly, in other cases together, announcing the acquittal or punishment of the magistrate in the agora. There may be an escape from their judgment by an impeachment; but, if the appellant is cast, and he is not condemned to death, his punishment shall be doubled. These who have been selected by the state for this preëminence in virtue, shall have the first place at all sacrifices, and in all assemblies and public places, and on sacred embassies, and have the exclusive privilege of wearing a crown of laurel. They are priests of Apollo and the Sun, and he of their number who is chosen first shall be high-priest, and give his name to the year. Their manner of burial, too, shall be different from that of the other citizens. The color of their funeral array shall be white, and, instead of the voice of lamentation around the bier shall stand a chorus of fifteen youths and fifteen men, chanting hymns in honor of the deceased all day long; and in the morning a band of a hundred youths, to be selected by the relatives from the palaestra, shall go before the bier, which they shall bear to the place of sepulture marching in armor, or if they are horsemen, with their horses, while

youths go before and maidens follow after singing around the bier. Priests and priestesses may also follow, for the funeral rites are pure, unless the Pythian Oracle forbids. The sepulchre shall be a long tomb of stone intended to last forever, and having many resting-places, in one of which they shall deposit the remains of the departed saint, surrounding the place of interment with groves of trees, except on one side, where an opening shall be left for other tombs in case they shall be hereafter needed. There shall be annual games — musical, gymnastic, or equestrian, in honor of those who have escaped the trial. But if any one, confident in having been acquitted, begin to show the wickedness of human nature, he may be tried again by any one who pleases in a court composed of the guardians of the law, and of select judges, and of any of the former judges who are alive. If he fail he shall be deprived of his honors, and if the accuser fail he shall pay a fine according to his class.

What is called the judgment of Rhadamanthus is suited to "ages of faith," but not to our days. He knew that his contemporaries believed in the gods, for there were many of them who were the sons of gods; and he thought that the easiest and surest method of ending legislation, was to commit the decision to Heaven. In our own day, men either deny the existence of gods or their care of men, or maintain that they may be bribed by attentions and gifts; and this mode of proceeding would therefore be out of date. When the religious ideas of mankind change, their laws should also change. Thus oaths should no longer be taken from plaintiff and defendant, instead of simple statements of affirmation and denial. For there is something dreadful in the thought, that nearly half the citizens who meet one another in society are perjured men. There is no objection to an oath where a man has no interest in forswearing himself; as, for example, in holding an election for a magistracy, or in the judgment of games and contests. But where there would be a premium on perjury, oaths and imprecations should be prohibited as irrelevant, like appeals to feeling. Let the principles of justice be learned and taught without words of evil omen. The oaths of a stranger against a stranger may be allowed, because they are not likely to breed or become inveterate in our state.

Trials for minor matters are to be regulated by the same rules. The non-attendance at a chorus or sacrifice, or the omission to pay a war-tax, may be regarded as in the first instance remediable, and the defaulter may give security; if the tax remains unpaid, the goods pledged shall be made over to the state. But for obstinate disobedience, the magistrate shall have the power of inflicting greater penalties.

A city which is without trade or merchandise, must consider the subject of emigration and reception of strangers. For out of intercourse with strangers there arises great confusion of manners, which

in most states is not of any consequence, because there is already a great confusion in them; but in a well-ordered state may be a great evil. Yet the absolute prohibition of foreign travel, or the exclusion of strangers, is impossible, and would appear barbarous to the rest of mankind. Now public opinion should never be lightly regarded, for mankind are not so far wrong in their judgments as in their lives. Even the worst of men have often a divine instinct, which enables them to distinguish good from bad. States are rightly advised when they desire to have the praise of men; and the greatest and truest praise is that of virtue. And a state formed after the model of Crete should, and probably will, have a character for virtue, such as few cities have under the sun. Let this, then, be our law about foreign travel and the reception of strangers: No one shall be allowed to leave the country who is under forty years of age — of course military service abroad is not included in this — and no one at all on any private occasion. To the Olympic, and Pythian, and Nemean, and Isthmian games, shall be sent the fairest and best and bravest, who shall support the dignity of the city in peace. These, when they come home, shall teach the youth the inferiority of all other governments. And if any citizen have a curiosity to know the manners of other states, no law shall hinder him. For a state which has no experience, and no knowledge of the reason of things, however innocent of evil, will never be perfectly civilized. Moreover in all states, bad as well as good, there are men of genius who are inspired by Heaven; and in the footsteps of these incorruptibles the good citizen should strive to follow, over the water and over the land; and learn from them what laws are good, with a view to their firmer establishment, and what laws are bad, with a view to their improvement. "How can these two objects be accomplished?" In the first place, let the visitor of foreign countries be between fifty and sixty years of age, and let him be a citizen of repute, and especially of military repute. On his return he shall appear before the legislative council: this is the council which sits early in the morning, before the sun is high in the heavens, and includes amongst its members the priests who have gained the prize of virtue, and the ten oldest guardians of the law, and the inspector and past inspectors of education; and each of them shall bring with him a younger friend of his own selection, who is between thirty and forty years of age. The assembly thus constituted is to consider the laws of their own and other states, and to gather information which may throw light on the subject of law. The elder senators are to make a selection of extracts, which the younger members may learn by heart. These latter, if they are worthy, shall also be made guardians of the state, and receive reward or punishment according to their merits. This is the assembly to which the visitor shall come and tell anything which he has heard

in the course of his travels, or himself observed relative to the laws. If he be neither improved nor deteriorated, let him be praised for his zeal; and yet more praised if he be improved, and be also honored after death by the authority of the council. But if he be deteriorated, let him live, if the archons please; if not, let him be put to death, which ought in any case to be his fate if he be found attempting to innovate in education and the laws.

Next, as to the reception of strangers. Of these there are four classes: merchants, who find their way over the sea at a certain time of the year, that they may exhibit their wares. These should be received in markets and public buildings without the city, by proper officers, who are to do them justice, and at the same time to watch against any political designs which they may entertain; no more intercourse is to be held with them than is absolutely necessary. Secondly, there are the visitors at the festivals, who shall be entertained by hospitable persons at the temples for a reasonable time; the priests and ministers of the temple shall be their judges and protectors. Thirdly, there are ambassadors of foreign states; these are to be honorably received by the generals and prytanes, and placed under the care of the persons with whom they are lodged. Fourthly, there is the philosophical stranger, who will rarely make his appearance; he, like our own foreign commissioners, will come to see whatever is great and noble in our state. Like them he must be fifty years of age: let him be received with honor, and be a welcome guest at the houses of the rich and wise; for example, at the house of the inspector of education and other noble persons, who are to instruct and be instructed by him. These are the rules of missions into foreign countries, and of the reception of strangers. Let Zeus, the god of hospitality, be honored; and let not the stranger be driven away, as in Egypt, by distinctions of meats and sacrifices, and by savage proclamations.

Let guarantees be clearly given in writing and before witnesses. The number of witnesses shall be three when the value is under one thousand drachmas, or five when above. The seller at first and second hand shall be equally liable. He who would search another man's house must swear that he expects to find something there; and he shall enter naked, or having on a single garment. The owner shall place at his disposal all his goods, sealed as well as unsealed; if he refuse, he shall be liable in double the value of the property proved to have been in his possession. If the owner be absent, he may counter-seal the property which is under seal, and place watchers. In case of prolonged absence, he shall take the magistrates, and open the sealed places, and seal them up again in the presence of the magistrates. The recovery of goods disputed — concerning lands and houses there will never be any dispute — is to be barred by time. The public and unimpeached use of anything

for a year in the city, or for five years in the country, or the private possession and domestic use for three years in the city, or for ten years in the country, is to give a right of ownership. But in a foreign country there is no bar as to time. The proceedings of any trial are to be void, in which either the parties or the witnesses, whether bond or free, have been forcibly prevented from attending. In the case of a slave the suit shall be invalid; in the case of a freeman, he who is guilty of this violence shall be made a slave and imprisoned for a year. If one competitor forcibly prevents another from attending at the games, the other may be inscribed as victor in the temples, and the first, whether victor or not, shall be subjected to an action for damages. The receiver of stolen goods is to be punished as well as the stealer. The receiver of an exile shall be put to death. A man shall have the same friends and enemies as his country; and he who makes war or peace for himself shall be put to death. And if a party in the state makes war or peace, their leaders shall be put on their trial by the generals, and, if convicted, put to death. The ministers of a country ought not to receive gifts; the doctrine that we ought to receive them for good but not for evil is liable to abuse. He who will not be persuaded let him die.

Taxes may be demanded either upon income or upon property, whether the wardens of the country choose to levy the tax upon an annual return, or upon a proportion of the whole value.

The good man will offer moderate sacrifices to the gods; every man's land and hearth is consecrated to the gods, and no second temple is required. Gold and silver, whether in houses or temples, are not the true riches; ivory, which is taken from the dead body of an animal, is unholy; iron and brass are materials of war. Wood and stone of a single piece may be offered, also woven work which has not occupied one person more than a month in making. White colors are always acceptable; so are birds and images, but the latter must be such as the sculptor can make in a day.

Next concerning lawsuits. Judges, or rather arbiters, may be agreed upon by the plaintiff or defendant; and if no decision is obtained from them, their fellow-tribesmen or townsmen shall judge, and the court shall consist of a twelth part of them. At this stage the penalty shall be increased, and the defendant, if he be cast, shall pay a fifth of the assessed damages. If he further persist, and appeal a third time, the case shall be heard before a court of select judges; and he shall pay, if beaten, half as much again as the penalty. If the pursuer appeal he shall receive, and if beaten he shall pay, a fifth part of the penalty. In the second appeal the pursuer if he fail, shall pay half the penalty. Other matters relating to trials have been already determined; lesser points, such as the allotment of suits, the times of sitting, the modes of pleading and procedure, may be supplied by younger legislators.

These are to be the rules of private courts; and there are many states which have excellent modes of procedure in their public courts which may serve for a model, and these, when duly tested by experience, should be ratified and made permanent.

Let the judge be accomplished in the laws. He should possess writings about them, that he may learn them; for laws are the highest instrument of mental improvement, and derive their name from mind. They afford a measure of all censure and praise, whether in verse or prose, in conversation or in books, and are an antidote to the vain disputes of men and their equally vain assents and agreements. The just judge is he who has imbibed their spirit, and is seeking to establish justice for the good, and to change the tempers of the bad, if they can be changed, or to denounce death, which is the only remedy, upon the incurable, the thread of whose life cannot be reversed.

After the judgments of the year are over, execution is to follow. The court is to award the property of the defendant who loses to the plaintiff, reserving to him only the bare means of life. If the plaintiff is not satisfied within a month, the court shall put into his hands the property of the defendant. If the defendant fails in payment to the amount of a drachma, he shall lose the use and protection of the court; or if he defraud the court, he who suffers by the fraud shall bring the offender before the guardians of the law, and if he be found guilty, he shall be put to death.

Man having been born, educated, having begotten and brought up children, and gone to law, is at last gathered to his fathers. The rites which are to be celebrated after death in honor of the gods above and below shall be determined by the interpreters. Places of sepulture shall be chosen with reference to the convenience of the living; they shall be out of sight and on barren spots. For no one either in life or after death has any right to deprive the living of the sustenance which mother earth provides for them. No sepulchral mound is to be raised higher than the labor of five men in five days can accomplish, and the stone tablet is not to be larger than is required in order to contain an inscription of four heroic verses. The dead are only to be exposed for three days, which is long enough to test the reality of death. The legislator will instruct the people that the body is a mere *eidolon*, and that the soul, which is our true being, is gone to give an account of herself before other gods. When they hear this, the good are full of hope, and the evil are terrified, knowing that there will not be much help for them after death. And therefore in life all men's relatives should help them to live innocently and holily, that they may depart in peace. When a man loses a son or a brother, he should consider that the true man has gone away to fulfill his destiny in another life, and not waste money over his lifeless remains. Let the law then order a

moderate funeral of five minae for the first class, three for the second, two for the third, one for the fourth. The magistrates, or one of them selected by the relatives, are to assist the relatives in arranging the affairs of the deceased. There would be a want of delicacy in prescribing that there should be or should not be mourning for the dead. But, at any rate, such mourning should be confined to the house, and the dead body should be taken out of the city before daybreak. Other regulations relating to the burial or non-burial of parricides and other sacrilegious persons have already been laid down. The work of legislation is therefore nearly completed, and that work is the preservation of the state.

Do you remember the names of the Fates? Lachesis is the first of them, Clotho the second, Atropos the third and last who makes the threads of the web irreversible. We, too, want to make our laws irreversible, for the due maintenance of them is the salvation of the state, and the source of health both to the bodies and souls of the citizens. "That is a very important object, if attainable." I think that the object is attainable; there would be something ludicrous in our piling up a fabric which has no stability. "How will you provide for stability?" Have we not already proposed an assembly which was composed of the ten oldest guardians of the law, also of those who have received prizes for virtue, and, thirdly, of the travellers who had been to visit the laws of other countries. These were to form a synod, and each of the members thus qualified was to choose a young man, of not less than thirty years of age, to be approved by the rest. The meeting was to be held at dawn, when all the world is at leisure — that was our proposal; and this assembly was to anchor the vessel of state, and provide the means of permanence; for the governments of states, like all other things, have their proper saviors, which are to them what the head and soul are to the living being. "How do you mean?" Mind in the soul, and sight and hearing in the head, or rather, the perfect union of mind and sense, may be justly called every man's salvation. "Certainly." Yes; and of what nature is this union? In the case of a ship, for example, are not the senses of the sailors added to the intelligence of the pilot? These together save themselves and the ship. But what is the object of this union? The art of war and of medicine will sufficiently indicate the answer; the object of the one is victory, that of the other health, and the general and the physician require to understand these objects. And states likewise have their objects, and the ruler must understand, in the first place, the nature of them, and, secondly, the means of attaining them, whether in laws or men. The state which is wanting here cannot be expected to be wise when the time for action arrives. And is there any class or institution in our state which secures the object of the state? "I suspect that your words have reference to the

nocturnal council.' Yes, to that council which is to have all virtue, and whose members are to aim directly at the mark. "Very true." The inconsistency of legislation in most states is not surprising, when the variety of their objects is considered. One of them aims at the government of a class, without regard to good or bad; another at wealth, whether with or without freedom; another at freedom, or at freedom and power; and some who are supposed to be philosophers maintain that you should seek for all of them at once. But our object is unmistakably virtue, and virtue is of four kinds. "Yes; and we said that mind is the head and ruler of the three other kinds of virtue and of all else." Yes, Cleinias, and having already declared the object which is present to the mind of the pilot, the general, the physician, we will now interrogate the mind of the statesman. Tell me, I say to you, as the physician and general have told us their object, what is the object of the legislator? Can you tell me that? "We cannot." Did we not say that there are four virtues — courage, wisdom, and two others, which are called by the common name of virtue, and are in a sense one? "Certainly we did." The difficulty is not in understanding the differences of the virtues, but in apprehending their unity. Why do we call virtue, which is a single thing, by the two names of wisdom and courage? To this I have no difficulty in replying that courage is concerned with fear, and is found in children, and is common to brutes; for the soul may be courageous without reason, but no soul was, or ever will be, wise without reason. "That is true." I have explained to you the difference, and now do you explain to me the unity; and then let us proceed to consider whether the knowledge of names can be separated from the knowledge of the ideas which they represent. Is not the knowledge of words without ideas a disgrace to a man of sense? and can any subject be more worthy of the attention of our legislators than the four virtues of which we are speaking — courage, temperance, justice, wisdom? And ought not they and all other guardians and interpreters of the law to instruct him who needs instruction in the nature of virtue and vice, instead of leaving them to be taught by some chance poet or schoolmaster? A city which is without instruction suffers the usual fate of cities in our day. What then shall we do? How shall we perfect the ideas of our guardians about virtue? how shall we give our state a head and eyes? "Yes; how shall we accomplish what is thus described by you in a figure?" The city will be the body or trunk; the best of our young men will mount into the acropolis and be our eyes; these will look around, and inform the elders, who are the mind, and will use the younger men as their instruments: together they will save the state. Shall this be our constitution, or shall all be alike, and the special training be given up? "That cannot be. The inequality in their duties requires that they should be differ-

ently educated." Let us then attain to some more exact idea of education. Did we not say that the true artist or guardian ought to have an eye, not only to the many, but to the one, and to order all things with a view to the one? Can there be any more philosophical speculation than how to reduce many things which are unlike to one idea? "Perhaps not." Say rather, "Certainly not;" for no more philosophical method was ever attained by the wit of man. And the rulers of our divine state ought to have an exact knowledge of that common principle in courage, temperance, justice, wisdom, which is called by the name of virtue; and unless we know whether virtue is one or many, we shall hardly know what virtue is. Shall we contrive some means of engrafting this knowledge on our state or give the matter up? "Anything rather than give the matter up." But how are we to effect our object? Let us begin by making an agreement. "By all means, if that be possible." Are we not agreed that our guardians ought to think that the good and the beautiful are not only many, but also one? "Yes, they are one." And can we give no account of this? "If we cannot, we are slaves." The true guardian ought to know the truth, and should also be able to interpret and execute the truth. "Certainly." And is there any higher knowledge than the knowledge of the existence and power of the gods? The many may be excused for following tradition only; but the guardian must not be admitted to his office if he is unable to give a reason of the faith which is in him. He who is careless or incapable in such matters is out of the pale of the good. And there are two great evidences of religion — the priority of the soul and the order of the heavens, which, if rightly understood, are far from tending to the substitution of necessity for reason and will. For the truth is diametrically opposed to the opinions of those who maintain that they are inanimate beings. Men of old wondered at them, and a suspicion arose that things inanimate could never without mind have attained such scientific accuracy; and some even at that time ventured to assert that mind had ordered all things in heaven; but they had no idea of the priority of mind, and they turned the world, or more properly themselves, upside down, and filled the universe with stones, and earth, and other inanimate bodies. This led to great impiety, and the poets were induced to say many foolish things against philosophy, which they compared to a barking she-dog. No man can now be truly religious who does not believe that the soul is immortal, and prior to the body, and the ruler of all bodies, and does not perceive also that there is mind in the stars, and has not acquired the previous studies, and seen the connection of them with music, or harmonized them with manners and laws, giving a reason of things which are matters of reason He who does not add this to other public virtues, can only be a servant, and not a ruler in the state.

There will be another safeguard; the nocturnal council which has shared in our education. "There will." To establish this will be my aim, and I hope that you and others will assist me. "Let us proceed along the road in which God seems to guide us." We cannot, Megillus and Cleinias, anticipate the details of law which will hereafter be needed; they must be supplied by experience. "What do you mean?" First of all a register will have to be made of all those whose aim, character, or education would qualify them to be guardians. The subjects which they are to learn, and the order in which they are to be learnt, are mysteries which cannot be explained beforehand, but not mysteries in any other sense. "If that is the case, what is to be done?" We must run a risk, in which I am willing to share, in coming to any determination about education. And I would have you, Cleinias, who are the founder of the Magnesian State, and will incur the greatest glory or the greatest notoriety, accordingly as the work is well or ill performed, take especial heed of this. Hereafter the state must be handed over to the nocturnal council. The dream will thus have become a reality; our citizens, if they are carefully chosen and educated, will be saviors such as the world has hitherto never seen. "Friend Cleinias, if we are going to proceed in the settlement of the state, we must use our utmost efforts to get the Athenian to help us." "True, Megillus, I will do my best; and I hope that you will do yours." "I will."

The want of completeness in the Laws becomes more apparent in the later books. There is less of order and arrangement, and the transitions are more abrupt from one subject to another. The discourse concerning religion is introduced as a prelude to offenses against the gods, and this is the only remaining portion of the work which is fully executed.

In the last four books of the Laws, several questions occur for consideration: 1. The proportion of punishments to offenses; 2. the nature of the voluntary and involuntary; 3. the arguments against atheism, and against the opinion that the gods have no care of human affairs; 4. the remarks upon retail trade and adulteration of goods; 5. the institution of the nocturnal council.

The weakest point in the Laws of Plato, is the amount of inquisition into private life which is to be made by the rulers. The magistrate is always watching and waylaying the citizens. He is constantly to inform or to receive informations against improprieties of life. Plato does not seem to be aware that espionage can only have a negative effect. He has not yet discovered the boundary line which parts the domain of law from that of morality or social life. Men will not tell of one another; nor will he ever be deemed the most virtuous citizen, who gives the most frequent information about offenders to the magistrates.

As in some writers of fiction, so also in philosophers, we may observe the effect of age. Plato becomes more conservative as he grows older, and he would govern the world entirely by men like himself, who are above fifty years of age; for in them he hopes to find a principle of stability. He is like the old man who insists that he shall "tie up" his property after his death — all his efforts are directed toward maintaining the institutions of the legislator in after ages. But he does not observe that, in destroying the freedom he is destroying also the life of the state. While he differs from mere conservatives in his love of truth, he is impatient of the extravagances to which the love of truth almost necessarily leads. He seems to have forgotten what he once knew — that the wise man is sure to be in opposition to the rest of mankind; for some degree of eccentricity generally accompanies originality; as Democritus said, "The philosopher, if we could see him, would appear to be a strange being." In the Magnesian State all the citizens are to be reduced to rule and measure; there would have been none of those great men "whose acquaintance is beyond all price;" and Plato would have found that in the worst-governed Hellenic State, there was more of a *carrière ouverte* for extraordinary genius and virtue than in his own. The first principle of Plato's laws, borrowed apparently from the Spartan military system, "that no one is to be without a commander," is literally that of the Jesuit order.

Plato's judicial system has several characteristic features. He has an evident dislike of the Athenian dicasteries, and prefers a few good judges who make pertinent remarks on the case, to a great number. He allows of numerous appeals — from the neighbors who are to judge because they know the circumstances, to the magistrates of the town; and from the magistrates of the town to the guardians of the law; in each case exacting a double penalty. Modern jurists would disapprove of the redress of injustice being purchased only at an increasing risk; though indirectly the burden of legal expenses, which seems to have been seldom felt among the ancients, has a similar effect. The love of litigation, which is a remnant of barbarism quite as much as a corruption of civilization, and was a vice inherent in the Athenian people, is to be diminished in the city of the Magnetes by references to arbitration.

In the Laws the crime of murder, and indeed almost all offenses, have a religious character; they are pollutions rather than crimes. Regarded from this point of view, the heinousness of offenses is apt to depend on accidental circumstances, such as the shedding of blood, and not on the real guilt or injury to society. They are measured by the horror which they arouse in a barbarous age. For there is a superstition in law as well as in religion, and the superstitious feelings of a primitive age have a traditional hold on the mass of the people. On the other hand, Plato is absolutely free

from the crime of visiting the sins of the fathers upon the children, and he is quite aware that punishment has an eye to the future, and not to the past.

A defect in Plato's criminal jurisprudence, is his remission of the punishment when the offender has obtained the forgiveness of the murdered person; as if crime were a personal affair between individuals, and not an offense against the state. There is also a ridiculous disproportion in his punishments. Because a slave may fairly receive a blow for stealing a fig or a bunch of grapes, or a tradesman for defrauding to the amount of a drachma, that is no reason why a slave should receive as many blows as he has taken grapes or figs, or why a tradesman who has defrauded to the amount of a thousand drachmas should receive a thousand blows. The punishments to be inflicted on slaves are suggested by the cruelty of fear. Though Plato is aware that the distinction between Greeks and barbarians is due to Hellenic vanity, he is fully imbued with the Greek spirit about slavery. At the same time, he makes the touching acknowledgment, that many a one in the hour of danger has found a slave better to him than a son or a brother.

A curious distinction of age may be observed in his Laws about violence. As in the Republic, V. 464 E, he would have men use their hands upon equals, apparently with the intention of encouraging personal courage; but a younger person is in no case to strike an elder. A similar reverence is to be shown towards a stranger. The bystanders who fail in assisting the injured person are themselves to be punished. But in all cases of assault, much is left by the legislator to the decision of the magistrates.

II. Before punishment can be inflicted at all, the legislator must determine the nature of the voluntary and involuntary. The great question of the freedom of the will, which in modern times has been worn threadbare with purely abstract discussion, was approached both by Plato and Aristotle — first, from the judicial; secondly, from the sophistical point of view. Their want of clearness in treating the subject, is to be attributed to the difficulty which they experienced in disentangling the abstract from the concrete.

In attempting to distinguish between hurt and injury, Plato says, that mere hurt is not injury; but that a benefit when done in a wrong spirit may sometimes injure; *e. g.* when conferred without regard to right and wrong, or to the good or evil consequences which may follow. He means to say that the good or evil disposition of the agent is the principle which characterizes actions; and this is not sufficiently described by the terms voluntary and involuntary. You may hurt another involuntarily, and no one would suppose that you had injured him; and you may hurt him voluntarily, as in inflicting punishment — neither is this injury; but if you hurt him under the impulse of passion or desire, this is injury. In other

words, injustice is the victory of desire or passion or self-conceit over reason, as justice is the subordination of them to reason. Plato is so far from allowing voluntary hurt to be injury, that he is disposed to affirm, in some paradoxical sense, all injustice to be involuntary; because no man would do injustice who could calculate the consequences of what he is doing. Yet, on the other hand, he admits that the distinction of voluntary and involuntary, taken in another and more obvious sense, is the basis of legislation. His conception of justice and injustice is complicated (1) by the want of a distinction between justice and virtue — between the quality which primarily regards others, and the quality in which self and others are equally regarded; (2) by the confusion of doing and suffering justice; (3) by the unwillingness to renounce the old Socratic paradox, that evil is involuntary.

III. The laws rest on a religious foundation; in this respect they bear the stamp of primitive legislation. They do not escape the almost inevitable consequences of making irreligion penal. If laws are based upon religion, the greatest offense against them must be irreligion. Hence the necessity for what in modern language, and according to a distinction which Plato would scarcely have understood, might be termed persecution. But the spirit of persecution in Plato, unlike that of modern religious bodies, arises out of the desire to enforce a true and simple form of religion, and is directed against the superstitions which tend to degrade mankind. Sir Thomas More, in his Utopia, is in favor of tolerating all except the intolerant, though he would not promote to high offices those who disbelieved in the existence of the soul after death. Plato has not advanced quite so far as this in the path of toleration. But in judging of his enlightenment, we must remember that the evils of necromancy and divination were far greater than those of intolerance in the ancient world. Human nature is always having recourse to the first; but only when organized into some form of priesthood falls into the other. The laws would, no doubt, have rested on a sounder foundation, if Plato had ever distinctly realized to his mind the difference between crime and sin or vice. Of this, as of many other controversies, a clear definition might have been the end. But such a distinction belongs to a later age of philosophy, which he could not anticipate.

The arguments which Plato uses for the being of a God, have an extremely modern character: first, the *consensus gentium;* secondly, the argument which has already occurred in the Phaedrus, of the priority of the self-moved. The answer to the second class of objectors is, that God governs the world by general laws; but that he who takes care of the great will assuredly take care of the small. Plato did not feel, and has not attempted to consider, the difficulty of reconciling the special and general providence of God. Yet he

is unconsciously on the true road to the solution, when he regards the world as a whole, of which all the parts work together toward the final end.

We are surprised to find that the dangers of skepticism, which are supposed to exist among young men now, existed then (cp. Republic VII. 538); that the Epicureanism expressed in the lines of Horace —

"Namque Deos didici securum agere aevum,"

was already prevalent in the age of Plato; and that the terrors of another world were freely used in order to gain advantages over other men in this. The same objection which struck the Psalmist — "Then saw I the wicked in great prosperity" — is supposed to lie at the root of the better sort of unbelief. The Greek, too, had his difficulty about the existence of evil, which in one solitary passage, remarkable for being inconsistent with his general system, Plato explains, after the Magian fashion, by a good and evil spirit. (Cp., however, Theaet. 176 A; Polit. 269.) This passage is also remarkable for being directly at variance with the general optimism of the Tenth Book — not "all things are ordered by God for the best," but some things are ordered by a good spirit, others by an evil spirit. So little power has Plato in harmonizing the results of his dialectics, or even of avoiding the most obvious contradictions.

IV. The remarks about retail trade, about adulteration, and about mendicity, are conceived quite in the spirit of modern political economy. Greek social life was more like our own than we are apt to suppose. There was the same division of ranks, the same aristocratic and democratic feeling, the same preference for land and for agricultural pursuits. Plato may be also claimed as the first free-trader, when he prohibits the imposition of customs on imports and exports, though he was clearly not at all aware of the importance of the principle which he enunciated. The discredit of retail trade he attributes to the rogueries of traders, and is inclined to believe that if a nobleman would keep a shop, which the gods forbid, retail trade might become honorable. He has hardly lighted upon the true reason, which appears to be the essential distinction between buyers and sellers, the one being necessarily in some degree dependent on the other.

V. The Laws are regarded by Plato as a decline from the Republic, which is the dream of his earlier years. He nowhere imagines that he has reached a higher point of speculation. He is only descending to the level of human things, and he often returns to his original idea. His guardians of the law are to be elected by the votes of the people, and are not expected to have received any special training; but he adds to them a special body, who are supposed to retain the spirit of the legislator dwelling in them. These are the nocturnal council, who, although they are not trained in dialec-

tics, must know the relation of the one to the many in virtue. Plato has been arguing throughout the Laws that temperance is higher than courage, peace than war, and that the love of both must enter into the character of the good citizen. And at the end the same thought is summed up by him in an abstract form. The true artist or guardian must be able to reduce the many to the one, than which, as he says with an enthusiasm worthy of the Phaedrus or Philebus, "no more philosophical method was ever attained by the wit of man." But the sense of unity in difference can only be acquired by study; and Plato does not explain to us the nature of this study, which we may reasonably infer, though there is a remarkable omission of the word, to be akin to the dialectics of the Republic. He is content with hoping that the study of mathematics will lead the mind back from the paths of impiety to the religious contemplation of the starry heavens, and that the pattern of order there beheld may become the pattern of the order of the state.

The nocturnal council is to consist of the three citizens preëminent in virtue, and the ten eldest guardians of the law; each of whom is to elect for approval a younger coadjutor, making twenty-six in all. This council of twenty-six is not the administrative but the legislative body, who are to make legislation a sort of study; they have an exceptional and superior power, probably suggested by the power which a similar council exercised in the Pythagorean city of Crotona. And they are supposed to share in the education of the state, which is declared to be a great advantage, Plato appearing to forget that he has provided no special training for them.

The Laws of Plato contain the latest phase of his philosophy, showing in some respects an advance, and in others a decline, in his views of life and the world. His doctrine of ideas at this time had probably passed into a theory of numbers, the nature of which we gather chiefly from the metaphysics of Aristotle. Of the speculative side of this theory we find no traces in the Laws, but doubtless Plato found, or seemed to find, a wonderful confirmation of his notions in the possibility of applying number and measure to the revolution of the heavens, and to the regulation of human life. In this there seems to be rather a retrogression than an advance. The most barren logical abstraction is of a higher nature than number and figure. And the belief in the priority of mind to the world falls equally short of the all-pervading idea of good. The speculative truth, which was the food of the guardians in the Republic, is now restricted to practical truth. The law, which is the expression of mind written down, takes the place of the living word of the philosopher. (Compare the contrast of Phaedrus 275 E, and Laws 891 A; also the plays on the words νοῦς ὁμοῦ νοῦ διανομή.) The state is based on virtue and religion rather than on knowledge; and virtue is no longer identified with knowledge, being of the commoner

sort, and spoken of in the sense generally understood. Yet there are traces of advance as well as retrogression in the Laws of Plato. The attempt to reconcile the ideal with actual life is an advance; to "have brought philosophy down from heaven to earth" is a praise which may be justly claimed for him as well as for his master Socrates. The proemia of Plato's Laws are the earliest examples of "sermons" which occur in Greek literature; and he himself is quite aware of the importance of the new instrument which he has devised for the improvement of mankind. His increasing appreciation of the difficulties of human affairs, and of the element of chance which so largely influence them, is an indication, not of a narrower, but of a maturer mind, which had become more conversant with realities.

Nor can we fairly attribute any want of originality to him, because, instead of framing an entirely new code, he has borrowed many of his provisions from Sparta and Athens. He has freely intermingled the spirit of the one with the laws of the other, while in many points he has departed equally from both. The praise of obedience, the preëminence assigned to elders, the prohibition of dowries, the care of marriages, the common meals, the distribution of lands, the institution of the Crypteia, all reflect the customs of Sparta. In one or two points he seems to prefer the form which the Dorian institutions had assumed in Crete. The syssitia are to be maintained at the public expense, and the produce of the land to be divided in fixed proportions, which Aristotle (Politics ii. 7, 4) declares to have been the custom in Crete. Plato departs also from the Spartan practice of expelling strangers, which he denounces as inhuman; he condemns the licentiousness of their women; also their preference of war to peace, and of gymnastic exercises to music, which was characteristic of Cretans as well as Lacedaemonians, while he raises his voice against the unnatural vices allowed by public opinion to exist in both cities.

The use of the lot, the scrutiny of the magistrates, the election of the generals, the pardon of the forgiven homicide, in general the laws about testaments and guardians of orphans, the degrees of consanguinity recognized by law, correspond with Athenian laws and customs. (Cp. Hermann, "De Vestigiis Institutorum veterum per Platonis de Legibus libros indagandis.") But there seems to be little which we can add with certainty from the Laws of Plato to our knowledge either of Athenian or Spartan institutions. Only the proposed division of land in the city of the Magnetes, affords a strong reason for supposing that a similar institution already existed at Sparta, which of late years has been doubted. Though Plato is smitten with some features of government which he finds in Egypt, and especially with the immutability of their laws, which he vainly hopes to create in the ever-changing minds of his own countrymen, the spirit of the Laws, like that of the Republic, is essentially Greek

His work does not rest, like the lost polities of Aristotle, on an analysis of three hundred constitutions; but he makes good use of three. And although he falls short of Aristotle in the observation of facts, he is superior to him in some other respects, and in two especially. (1) the attempt to raise the female sex by education, and (2) to base politics on morals and religion.

The short writing called the Epinomis or supplement to the Laws was suspected by Diogenes Laertius, who says that the work was attributed by many to Philippus of Opus. The Epinomis belongs to the next generation of Platonists, and is a panegyric on astronomy and mathematics. Like the Epistles, it found a place in the lists of the Alexandrine grammarians, and is quoted as a genuine Platonic writing by Cicero and several of the Fathers. But this is no reason for admitting it into the Platonic canon. The shortness of the work, the absence of any mark of Platonic style, the doubtful testimony of antiquity in its favor, the silence of Aristotle, and, lastly, its manifest origin in two passages of Plato (Laws VII. 818 B; XII. 966), and frequent allusions to the Timaeus, are sufficient reasons for resisting the claim.

Thus we have arrived at the end of the writings of Plato, and at the last stage of philosophy which was really his. For in what follows, which we chiefly gather from the uncertain intimations of Aristotle, we can hardly suppose that the spirit of the master still survived. The doctrine of ideas passed into one of numbers — instead of advancing from the abstract to the concrete, the theories of Plato were taken out of their context, and either asserted or refuted with a provoking literalism; the Socratic or Platonic element in his teaching was absorbed into the Megarian or Pythagorean; his poetry was converted into mysticism; his unsubstantial visions were pierced by the spear of logic. His political speculations no longer retained their freshness and interest when the freedom of Hellas had passed away. The best of him — his love of truth, and his "contemplation of all time and all existence," was soonest lost; and some of his greatest thoughts have slept in the ear of mankind almost ever since they were first uttered.

We have followed him during his forty or fifty years of authorship, from the beginning when he first attempted to depict the teaching of Socrates in a dramatic form, down to the time at which the character of Socrates has disappeared, and we have the latest reflections of Plato himself upon Hellas and the world. His works are his life to us, for there is no other authentic life of him. We have observed the effort of his mind, first to realize abstractions, and secondly to connect them. In the attempt to realize them, he has been

carried into a transcendental region in which he has isolated them from experience, and we pass out of the range of science into poetry or fiction. The fancies of mythology for a time cast a veil over the gulf which divides phenomena from onta. In his return to earth Plato meets with a difficulty which has long ceased to be a difficulty to us. He cannot understand how these obstinate, unmanageable ideas, residing alone in their heaven of abstraction, can be either combined with one another, or adapted to phenomena. That which is the most familiar process of our own minds to him appeared the crowning achievement of the dialectical art. For by his conquests in the world of mind not only are our thoughts widened, but he has furnished us with the instruments and levers of thought. We seem to have seen him as he is, a great original genius struggling with unequal conditions of knowledge, not prepared with a system or evolving in a series of dialogues ideas which he had long conceived, but inconsistent, contradictory, inquiring as he goes along, following the argument from one point of view only, and therefore arriving at opposite conclusions, hovering around the light, and sometimes dazzled with excess of light, but always moving in the same element of ideal truth. We have seen him also in his decline, when the wings of his imagination have begun to droop, but his experience of life remains, and he turns away from the contemplation of the eternal to take a last sad look at human affairs.

LAWS.

BOOK I.

PERSONS OF THE DIALOGUE.

AN ATHENIAN STRANGER. CLEINIAS, *a Cretan.*
MEGILLUS, *a Lacedaemonian.*

Ath. Stran. TELL me, Stranger, is God or a man supposed to be the author of your laws? Steph. 624

Cleinias. God, Stranger; in the truest sense, they may be said to be the work of God; among us Cretans the author of them has been supposed to have been Zeus; but in Lacedaemon, as our Lacedaemonian friend will tell you, they say that Apollo is their lawgiver.

Megillus. Just so.

Ath. And do you believe, as Homer says, that Minos went, every ninth year, to converse with his Olympian sire, and made laws for your cities in accordance with his sacred words?

Cle. Yes, that is our tradition; and there was Rhadamanthus, a brother of his, with whose name you are familiar; he also is reputed to have been the justest of men, and we 625
Cretans are of opinion that he derived this reputation from his righteous adminstration of justice when he was alive.

Ath. Yes, and a noble reputation too, and worthy of a son of Zeus. As you and Megillus have been trained in these institutions, I dare say that you will not be unwilling to give an account of your government and laws; we can pass the time pleasantly in talking about them, for I am told that the distance from Cnosus to the cave and temple of Zeus is considerable; and probably there are shady resting-places under the

lofty trees, which will protect us from the scorching of the sun. Being no longer young, we may often stop and talk to one another; the distance will be easily beguiled in this way.

Cle. Yes, Stranger, if we proceed onward we shall come to lofty groves of cypresses, which are of rare beauty; and there are green pastures, in which we may repose and converse.

Ath. Very good.

Cle. Yes, very good, and will be found to be better still when we see them; let us move on cheerily.

Ath. I am willing. And first, I want to know why the law has ordained that you shall have common meals and gymnastic exercises, and wear arms.

Cle. I think, Stranger, that the aim of our institutions is easily intelligible to any one. Look at the character of our country; Crete is not, like Thessaly, a large plain; and for this reason — they have horses there, and we have runners on foot here — the inequality of the ground in our country is more adapted to locomotion on foot; but then, if you have runners, you must have light arms, — no one can run carrying a heavy weight, and the lightness of bows and arrows is convenient for running. All which has been ordered with a view to war, and the legislator appears to me to have looked to war in all his arrangements; and this, I suspect, was his motive in gathering the citizens all together at common meals; he saw that while they are in the field they are actually compelled to take their meals together for the sake of mutual protection. He seems to me to have thought the world foolish in not understanding that war is always going on among all men and cities;
626 and if there ought to be common meals under military authority, having regular guards for the sake of defense in time of war, he argued that they ought to be continued in peace; for what men in general term peace is, as he said, only a name; in reality, every city is in a natural state of war with every other, not, indeed, proclaimed by heralds, but everlasting. And if you observe, you will find that this was the intention of the Cretan legislator; all institutions, private as well as public, were arranged by him with a view to war; and he gave his laws to be observed with this intent, because he thought that all possessions, or institutions, ceased to be of any value unless they could be defended; for all the good things of the conquered pass into the hands of the conquerors.

Ath. You appear to me, Stranger, to have been thoroughly

trained in the Cretan institutions, and to be well informed about them; will you tell me a little more explicitly what is the principle of government which you would lay down? You seem to imagine that a state should be so ordered as to conquer all other states in war: Am I right in supposing this?

Cle. Certainly; and my Lacedaemonian friend also, if I am not mistaken, will say the same.

Meg. Why, my good friend, how can any Lacedaemonian say anything else?

Ath. And is the war of which you speak properly carried on only between states, and not between villages?

Cle. There is no difference.

Ath. The case is the same?

Cle. Yes.

Ath. And in the village will there be the same war of family against family, and individual against individual?

Cle. The same.

Ath. And are we to conceive each man warring against himself, or how is that to be?

Cle. O Athenian Stranger, inhabitant of Attica, I will not say, for you seem to me worthy to be named after the goddess Athene, because you go back to first principles, and throw a light upon the argument, you will now more readily recognize the truth of my assertion, when I said that all men are the enemies of all other men, both in public and private, and every individual of himself.

Ath. My good sir, what do you mean?

Cle. I mean what I say; and, further, that there is a victory and defeat, — the first and best of victories, the lowest and worst of defeats, — which each man gains or sustains at the hands, not of another, but of himself; this shows that there is a war against ourselves going on in every individual of us.

Ath. Let us now reverse the order of the argument, and begin again with the individual: inasmuch as every 627
individual is either his own superior or his own inferior, shall we say that there is the same principle in the house, the village, and the state?

Cle. You mean the principle of one state being superior and another inferior?

Ath. Yes.

Cle. You are quite right in asking that question, for there certainly is such a principle, and above all in states; and the

state in which the better citizens w n a victory over the mob and over the inferior classes, may be truly said to be better than itself, and may be justly praised, where the victory is gained, or censured in the opposite case.

Ath. Whether the better is ever really conquered by the worse, is a question which requires more discussion, and may be, therefore, left for the present. But I quite understand the meaning of your words, when you say that citizens who are of the same race and live in the same cities, may unjustly conspire, and having the superiority in numbers, may overcome and enslave the few just; and when they prevail, the state may be truly called its own inferior and also bad; and when they are defeated, superior and also good.

Cle. That, Stranger, is very singular, and yet must be admitted to be the truth.

Ath. Here is another case for consideration: In a family there may be several brothers, who are the offspring of a single pair; very possibly the majority of them may be unjust, and the just may be in a minority.

Cle. That is quite possible.

Ath. And you and I ought not to raise a mere question of words as to whether this family and household are rightly said to be superior when they conquer, and inferior when they are conquered; for we are not considering what may or may not be the proper or customary way of speaking, but we are considering the natural principles of right and wrong in laws.

Cle. That, Stranger, is most true.

Meg. Excellent, I say, too, in my opinion, as far as I can judge.

Ath. Again; might there not be a judge over these brethren, of whom we were speaking?

Cle. Certainly.

Ath. Now, which would be the better judge? One who destroyed the bad, and let the good govern themselves; or one who, while allowing the good to govern, let the bad live, and made them voluntarily submit? Or, lastly, there might be a third excellent judge, who, finding the family distracted, not only
628 did not destroy any one, but reconciled them to one another forever after, and gave them laws which they mutually observed, and was able to keep them friends.

Cle. That sort of judge and legislator would be by far the best.

Ath. And yet the aim of all the laws which he gave would be the reverse of war?

Cle. That is true.

Ath. And will he who constitutes the state order the life of man with a view to external war, or to that sort of intestine war which is called civil, which no one, if he could prevent, would like to have occurring in his own state; and when occurring, every one would wish to get rid of as soon as possible?

Cle. He would have the last chiefly in view.

Ath. And would he prefer that war should be terminated by the destruction of one of the parties, and by the conquest of the other, or that peace and friendship should be reëstablished among them; in which case, they would be able to give undivided attention to their foreign enemies?

Cle. Every one would desire the latter in the case of his own state.

Ath. And would not that also be the desire of the legislator?

Cle. Certainly.

Ath. And would not every one always make laws for the sake of the best?

Cle. To be sure.

Ath. But war, whether external or civil, is not the best, and the need of either is to be deprecated; but peace with one another, and good will, are best. Nor is the victory of the state over itself to be regarded as a really good thing, but as a necessity; a man might as well say that the body was in the best state when sick and purged by medicine, forgetting that there is also a state of the body which needs no purge. And in like manner no one can be a true statesman, whether he aims at the happiness of the individual or state, who looks only, or first of all, to external warfare; nor will he ever be a sound legislator who orders peace for the sake of war, and not war for the sake of peace.

Cle. I suppose that there is truth, Stranger, in that remark of yours; and yet I am greatly mistaken if war is not the entire aim and object of our institutions, and also of those of Lacedaemon.

Ath. I dare say; but there is no reason why we should quarrel with one another about your legislators, instead of gently questioning them, seeing that they as well as ourselves are quite in earnest. Let me take you with me; and first we 629

will summon Tyrtaeus, who was an Athenian by birth, and also a Spartan citizen, and who of all men was most eager about war. "Well," he says, —

"I sing not, I care not, about any man,"

even if he were the richest of men, and possessed every good (and then he gives a list of them), unless he be the bravest in war." I imagine that you, too, must have heard his poems; our Lacedaemonian friend has probably heard too much of them.

Meg. Very true.

Cle. And they have found their way from Lacedaemon to Crete.

Ath. Come now and let us all join in asking this question of Tyrtaeus: O most divine poet, we will say to him, the excellent praise which you have bestowed on those who excel in war sufficiently proves that you are wise and good, and I and Megillus and Cleinias of Cnosus appear to be entirely agreed with you about this. But we should like to be quite sure that we are speaking of the same men; tell us, then, do you agree with us in thinking that there are two kinds of war; or what would you say? A far inferior man to Tyrtaeus would have no difficulty in replying quite truly, that there are two kinds of war, — one which all men call civil war, which, as we were just now saying, is of all wars the worst; the other, as we should all admit, in which we fall out with other nations who are of a different race, is a far milder form of warfare.

Cle. Certainly, far milder.

Ath. Well, now, when you praise and blame war in this high-flown strain, whom are you praising or blaming, and to which kind of war are you referring? I suppose that you must mean foreign war, if I am to judge from expressions of yours in which you say that you abominate those —

"Who refuse to look upon fields of blood, and will not draw near and strike at their enemies."

May we not say to him after hearing these words, — You, Tyrtaeus, certainly appear to praise those who distinguish themselves in external and foreign war; and he must admit that.

Cle. Certainly.

Ath. These are good; but we say that there are still better men whose virtue is displayed in the greatest of all battles. And we have a poet also whom we summon as a witness, Theognis, citizen of Megara in Sicily, who says: —

630

"Cyrnus," he says, "he who is faithful in a civil broil is worth his weight in gold and silver:"

and such a one is far better, as we affirm, than the other in a more difficult kind of war, much in the same degree as justice and temperance and wisdom, when united with courage, are better than courage only; for a man cannot be faithful and good in civil strife without having all virtue. But in the war of which Tyrtaeus speaks, many a mercenary soldier will take his stand and be ready to die at his post, and yet they are generally and almost without exception insolent, unjust, violent men, and the most senseless of human beings. What is the conclusion? and why do I say this? Because I want to show that the divine legislator of Crete, and any other who is worth considering at all, will always make laws with a view to the greatest virtue, and that virtue, according to Theognis, is loyalty in the hour of danger; and this may be truly called perfect justice. Whereas, that virtue which Tyrtaeus highly praises is noble, and was sung of by the poet in the hour of need, and yet in place and dignity may be truly said to be only fourth-rate.

Cle. Stranger, we are degrading our inspired lawgiver to a very low rank in the scale of legislators.

Ath. Nay, I think that we degrade not him but ourselves, if we imagine that Lycurgus and Minos laid down laws both in Lacedaemon and Crete mainly with a view to war.

Cle. What ought we to say, then?

Ath. What truth and what justice require of us, if I am not mistaken, when speaking in behalf of divine excellence; that the legislator made his laws, not with a view to a part, and this the lowest part of virtue, but that he had in view all virtue, and devised classes of laws answering to the kinds of virtue; not in the way in which modern inventors of laws make the classes, for they only investigate and offer laws of which the want is being felt, and one man has a class of laws about inheritances in part or sole, another about assault; others about ten thousand other matters of a similar nature. 631
But we say that the right way of inquiry is to proceed as we have now done, and I admired the spirit of your exposition; for you are quite right in beginning with virtue, and saying that this was the aim of the giver of the law, but I thought that you went wrong when you added that he referred all to a part, and a most inferior part of virtue, and all that I said afterwards had a bearing on this. Will you allow me then to explain how have liked to have heard you expound the matter?

Cle. By all means.

Ath. You ought to have said, Stranger, the Cretan laws are with good reason famous among the Hellenes; for they fulfill the object of laws, which is to make those who use them happy, for all goods are derived from them. Now goods are of two kinds: there are human goods and there are divine goods, and the human hang upon the divine; and the state which attains the greater, at the same time acquires the less, or not having the greater loses both. Of the lesser goods the first is health, the second beauty, the third strength, including swiftness in running and bodily agility generally, and the fourth is wealth, not the blind god [Pluto], but one who is keen of sight and has wisdom for a companion. For wisdom is chief and leader of the divine class of goods, and next follows temperance; and from the union of these two with courage springs justice, and fourth in the scale of virtue is courage. The four naturally take precedence of the other goods, and this is the order in which the legislator must place them; and after these he will enjoin the rest of his ordinances on the citizens with a view to these, the human going back to the divine, and the divine having their eye fixed on their leader mind. Some of his ordinances will relate to contracts of marriage, which they make one with another, and to the procreation and education of children, both male and female; the duty of the lawgiver will be to take charge of his citizens, in youth and age, and at every time of life, and to give them punishments and rewards; and in reference to all their intercourse with one another, he ought to consider their pains and pleasures and desires, and the vehemence of all their passions; he should keep a watch over them,
632 and blame and praise them rightly by the mouth of the laws themselves. Also with regard to anger and terror, and the other perturbations of the soul, which arise out of misfortune, and the deliverances from them which prosperity brings, and the experiences which come to men in diseases, or in war, or poverty, or the opposite of these; in all these states he should determine what is the good and evil of the condition of each. In the next place, the legislator has to watch over the property and expenditure of the citizens, and their mutual contracts and cessations of contracts, whether voluntary or involuntary; he should see how they order all this, and consider among whom justice as well as injustice is found or is wanting; and honor those who obey the law, and impose fixed penalties on those

who disobey, until the round of civil life is ended, and the time has come for the consideration of the proper funeral rites and honors of the dead. And the lawgiver reviewing all this, will appoint guardians to preside over these things, — some who walk by intelligence, others by true opinion only, and then mind will bind together these ordinances and show them to be in harmony with temperance and justice, and not with wealth or ambition. This is the spirit, Stranger, in which I was and am desirous that you should have pursued the subject. And I wanted to know how all these matters are, and are arranged in the laws of Zeus, as they are termed, and in those of the Pythian Apollo which Minos and Lycurgus gave; and how the order of them is discovered to his eyes who has experience and skill in laws, although they are far from being self-evident to the rest of mankind like ourselves.

Cle. But how are we to proceed, Stranger?

Ath. I think that we must begin again as before, and first discuss the habit of courage, and then we will go through the other forms of virtue, if you please. Having done this, we shall have a model of the whole; and with similar discourses we will beguile the way. And when we have gone through all the virtues, we will show, by the grace of God, that what has preceded has relation to virtue.

Meg. Very good; and suppose that you first criticise this praiser of Zeus and the laws of Crete. 633

Ath. I will try to criticise you, and myself as well as him, for we are all concerned in the argument. In the first place, the common meals, and secondly the gymnasia, were invented by your legislator with a view to war?

Meg. Yes.

Ath. And what comes third, and what fourth, in the order of your legislation? For that, I think, is the sort of enumeration which ought to be made of the parts of virtue, and no matter whether you call them parts or what their name is, provided the meaning is clear.

Meg. Then I, or any other Lacedaemonian, would reply that hunting is third in order.

Ath. Let us see if we can discover what comes fourth or fifth.

Meg. I think that I may be able to tell the fourth thing, which is the frequent practice of endurance of pain, exhibited in certain hand-to-hand fights; also in stealing with the prospect of getting a beating; there is, too, the so-called Crypteia,

or secret service, in which wonderful endurance is shown those who are employed in this, wander over the whole country by day and by night, and even in winter have not any shoes on their feet, and are without beds to lie upon, and have no one to attend them Marvelous, too, is the endurance which our citizens show in their gymnastic exercises, contending against the violent summer heat; and there are many similar practices, to speak of which in detail would be endless.

Ath. That is capital, O Lacedaemonian stranger. But how ought we to define courage? Is that to be regarded only as a combat against fears and pains, or also against desires and pleasures, and against flatteries; which exercise such a tremendous power, that they make the hearts even of respectable citizens to melt like wax?

Meg. I should say the latter.

Ath. You remember that in what preceded, our Cnosian friend here spoke of a man or a city being inferior to themselves?

Cle. Yes, I said that.

Ath. Now, which is in the truer sense inferior, the man who is overcome by pleasure or by pain?

Cle. I should say the man who is overcome by pleasure; for all men deem him to be inferior in a more disgraceful sense, than the other who is overcome by pain.

Ath. But surely the lawgivers of Crete and Lacedaemon
634 have not legislated for a courage which is lame of one leg, able only to meet attacks which come from the left, but impotent against the insidious flatteries which come from the right?

Cle. Able to meet both, I should say.

Ath. Then let me once more ask, what institutions have you in either of your states which give a taste of pleasures, and do not avoid them any more than they avoid pains; but which set a person in the midst of them, and compel or induce him by motives of honor to get the better of them? Where is an ordinance about pleasure similar to that about pain to be found in your laws? Tell me what there is of this nature among you? What is there which makes your citizen equally brave against pleasure and pain, conquering what they ought to conquer, and superior to the enemies who are most dangerous and nearest home?

Meg. I was able to tell you, Stranger, many laws which were

directed against pain; but I do not know that I can point out any obvious examples of similar institutions which are concerned with pleasure; there are some lesser parts of laws, however, which I might mention.

Cle. No more can I show anything of that sort which is very conspicuous in the Cretan laws.

Ath. My dear friends, that is not very surprising. I shall only ask for gentleness and forbearance on the part of all of us, if any one of us, from a desire to see the true and the good, should happen to censure the laws of the others.

Cle. You are quite right, Athenian Stranger, and we will do as you say.

Ath. At our time of life, Cleinias, there should be no feeling of irritation.

Cle. Certainly not.

Ath. I will not at present determine whether he who censures the Cretan or Lacedaemonian polities is right or wrong. But I believe that I can tell better than either of you what the many say about them. For assuming that you have reasonably good laws, one of the best of them will be a law forbidding any young men to inquire which of them are right or wrong; but with one mouth and one voice, they must all agree that the laws are all good and of divine origin; and they are not to be listened to who say the contrary. But an old man who remarks any defect, may communicate his observation to a ruler or to an equal when no young man is present.

Cle. That is excellent, Stranger; and like a diviner, 635
although not there at the time, you seem to me quite to have hit the meaning of the legislator, and to say what is most true.

Ath. As there are no young men present, and the legislator has given old men free license, there will be no impropriety in our discussing these matters now that we are alone.

Cle. True. And, therefore, you may be as free as you like in your censure of our laws, for there is no harm in knowing what is wrong; that is the first step to improvement, if a man receives what is said in no jealous or hostile spirit.

Ath. Very good; however, I am not going to censure your laws until I have fully examined them as far as I am able, but I am going to raise doubts about them. For you are the only people known to us, whether Greek or barbarian, whom the legislator commanded to abstain from the very taste of pleasures

and amusements; whereas in the matter of pains or fears which we have just been discussing, he thought that they who from infancy had always avoided the pains, and fears, and sorrows which must be, when they were compelled to face them would run away from those who were hardened in them, and become their subjects. Now the legislator ought to have considered that this was equally true of pleasure; he should have said to himself, that if our citizens are from their youth upward unacquainted with the greatest pleasure, and unused to endure amid the temptations of pleasure, and are not disciplined to refrain from all things evil, the sweet feeling of pleasure will overcome them just as fear would overcome the former class; and in another, and even a worse manner, they will be the servants of those who are able to endure amid pleasures, and have had the opportunity of enjoying them, they being often the worst of mankind. One half of their souls will be a slave, the other half free; and they will not be worthy to be called in the true sense men and freemen. Tell me whether you assent to my words?

Cle. On first hearing, what you say appears to be the truth; but to be hasty in coming to a conclusion about such important matters, would be very childish and simple.

Ath. Suppose, Cleinias and Megillus, that we consider next in order the virtue which naturally follows (for after courage comes temperance), what institutions shall we find in these states relating to temperance, which are better than those of other ordinary states, and correspond to their military institutions?

636 *Meg.* That is not an easy question to answer; still I should say that the common meals and gymnastic exercises have been excellently devised for both purposes.

Ath. There seems to be a difficulty, Stranger, in so ordering acts and words in politics, that there should be no dispute about them. As in the human body, we can hardly say that any one course of treatment is perfectly adapted to a particular constitution, for that which does good in one way does harm in another. Now the gymnasia and common meals do a great deal of good, and yet they are a source of evil in civil troubles. This is shown in the case of the Milesian, and Boeotian, and Thurian youth; among whom similar institutions, which are of old standing with them, seem always to have had a tendency to degrade natural love in man below the level of the beasts. The charge may be fairly brought against your cities above all

others, and is true in general of states which especially cultivate gymnastics. Whether such matters are to be regarded jestingly or seriously, I think that the pleasure is to be deemed natural which arises out of the intercourse of men and women; but that the intercourse of men with men, or of women with women, is contrary to nature, and that the bold attempt was originally due to unbridled lust. The Cretans are always accused of having invented the story of Ganymede and Zeus, which is designed to justify themselves in the enjoyment of such pleasures, by the practice of the god whom they believe to have been their lawgiver. Leaving the story, we may observe that any speculation about laws turns almost entirely on pleasure and pain, both in states and in private characters: these are two fountains which nature lets flow, and he who draws from them where and when, and as much as he ought, is happy; and this holds of men and animals — of individuals as well as states; and he who indulges in them ignorantly and in excess, is the reverse of happy.

Meg. I admit, Stranger, that your words are well spoken: at the same time, I hardly know what to say, and I still think that the Spartan lawgiver was quite right in forbidding pleasure. Of the Cretan laws, I shall leave the defense to my Cnosian friend. But the laws of Sparta, in as far as they relate to pleasure, appear to me to be the best in the world; for that which leads mankind in general into the wildest 637
pleasure and license, and every other folly, the law has clean driven out; and neither in the country nor in towns which are under the control of Sparta, will you find revelries and the many incitements of pleasure which accompany them, and stir them up to the utmost; and any one who meets a drunken and disorderly person, will immediately have him punished, and will not let him off on any pretense, not even at the time of a Dionysiac festival; although I have remarked that this may happen at your performances "on the cart," as they are called; and among our Tarentine colonists I have seen the whole city drunk at a Dionysiac festival; but nothing of that kind happens among us.

Ath. O, Lacedaemonian Stranger, these festivities are praiseworthy where there is a spirit of endurance, but are very senseless when they are under no regulations. In order to retaliate, an Athenian has only to point out the license which exists among your women. To all such accusations, whether

they are brought against the Tarentines, or us, or you, there is one answer which exonerates the practice in question from impropriety. When a stranger expresses wonder at the singularity of what he sees, any inhabitant will naturally answer him: Wonder not, O stranger; this is our custom, and you may very likely have some other custom about the same things. Now we are speaking, my friends, not about men in general, but about the merits and defects of the lawgivers themselves. Let us then discourse a little more at length about them, and about the nature of intoxication at large, which is a very important matter, and requires all the wisdom of the legislator to determine. I am not talking of the mere practice of drinking or not drinking wine in general, but about downright intoxication: are we to follow the custom of the Scythians, and Persians, and Carthaginians, and Celts, and Iberians, who are all warlike nations, or to follow your custom, who, as you say, wholly abstain? Whereas the Scythians and Thracians, both men and women, drink unmixed wine, which they also pour on their garments, and this they think a happy and glorious institution. The Persians, again, are much given to other practices of luxury which you reject, but they have more moderation in them than the Thracians and Scythians.

638 *Meg.* O best of men, we have only to take arms into our hands, and we drive all these nations flying before us.

Ath. My good friend, do not say that; there have been, as there always will be, flyings and pursuings of which no account can be given, and therefore we cannot say that victory or defeat in battle afford more than a doubtful proof of the goodness or badness of institutions. For when the greater states conquer and enslave the lesser, as the Syracusans have done the Locrians, who appear to be the best-governed people in that part of the world, or as the Athenians have done the Ceans (and there are ten thousand other instances of the same sort of thing), all that is not to the point; let us endeavor rather to form a conclusion about the various institutions themselves, and say nothing, at present, of victories and defeats. Let us only say that such a thing is honorable, and some other thing not. And first permit me to tell you how good and bad are to be estimated in reference to these very matters.

Meg. How do you mean?

Ath. All those who are ready at a moment's notice to praise or censure any practice which is matter of discussion, seem to

me to proceed in a wrong way. Let me give you an illustration of what I mean: You may suppose a person to be praising wheat as a good sort of food, whereupon another person instantly blames wheat, without ever inquiring into its effect or use, or in what way, or to whom, or with what, or in what state, wheat is to be applied. And that is just what we are doing in this discussion. At the very mention of the word intoxication, one side is ready with their praises and the other with their censures, and this is absurd. For either side adduce their witnesses and approvers, and some of us think that we speak with authority because we have many witnesses; and others because they see those who abstain conquering in battle, and this again is disputed by us. Now I cannot say that I approve of such a method of discussing laws. And about this very point of intoxication I should like to speak in another way, which I hold to be the right one; for if number is to be the criterion, are there not myriads upon myriads of nations ready to do battle with you who are only two cities?

Meg. I shall gladly welcome any method of inquiry which is right. 639

Ath. Let me put the matter thus: Suppose a person to praise the keeping of goats, and the creatures themselves as capital things to have, and then some one who had seen goats feeding without a goatherd in cultivated spots, and doing mischief, was to censure a goat or any other animal who has no keeper, or a bad keeper, would there be any sense at all in such censure?

Meg. Certainly not.

Ath. Does a captain require only to have nautical knowledge in order to be a good captain, whether he is or is not seasick? What do you say to that?

Meg. I say that he is not a good captain if he is liable to sickness.

Ath. And what would you say of the commander of an army? Will he be able to command merely because he has military skill if he be a coward, who, when danger comes, is sick and drunk with fear?

Meg. Impossible.

Ath. And what if besides being a coward he have no skill?

Meg. He is a miserable fellow, who is only fit to be a commander of old women.

Ath. And what would you say of some one who blames or

praises any sort of meeting which is intended by nature to have a ruler, and is well enough when under his presidency? The critic, however, has never seen the society meeting together at an orderly feast under the control of a president, but always without a ruler or with a bad one; how can you imagine that the praise or blame of observers of this class is of any value in reference to such meetings?

Meg. Certainly not; if they have never seen or been present at such a meeting, when rightly ordered.

Ath. But think; may not banqueters and banquets be said to constitute a sort of meeting?

Meg. Certainly.

Ath. And did any one ever see this convivial meeting rightly ordered? Of course you two will answer at once that you have never seen them at all, because they are not customary or lawful in your country; but I have come across many of them in many different places, and moreover I have made inquiries about them wherever I went, as I may say, and never did I see or hear of anything of the sort which was carried on altogether rightly; in some few particulars they might be right, but in general they were utterly wrong.

Cle. What do you mean, Stranger, by this remark? Explain. For we, as you say, from our inexperience in such matters, might very likely not know, even if we came in their way, what was right or wrong in such societies.

640 *Ath.* Likely enough; then let me try to be your instructor: you would acknowledge, would you not, that in all gatherings of mankind, of whatever sort, there ought to be a leader?

Cle. Certainly I should.

Ath. And we were saying just now, that when men are at war the leader ought to be a brave man?

Cle. Certainly.

Ath. The brave man is less likely than the coward to be disturbed by fears?

Cle. That is also true.

Ath. And if there were a possibility of having a general of an army who was absolutely fearless and imperturbable, should we not by all means appoint him?

Cle. To be sure.

Ath. Now, however, we are speaking, not of a general who is to command an army, when foe meets foe in time of war

but of one who is to regulate meetings of another sort, when friend meets friend in time of peace.

Cle. True.

Ath. And that sort of meeting, if attended with drunkenness, is apt to be unquiet?

Cle. Certainly; the reverse of quiet.

Ath. Then, in the first place, these revelers will surely require a ruler.

Cle To be sure; nowhere are men more in need of one.

Ath. And we ought, if possible, to provide a quiet man for the office?

Cle. Certainly.

Ath. And he should be a man who understands society; for his duty is to preserve the friendly feelings which exist among the company at the time, and to increase them for the future by his use of the occasion.

Cle. Very true.

Ath. Must we not appoint a sober man and a wise man as master of the revels? For if the ruler of drinkers be himself young and drunken, and not over-wise, only by some special good fortune will he be saved from doing some great evil.

Cle. He will require singular good fortune.

Ath. Now suppose such associations to be framed in the best way possible in states, and that some one blames the very fact of their existence, he may very likely be right — we admit that? But if he blames a practice which he only sees in the utmost state of disorder, in the first place he shows that he is not aware of the disorder, and also not aware that everything done in this way will clearly be wrong, because done without the superintendence of a sober ruler. Do you not see that a drunken pilot or a drunken ruler of any sort will ruin ship, chariot, army — anything, in short, of which he has the direction? 641

Cle. The last remark is very true, Stranger, and I see quite clearly the advantage of an army having a good leader; he will give victory in war to his followers, which is a very great advantage, and this is true of other things. But I do not see any similar advantage which either individuals or states gain from the good management of a feast; and I want you to tell me what great good will be effected, supposing that this drinking ordinance is duly established.

Ath. If you mean to ask what great good accrues to the state from the right training of a single youth, or of a single chorus, — when the question is put in that form, we must answer that the good is not very great in any particular instance. But if you ask what is the good of education in general, the answer is easy; that education makes good men, and that good men act nobly, and conquer their enemies in battle, because they are good. Education certainly gives victory, although victory sometimes produces forgetfulness of education; for many have grown insolent from victory in war, and this insolence has engendered in them innumerable evils; and many a victory has been and will be suicidal to the victors; but education is never suicidal.

Cle. You seem to imply, my friend, that convivial meetings, when rightly ordered, are an important element of education.

Ath. Certainly, I do.

Cle. And can you show that what you have been saying is true?

Ath. To be absolutely sure of the truth of matters concerning which there are many opinions, is an attribute of the gods not given to man, Stranger; but I shall be very happy to tell you what I think, especially as we are now proposing to enter on a discussion concerning laws and constitutions.

Cle. Your opinion, Stranger, about the questions which are now being raised, is precisely what we want to hear.

Ath. Very good; I will try to find a way of explaining my meaning, and you shall try to have the gift of understanding me; this shall be the aim of our conversation. But, first, let me make an apology. The Athenian citizen is reputed among all the Hellenes to be a great talker, whereas the Spartan is renowned for brevity, and the Cretan is held to be a sagacious, reserved sort of person. Now, I am afraid of appearing
642 to elicit a very long discourse out of very small materials. For drinking may indeed appear to be a slight matter, and yet is one which cannot be rightly ordered according to nature, without correct principles of music; these are necessary with a view to any satisfactory treatment of the subject, and music again runs up into education generally, and the discussion of all this will be endless. What would you say, then, to leaving these matters at present, and passing on to some other question of law?

Meg O, Athenian Stranger, let me tell you what perhaps

you do not know, that our family is your proxenus. I imagine that from their earliest youth, all boys, when they are told that they are the proxeni of a particular state, feel kindly towards the state of which they are the proxeni, as to a second country, and this has certainly been my own feeling. I can well remember from the days of my boyhood, how, when any Lacedaemonians praised or blamed the Athenians, they used to say to me, — "See, Megillus, how ill, or how well, as the case might be, has your state treated us;" and when I heard this, having always had to fight your battles against detractors, I became warmly attached to you. And I feel at this moment that I like to hear the Athenian tongue spoken; the common saying is quite true, that a good Athenian is more than ordinarily good, for he is the only man who is freely and genuinely good by the inspiration of nature, and is not manufactured by the law. Therefore be assured that I shall like to hear you say whatever you have to say.

Cle. I can say the same, Stranger; and let me also remind you, that there is a tie which unites you with Crete. You must have heard the story of the prophet Epimenides, who was of my family, and came to Athens ten years before the Persian War, in accordance with the response of the Oracle, and offered certain sacrifices which the God commanded. The Athenians were at that time in dread of the Persian invasion; and he said that for ten years they would not come, and that when they came, they would go away again without accomplishing any of their objects, and would suffer more evil than they inflicted. At that time, my forefathers formed ties of hospitality with you; thus ancient is the friendship which I and my parents have had for you.

Ath. You seem to be quite ready to listen; and I am also ready to perform as much as I can of an almost impossible task, which I will nevertheless attempt. At the outset of the discussion, let me define the nature and power of education; for this is the way by which our argument must travel onwards to the God Dionysus. 643

Cle. Let us proceed, if you please.

Ath. Well, then, if I tell you what are my notions of education, will you tell me whether you agree with them?

Cle. Let us hear.

Ath. According to my view he who would be good at any thing must practice that thing from his youth upwards, both

in sport and earnest, in the particular way which the work requires; for example, he who is to be a good builder, should play at building children's houses; and he who is to be a good husbandman, at tilling the ground; those who have the care of their education should provide them when young with mimic tools. And they should learn beforehand the knowledge which they will afterwards require for their art. For example, the future carpenter should learn to measure or apply the line in play; and the future warrior should learn riding or some other exercise for amusement, and the teacher should endeavor to direct the children's inclinations and pleasures by the help of amusements, to their final aim in life. The sum of education is right training in the nursery. The soul of the child in his play should be trained to that sort of excellence in which, when he grows up to manhood, he will have to be perfected. Do you agree with me thus far?

Cle. Certainly.

Ath. Then let us not leave the meaning of education ambiguous or ill-defined. At present, when we speak in terms of praise or blame about the bringing-up of each person, we call one man educated and another uneducated, although the uneducated man may be sometimes very well educated for the calling of a retail trader, or of a captain of a ship, and the like. For we are not speaking of education in this sense of the word, but of that other education in virtue from youth upwards, which makes a man eagerly pursue the ideal perfection of citizenship,
644 and teaches him how rightly to rule and how to obey. This is the only training which, upon our view, would be characterized as education; that other sort of training, which aims at the acquisition of wealth or bodily strength, or mere cleverness apart from intelligence and justice, is mean and illiberal, and is not worthy to be called education at all. But let us not quarrel with one another about the name, provided that the proposition which has just been granted hold good; to wit, that those who are rightly educated generally become good men. Neither must we cast a slight upon education, which is the first and fairest thing that the best of men can ever have, and which, though liable to take a wrong direction, is capable of reformation. And this work of reformation is the great business of every man while he lives.

Cle. Very true; and we quite agree with you.

Ath. And we agreed before that they are good men who are able to rule themselves, and bad men who are not.

Cle. Most true.

Ath. Let me now proceed, if I can, to clear up the subject a little further by an illustration which I will offer you.

Cle. Proceed.

Ath. Do we not consider each of ourselves as one?

Cle. True.

Ath. And each one of us has in his bosom two counselors, both foolish and also antagonistic; of which, the one we call pleasure and the other pain.

Cle. True.

Ath. Also there are opinions about the future, which have the general name of expectations; and the specific name of fear, when the expectation is of pain; and of hope, when of pleasure; and further, there is reflection about the good or evil of them, and this when embodied in a decree by the state, is called Law.

Cle. I am hardly able to follow you; proceed, however, as if I were.

Meg. I am in the like case.

Ath. Let us look at the matter in this way: May we not regard every living being as a puppet of the gods, which may be their plaything only, or may be created with a purpose; for that is a matter which we cannot certainly know? but this we know, that these affections in us are like cords and strings, which pull us different and opposite ways, and to opposite actions; and herein lies the difference between virtue and vice. The argument tells me, that every man ought to follow one of these cords and not let go, but pull with that against all the rest; and this is the sacred and golden cord of reason, 645 called by us the common law of the state; there are others also which are hard and of iron, but this is soft because golden; and there are various other kinds. Now we ought always to coöperate with the lead of the best, which is law. For inasmuch as reason is beautiful and gentle, and not violent, her rule must needs have ministers in order to help the golden principle in vanquishing the other principles. And thus the moral tale about our being puppets will not be lost, and the meaning of the expression "superior or inferior to a man's self" will become clearer; as also that in this matter of pulling the strings of the puppet, cities as well as individuals should live according to reason; the individual attaining reason in himself, and the city receiving reason from some god, or from the legislator who

knows, making that her law in her intercourse with herself and with other states. In this way virtue and vice will be more clearly distinguished by us. And when this has become clearer, education and other institutions will in like manner become clearer; and in particular that question of convivial entertainment, which may seem, perhaps, to have been a very trifling matter, and to have taken a great many more words than were necessary.

Cle. Perhaps, however, the theme may turn out not to be unworthy of the length of discourse.

Ath. Very good; let us proceed with any inquiry which really bears on our present object.

Cle. Proceed.

Ath. Suppose that we give this puppet of ours drink, — what will be the effect on him?

Cle. With what view do you ask that question?

Ath. I will tell you hereafter what my view is. When the puppet is brought to the drink, what sort of result is likely to follow? I will endeavor to explain my meaning more clearly. What I am asking is this, — Does the drinking of wine heighten and increase pleasures and pains, and passions and loves?

Cle. Very greatly.

Ath. And are perception and memory, and opinion and prudence, heightened and increased? Do not these qualities entirely desert a man if he becomes saturated with drink?

Cle. Yes, they entirely desert him.

Ath. Does he not return to the state of the soul in which he was when a young child?

Cle. To be sure.

Ath. Then at that time he will have the least control over himself?

Cle. The least.

646 *Ath.* And will he not be in a most wretched plight.

Cle. Most wretched.

Ath. Then not only an old man but also a drunkard becomes a second time a child?

Cle. Well said, Stranger.

Ath. Will any argument prove to us that we ought to encourage such a state, and not do all that we can to avoid it?

Cle. I suppose that there are arguments in defense of drinking; at any rate, you said just now that you were ready to maintain such a doctrine.

Ath. True, I did say that; and I hold to my word, as you both declared that you were ready to hear me.

Cle. To be sure we will hear you, if only for the sake of the strangeness of the paradox, which asserts that a man ought of his own accord to plunge into utter degradation.

Ath. Are you speaking of the soul?

Cle. Yes.

Ath. And what would you say about the body, my friend? When we think of deformity, leanness, ugliness, decrepitude, may we not wonder at any one being willing to incur that sort of thing?

Cle. Certainly.

Ath. Yet when a man goes of his own accord to a doctor's shop, and takes medicine, is he not quite aware that soon, and for many days afterwards, he will be in a state of body which he would die rather than accept as the permanent condition of his life? Are not those who train in gymnasia, at first beginning, reduced to a state of weakness?

Cle. Yes, all that is well known.

Ath. Also that they go of their own accord for the sake of the subsequent benefit?

Cle. Very good.

Ath. And we may conceive this to be true in the same way of other practices?

Cle. Certainly.

Ath. And the same same view may be taken of the pastime of drinking wine, if we are right in supposing that the same effect follows?

Cle. To be sure.

Ath. If such convivialities should turn out to have any like advantage equal in importance to the bodily one, they are in their very nature to be preferred to mere bodily exercise, inasmuch as they have no accompaniment of pain.

Cle. True; but I hardly think that we shall be able to discover anything of that sort in them.

Ath. That is just what I am about to show. And let me ask you a question: Do we not distinguish two kinds of fear, which are all but opposites?

Cle. What are they?

Ath. There is the fear of expected evil.

Cle. Yes.

Ath. And there is the fear of an evil reputation; we are

647 afraid of being thought evil, because we do or say some dishonorable thing, which fear we and all men term shame.

Cle. Certainly.

Ath. These are the two fears, as I called them; one of which is the opposite of pain and other fears, and the opposite also of the greatest and most numerous sort of pleasures.

Cle. That is very true.

Ath. And does not the legislator and every one who is good for anything, hold this fear in the greatest honor? This is what he terms reverence, and the confidence which is the reverse of this he terms insolence; and the latter he always deems to be a very great evil both to individuals and to states.

Cle. True.

Ath. Does not this sort of fear preserve us in many important ways? And is there any single thing which equally gives victory and safety in war? For there are two things which give victory, — confidence before enemies, and fear of disgrace before friends.

Cle. True.

Ath. Then each of us should be fearless and also fearful, and what we fear or ought not to fear has been determined.

Cle. Certainly.

Ath. And when we want to make any one fearless, we and the law bring him face to face with many fears.

Cle. Clearly.

Ath. And when we want to make him rightly fearful, must we not bring him face to face with shamelessness, and exercise him in taking up arms against his own pleasures and overcoming them? Will he have to fight against and conquer his own cowardice, and in this way become perfected in valor, — since if he be unpracticed and inexperienced in such conflicts, he will not be half the man which he might have been in respect of virtue — and are we to suppose, that, not he who has fought with the shameless and unrighteous temptations of his pleasures and lusts, and conquered them, in earnest and in play, and in every sort of way, word, or work, will be perfectly temperate; but that perfect temperance will be attained by him who has no experiences of this sort?

Cle. That would be very improbable.

Ath. Suppose that some god had given a fear potion to men, and that the more a man drank of this the more he regarded himself as the child of misfortune on every occasion of drink

ing, and that he feared everything happening or to happen to him; that at last the most courageous of men utterly lost his presence of mind for a time, and only came to himself again when he had slept off the influence of the draught. 648

Cle. But do you know of any such draught, Stranger, which is really to be found among men?

Ath. I do not; but, if there were, might not such a draught have been of use to the legislator as a test of courage? Might we not go and say to him, "O, legislator, whether you are legislating for the Cretans, or the Spartans, or any other, would you not like to have a touchstone of the courage and cowardice of your citizens?

Cle. That any one would allow.

Ath. And you would rather have a touchstone in which there is no risk and no great danger than the reverse?

Cle. That, again, no one will deny.

Ath. And, in order to make use of the draught, you would lead them amid such imaginary terrors, and prove them, when the affection of fear was working upon them, and compel them to be fearless, exhorting and admonishing them, and honoring them, but dishonoring any one who will not be persuaded by you to be in all respects such as you command him; and if he underwent the trial well and manfully, you would let him go unscathed; but if ill, you would inflict a punishment upon him? Or would you abstain from using the potion altogether, although you have no reason for abstaining?

Cle. He would be certain, Stranger, to use the potion.

Ath. This would be a mode of testing and training which would be wonderfully easy in comparison with those now in use, and might be applied to one person, or to a few, or indeed to any number; and he would do well who provided himself with the potion, which alone is of more efficacy than ten thousand other things, whether he preferred to be by himself in the wilderness, and there contend with his fears, because he was ashamed to be seen by the eye of man until he was perfect; or trusting to the force of his own nature and habits, and believing that he has been already disciplined sufficiently, he did not hesitate to train himself in company with his boon companions, and display his power in conquering the irresistible influence of the draught — his virtue being such, that he never in any instance fell into any great unseemliness, but was always himself, and left off before he arrived at the last cup, fearing that he, like all other men, might be overcome by the potion.

Cle. Yes, Stranger, he too might do well and wisely in that way.

469 *Ath.* Let us return to the lawgiver, and say to him "Well, lawgiver, there is certainly no such fear potion which man has either received from the gods or himself discovered; for witchcraft has no place at our board. But is there any potion which might serve as a test of overboldness and excessive and indiscreet boasting?"

Cle. I suppose that he will say, Yes, — meaning that wine is such a potion.

Ath. Is not the effect of this quite the opposite of the effect of the other? When a man drinks, he at first becomes more cheerful than he was before, and the more he drinks the more he is filled full of brave hopes, and the opinion of his power, and at last the string of his tongue is loosened, and fancying himself wise, he is brimming over with lawlessness, and has no more fear or respect, and is ready to do or say anything.

Cle. I think that any one will admit the truth of that description.

Meg. Certainly.

Ath. Now, let us remember, as we were saying, that there are two things which should be cultivated in the soul: first, the greatest courage; secondly, the greatest fear.

Cle. Those you described as parts of reverence, if I am not mistaken.

Ath. Thank you for reminding me. But now, as the habit of courage and fearlessness is to be trained amid fears, let us consider whether the opposite quality to fear is not also to be trained among opposites.

Cle. I dare say.

Ath. There are times and seasons at which we are by nature more than commonly valiant and bold; now we ought to train ourselves on these occasions to be as free from impudence and shamelessness as possible, and to be afraid to say or suffer or do anything that is base.

Cle. True.

Ath. Are not the moments in which we are apt to be bold and shameless such as these? — when we are under the influence of anger, love, pride, ignorance, avarice, cowardice? or when wealth, beauty, strength, and all the intoxicating workings of pleasure madden us? What is better adapted than the festive use of wine, in the first place to test, and in the second

place to train, the character of a man, if care be taken in the use of it? What is there cheaper, or more innocent? For, do but consider which is the greater risk: Would you rather test a man of harsh and uncivil nature, out of which ten thousand acts of injustice arise, by making bargains with him, or by having him as a companion at the festival of Dionysus? Or would you, if you wanted to apply a touchstone to a man who is prone to love, intrust your wife, or your sons, or daughters to him, periling your dearest interests in order to have a view of the condition of his soul? I might add numberless particulars, in which the advantage would be manifest of getting to know a character in sport, and without paying dearly for experience. And I do not believe that either a Cretan, or any other man, will doubt that such a test is a fair test, and safer, cheaper, and speedier than any other.

Cle. That is certainly true.

Ath. And this knowledge of the natures and habits of men's souls will be of the greatest use in that art which has the management of them; and that art, if I am not mistaken, is politics.

Cle. Certainly

BOOK II.

652 *Ath. Str.* AND now we have to consider whether the insight into human nature is the only advantage derived from well-ordered potations, or whether there are not other advantages greater and more to be desired still. There are, as the argument seems to imply. But how, and in what way, these are to be attained, will have to be considered attentively, or we may be entangled in an error.

Cleinias. Proceed.

Ath. Let me once more recall our doctrine of right education; which, if I am not mistaken, depends on the due regulation of convivial intercourse.

653

Cle. That is a great assumption.

Ath. I maintain that pleasure and pain are the first perceptions of children, and that these are the forms under which virtue and vice are originally present to them. As to wisdom and true and fixed opinions, happy is the man who acquires them, when declining in years; and he who possesses them, and the blessings which are contained in them, is a perfect man. Now, I mean by education that training which is given by suitable habits to the first instincts of virtue in children; when pleasure, and friendship, and pain, and hatred, are rightly implanted in souls not yet capable of understanding the nature of them, and who find them, after they have attained reason, to be in harmony with her. This harmony of the soul, when perfected, is virtue; but the particular training in respect of pleasure and pain, which leads you always to hate what you ought to hate, and love what you ought to love, from the beginning to the end, may be separated off; and, in my view, will be rightly called education.

Cle. I think, Stranger, that you are quite right in all that you have said and are saying about education.

Ath. I am glad to hear you say that; for, indeed, the true

discipline of pleasure and pain which, when rightly ordered, is a principle of education, has been often relaxed and corrupted in human life. And the gods, pitying the toils which our race is born to undergo, have appointed holy festivals, in which men alternate rest with labor; and have given them the Muses, and Apollo the leader of the Muses, and Dionysus, as the partners in their revels, that they may improve what education they have, at the festivals of the gods, and by their aid. I should like to know whether a common saying is true to nature or not. For what men say is that the young of all creatures cannot be quiet in their bodies or in their voices; they are always wanting to move, and cry out; at one time leaping and skipping, and overflowing with sportiveness and delight at something, and then again uttering all sorts of cries. But, whereas other animals have no perception of order or disorder in their movements, that is, of rhythm or harmony, as they are called, to us the gods, who, as we say, have been appointed to be our partners in the dance, have given the pleasurable sense 654
of harmony and rhythm; and by this they stir us into life, and we follow them and join hands with one another in dances and songs; and these they call choruses, which is a term naturally expressive of cheerfulness. Shall we begin, then, with the acknowledgment that education is first given through Apollo and the Muses? What do you say to that?

Cle. I assent.

Ath. And the uneducated is he who has not been trained in the chorus, and the educated is he who has been well trained?

Cle. Certainly.

Ath. And the chorus is made up of two parts, dance and song?

Cle. True.

Ath. Then he who is well educated will be able to sing and dance well?

Cle. I suppose that he will.

Ath. Let us see; what is this that we are saying?

Cle. What are we saying?

Ath. He sings well and dances well; now must we add that he sings what is good and dances what is good: shall we make that addition?

Cle. Let us add that.

Ath. Well, and if he supposes the good to be good, and the bad to be bad, and makes use of them accordingly, what then?

Shall we regard him as better trained in dancing and music, who is able to move his body and to use his voice in what is understood to be the right manner, but has no delight in good or hatred of evil; or is he the better who is incorrect in gesture and voice, but is right in his sense of pleasure and pain, and welcomes what is good, and is offended at what is evil?

Cle. There is a great difference, Stranger, in the education of the two.

Ath. If we know what is good in song and dance, then we know also who is rightly educated and who is uneducated; but if we do not know this, then we certainly shall not know wherein lies the safeguard of education, and whether there is any or not.

Cle. True.

Ath. Let us follow the scent like hounds, and go in pursuit of beauty of figure, and melody, and song, and dance; if these escape us, there will be no use in talking about true education, whether Hellenic or barbarian.

Cle. Yes.

Ath. And what is beauty of figure, or beautiful melody? When a manly soul is in trouble, and when a cowardly 655 soul is in like case, are they likely to use the same figures and gestures, or to give utterance to the same sounds?

Cle. How can they, when the very colors of their faces differ?

Ath. Good, my friend; I may observe, however, in passing, that in music there certainly are figures and there are melodies; and music is concerned with harmony and rhythm, so that you may speak of a melody or figure having rhythm or harmony; the term is correct enough, but you cannot speak correctly, as the masters of choruses have a way of talking metaphorically of the "color" of a melody or figure. Although you can speak of the melodies or figures of the brave and the coward, praising the one and censuring the other. And not to be tedious, the figures and melodies which are expressive of virtue of soul or body, or of images of virtue, are without exception good, and those which are expressive of vice are the reverse of good.

Cle. You are right in calling upon us to make that division

Ath. But are all of us equally delighted with every sort of dance?

Cle. Far otherwise.

Ath. And what, then, is the cause of error or division among us? Are beautiful things not the same to us all, or are they the same in themselves, but not in our opinion of them? For no one will admit that forms of vice in the dance are more beautiful than forms of virtue, or that he himself delights in the forms of vice, and others in a muse of another character. And yet most persons say, that the excellence of music is to give pleasure to our souls. But this is intolerable and blasphemous; there is, however, a more plausible account of the delusion.

Cle. What is that?

Ath. There is a way of making our likes and dislikes the criterion of excellence. Choric movements are imitations of manners occurring in various actions, chances, characters, — each particular is imitated, and those to whom the words, or songs, or dances are suited, either by nature or habit, or both, cannot help feeling pleasure in them, and applauding them, and calling them beautiful. But those whose natures, or ways, or habits are unsuited to them, cannot delight in them or applaud them, and they call them base. There are others, again, whose natures are right and their habits wrong, or whose habits are right and their natures wrong, and they praise one thing, but are pleased at another. For they say that certain things are pleasant, but not good. And in the presence 656
of those whom they think wise, they are ashamed of dancing and singing in that fashion, or of deliberately lending their countenance to such proceedings; and yet, they have a secret pleasure in them.

Cle. Very true.

Ath. And is any harm done to the lover of vicious dances or songs, or any good done to the approver of the opposite sort of pleasure?

Cle. I think that there is.

Ath. "I think" is not the word, but I would say, rather, that "I am certain;" must they not have the same effect as when a man is in evil company, whom he likes and approves rather than dislikes, and only censures them playfully as if he had a suspicion of his own badness? In that case, he who takes pleasure in them will surely become like those in whom he takes pleasure, even though he be ashamed to praise them. And what greater good or evil can any destiny ever make us undergo?

Cle. I know of none.

Ath. Then in a city which has or in future ages is to have good laws, and having regard to the instruction and amusement which the Muses give, can we suppose that the poets are to be allowed to teach in the dance anything which the poet himself likes, in the way of rhythm, or melody, or words, to the children and youth of well-conditioned parents? Is he to train his choruses as he pleases, without reference to virtue or vice?

Cle. That is surely quite unreasonable, and is not to be thought of.

Ath. And yet he may do this in almost any state with the exception of Egypt.

Cle. And how is this sort of thing regulated in Egypt?

Ath. You will wonder when I tell you: Long ago they appear to have recognized the very principle of which we are now speaking — that their young citizens must be habituated to forms and strains of virtue. These they fixed, and exhibited the patterns of them in their temples; and no painter or artist is allowed to innovate upon them, or to leave the traditional forms and invent new ones. To this day, no alteration is allowed either in these arts, or in music at all. And you will find that their works of art are painted or moulded in the same forms which they had ten thousand years ago; this is literally true and no exaggeration, — their ancient paintings
657 and sculptures are not a whit better or worse than the work of to-day, but are made with just the same skill.

Cle. How extraordinary!

Ath. I should rather say, how wise and worthy of a great legislator! I know that other things in Egypt are not so good. But this which I am telling you about music is true and deserving of consideration, because showing that a lawgiver may with perfect confidence institute melodies having a natural truth and correctness. This, however, must be the work of God, or of a divine person; in Egypt they have a tradition that their ancient chants are the composition of the Goddess Isis. And therefore, as I was saying, if a person could only find in any way the natural melodies, he might confidently embody them in a legal and fixed order. For the love of novelty which arises out of pleasure in the new, and weariness of the old, has not strength enough to vitiate the consecrated form of the song and dance, under the plea that they have become antiquated. At any rate, in Egypt the very reverse appears to be the case.

Cle. That seems to be satisfactorily proved by your statement.

Ath. May not the true use of music and choral festivities be described as follows: we rejoice when we think that we prosper, and again we think that we prosper when we rejoice?

Cle. Exactly.

Ath. And when this is the case, we are unable to be still?

Cle. True.

Ath. Our young men break forth into dancing and singing, and we who are their elders deem that we are fulfilling our part in life when we look on at them. Having lost the agility of youth, we delight in their sports and merry-making; because we love to think of our former selves, and gladly institute contests for those who are able to awaken in us the memory of what we once were.

Cle. Very true.

Ath. People say that we ought to regard him as the wisest of men, and the winner of the palm, who gives us the greatest amount of pleasure and mirth. For when mirth is to be the order of the day, he ought to be honored most, and, as I was saying, bear the palm, who gives most mirth to the greatest number. Now I want to know whether this is a true way of speaking or of acting? 658

Cle. Possibly.

Ath. But, my dear friend, let us distinguish between different cases, and not be hasty in forming a judgment: One way of considering the question will be to imagine a festival at which there are entertainments of all sorts, including gymnastic, musical, or equestrian contests: the citizens are assembled, and proclamation is made that any one who likes may enter the lists, and that he is to bear the palm who gives the most pleasure to the spectators — there is to be no regulation about the manner how; but he who is most successful in giving pleasure is to be crowned victor, and is deemed to be the pleasantest of the candidates: What is likely to be the result of such a proclamation?

Cle. In what respect?

Ath. There would be various exhibitions: the Homeric bard would exhibit a rhapsody, another a performance on the lute; one would have a tragedy, and another a comedy. Nor would there be anything astonishing in some one imagining that he could gain the prize by exhibiting a puppet-show: Suppose these

competitors to meet, and not these only, but innumerable others as well, can you tell me who ought to be the victor?

Cle. I do not see how I can answer that, until I have myself heard the several competitors; the question is absurd.

Ath. Well, then, shall I answer the question which you declare to be absurd?

Cle. By all means.

Ath. If very small children are to determine the question, they will decide for the puppet-show?

Cle. Of course.

Ath. The older children will be advocates of comedy; educated women, and young men, and people in general, will favor tragedy.

Cle. Very likely.

Ath. And I believe that we old men would have the greatest pleasure in hearing a rhapsodist recite well the Iliad and Odyssey, or one of the Hesiodic poems. Now, who would really be the conqueror? that is the question.

Cle. Yes.

Ath. Clearly you and I will be compelled to reply that the old men are right; their way of thinking is far better than any other which now prevails in the world.

Cle. Certainly.

Ath. Thus far I too should agree with the many, that the excellence of music is to be measured by pleasure. But the pleasure must not be that of chance persons; the fairest music is that which delights the best and best educated, and especially
659 that which delights the one man who is preëminent in virtue and education. And therefore the judges will require virtue — they must possess wisdom and also courage; for the true judge ought not to learn from the theatre, nor ought he to be panic-stricken at the clamor of the many and his own incapacity; nor again, knowing the truth, ought he through cowardice and unmanliness carelessly to deliver a false judgment, out of the very same lips which have just appealed to the gods before he judged. He is sitting, not as the disciple of the theatre, but, in his proper place, as their instructor, and he ought to be the enemy of all pandering to the pleasure of the spectators. The ancient and common custom of Hellas, which still prevails in Italy and Sicily, did certainly leave the judgment to the body of spectators, who determined the victor by the show of hands; yet this custom has been the destruction

of the poets; for they now compose with a view to please the bad taste of their judges, and the result is that the spectators instruct themselves, which has been the ruin of the theatre; when they ought to be hearing of characters of a higher stamp than their own, and receiving a higher pleasure, they are affected in an entirely opposite manner. Now what is the inference to be deduced from all this? Shall I tell you?

Cle. What?

Ath. The inference at which we arrive for the third or fourth time is, that education is the constraining and directing of youth towards that right reason, which the law affirms, and which the experience of the best of our elders has agreed to be truly right. In order, then, that the soul of the child may not be habituated to feel joy and sorrow in a manner at variance with the law, and those who obey the law, but may rather follow the law and rejoice and sorrow at the same things as the aged, — in order, I say, to produce this effect, songs appear to have been invented, which are really charms, and are designed to implant that harmony of which we speak. And, because the mind of the child is incapable of enduring serious training, they are called plays or songs, and are performed in play; just as when men are sick and ailing in their bodies, their attendants give them wholesome diet in pleasant meats and drinks, but unwholesome diet in disagreeable things, in order that they 660
may learn to like the one as they ought, and to dislike the other. And in like manner the true legislator will persuade, and, if he cannot persuade, will compel the poet to express as he ought, by fair and noble words, in his rhythms, the figures, and in his melodies, the music of temperate, and brave, and in every way good men.

Cle. And do you really imagine, Stranger, that this is the way in which poets generally compose in states at the present day? As far as I can observe there is nothing of the sort, except among us and the Lacedaemonians, as you now tell me, in other places novelties are always being introduced in dancing and in music, generally not under the authority of any law, but at the instigation of lawless pleasure; and these pleasures are so far from being the same, as you describe the Egyptian to be, or having the same principles, that they are never the same.

Ath. Most true, Cleinias; and I dare say that I may have expressed myself obscurely, and so led you to imagine that I was speaking of the state of things which exists at present;

whereas I was saying what I wished about music, and hence there occurred a misapprehension on your part. For when evils are irremediable and excessive, the task of censuring them is never pleasant, although at times necessary. But as we do not really differ, will you let me ask you whether you maintain that such institutions are more prevalent among you and the Cretans than among the other Hellenes?

Cle. Certainly they are.

Ath. And if they were extended to the other Hellenes, would that be an improvement?

Cle. There would be a very great improvement, if the customs which prevailed among them were such as prevail among us and the Lacedaemonians, and such as you were just now saying ought to prevail.

Ath. Let us see whether we understand one another: Are not the principles of education and music which prevail among you as follows: you compel your poets to say that the good man, if he be temperate and just, is fortunate and happy; and this whether he be great and strong, or small and weak, and whether he be rich or poor; and that, on the other hand, if he have a wealth passing that of Cinyras or Midas, and be unjust, he is miserable and lives in pain. As the poet says, and truly: I sing not, I care not, about him who accomplishes all the noble things of which he speaks, not having justice; let him be just who "draws near and smites his enemies." But if he be
661 an unjust man, I would not have him look calmly "upon bloody death," nor "surpass in swiftness the Thracian Boreas;" and let no other thing that is called good ever be his. For the goods of which the many speak are not really good: first in the catalogue is placed health, beauty next, wealth third; and then innumerable others, as for example to have a quick sight or hearing, and in general clear perceptions; or, again, to be a tyrant and do as you like; and the final consummation of happiness is to have acquired all these things, and as soon as you are possessed of them to be immortal. But you and I say, that while to the just and holy all these things are the best of possessions, to the unjust they are the greatest of evils, including even health. For in truth sight, and hearing, and perception, and to live at all having all the goods which I have mentioned, without justice and virtue, is the greatest of evils, if life be immortal; but not so great, if the bad man lives a very short time. These are the truths of which you must persuade your

poets, or if they will not be persuaded, must compel them, to sing with suitable accompaniments of harmony and rhythm, and in these they must train up your youth. Am I not right? For I plainly declare that evils as they are termed are goods to the unjust, and only evils to the just, and that goods are truly good to the good, but evil to the evil. Then let me ask again, Are you and I agreed about this?

Cle. I think that in some things we agree, in others not.

Ath. When a man has health and wealth and a tyranny which lasts, and adds to all this, surpassing strength and courage and immortality, and has none of the so-called evils which counterbalance these goods, but only the injustice and insolence of his own nature — I can scarcely make you believe that such a one is miserable rather than happy.

Cle. Very true.

Ath. And what more shall I say? Suppose that he be valiant and strong, and fair and rich, and does throughout his whole life whatever he likes, still, if he be injurious and insolent, must he not lead a base life? You will surely 662
grant that he must?

Cle. Certainly.

Ath. And an evil life too?

Cle. I am not equally disposed to grant that.

Ath. Will he not live painfully and to his own disadvantage?

Cle. How can I possibly admit that?

Ath. How? In reply, I can only pray that Heaven would give us the spirit of agreement and not of disagreement. For to me, dear Cleinias, the truth of what I am saying is plainer than the fact that Crete is an island. And, if I were a lawgiver, I would try to make the poets and all the citizens speak in this strain; and I would inflict very heavy penalties on any one in all the land who should dare to say that there are bad men who lead pleasant lives, or that the profitable and gainful is one thing, and the just another; and there are many other matters about which I should make my citizens speak in another strain from the Cretans and Lacedaemonians of this age, and I may say, indeed, from the world in general. For tell me, I entreat you, O best of men, by Zeus and Apollo, if I were to ask these very gods, who were your legislators, — is not the most just life also the pleasantest? or are there two lives, one of which is the juster and the other the pleasanter? and they say that there are two: then I would further ask them (that

would be the right way of pursuing the inquiry) — Which are the happier? Those who lead the justest, or those who lead the pleasantest life? If they were to reply, those who lead the pleasantest life, that would be a very strange answer, which I should not like to put into the mouth of God. The words will come with more propriety from the lips of fathers and legislators, and therefore I will repeat my former questions to one of them, and suppose him to say again that he who leads the pleasantest life is the happiest. And to that I rejoin: O my father, did you not wish me to live as happily as possible? And yet you also never ceased telling me that I should live as justly as possible. Now, here the legislator or father will be in a strange position, and will in vain endeavor to be consistent with himself. But if he were to declare that the justest life is also the happiest, every one hearing him would inquire, if I am not
663 mistaken, what is that good and noble principle in life which the law approves, and which is superior to pleasure and pain? For what good can the just man have which is separated from pleasure? Shall we say that glory and fame, coming from gods and men, is good and noble, but unpleasant, and infamy the contrary of this? Certainly not, sweet legislator. Or shall we say that the not-doing and not-suffering of wrong is unpleasant, but good and honorable, and that the contrary is pleasant, but evil and base?

Cle. Impossible.

Ath. The view which identifies the pleasant and the just and the good and the noble has an excellent moral and religious tendency. And the opposite view is most at variance with the designs of the legislator, and, in his opinion, infamous; for no one, if he can help, will be persuaded to do that which gives him more pain than pleasure. But as distant prospects are apt to make the world spin round us, especially in childhood, the legislator will try to purge away the darkness and exhibit the truth; he will persuade the citizens, in some way or other, by customs and praises and words, that just and unjust are opposed to one another as shadow and light, and that, seen from the point of view of a man's own evil and injustice, the unjust appears pleasant and the just unpleasant; but that, seen from the point of view of the just, the very opposite is the appearance which they wear.

Cle. True.

Ath. And which may be supposed to be the truer judgment. That of the inferior or of the better soul?

Cle. Surely, that of the better soul.

Ath. Then the unjust life must not only be more base and depraved, but also more unpleasant than the just and holy life?

Cle. That seems to be implied in the present argument.

Ath. And even supposing this were otherwise, and not as the argument has proven, still the lawgiver, who is worth anything, if he ever ventures to tell a lie to the young for their good, could not invent a more useful lie than this, or one which will have a better effect in making them do what is right, not on compulsion but voluntarily.

Cle. Truth, stranger, is a noble thing and a lasting, but a thing of which men are hard to be persuaded.

Ath. And yet the story of the Sidonian Cadmus, which is so improbable, has been readily believed, and also innumerable other tales.

Cle. What is that story?

Ath. The story of armed men springing up after the sowing of teeth — that the legislator may take as a proof that he 664
can persuade the minds of the young of anything; so that he has only to reflect and find out what belief will be of the greatest public advantage, and then use all his efforts to make the whole community utter one and the same word in their songs and tales and discourses all their life long. But if you do not agree with me, there is no reason why you should not argue on the other side.

Cle. I do not see that any argument can fairly be raised by either of us against what you are now saying.

Ath. The next suggestion which I have to offer is, that all our three choruses shall sing to the young and tender souls of children, reciting in their strains all the noble thoughts of which we have already spoken, or are about to speak; and the sum of them shall be, that the life which is by the gods deemed to be the happiest is the holiest; we shall affirm this to be a most certain truth; and the minds of our young disciples will be more likely to receive these words of ours than any others which we might address to them.

Cle. I assent to what you say.

Ath. First will enter in their natural order the sacred choir composed of children, which is to sing lustily the heaven-taught lay to the whole city. Next will follow the choir of young men under the age of thirty, who will call upon the God Paean to be the witness of their words, and will pray him to be gra-

cious to the youth and to turn their hearts. Thirdly, the choir of elder men, who are from thirty to sixty years of age, will also sing. There remain those who are too old to sing, and they will tell stories, illustrating the same virtues, as with the voice of an oracle.

Cle. Who are those who compose the third choir, Stranger; for I do not clearly understand whom you mean?

Ath. And yet almost all that I have been saying has been said with a view to them.

Cle. Will you try to be a little plainer?

Ath. I was speaking at the commencement of our discourse, as you will remember, of the fiery nature of young creatures: I said that they were unable to keep quiet either in limb or voice, and that they called out and jumped about in a disorderly manner; and that no other animal attained to any perception of
665 order, but man only. Now the order of motion is called rhythm, and the order of the voice, in which high and low are duly mingled, is called harmony; and both together are termed choric song. And I said that the gods had pity on us, and gave us Apollo and the Muses to be our playfellows and leaders in the dance; and Dionysus, as I dare say that you will remember, was the third.

Cle. I quite remember.

Ath. Thus far I have spoken of the chorus of Apollo and the Muses, and I have still to speak of the remaining chorus, which is that of Dionysus.

Cle. How is that arranged? There is something strange, at any rate, on first hearing, in a Dionysiac chorus of old men, if you really mean that those who are above thirty, and may be fifty, or from fifty to sixty years of age, are to form a dance in his honor.

Ath. That is quite true; and I think with you that some explanation is required of the reasonableness of this proposal.

Cle. Certainly.

Ath. Are we agreed thus far?

Cle. About what?

Ath. That every man and boy, slave and free, both sexes, and the whole city, should never cease charming themselves with the strains of which we have spoken; and that there should be every sort of change and variation of them in order to take away the effect of sameness, so that the singers may always receive pleasure from their hymns, and may never weary of them.

Cle. Who will not agree to this?

Ath. Where, then, will that best part of our city which, by reason of age and intelligence, has the greatest influence, sing these fairest of strains, and thus do the greatest good? Shall we be so foolish as to let them off who would give us the most beautiful and also the most useful of songs?

Cle. But we cannot let them off; that is already implied.

Ath. Then how can our purpose be suitably accomplished? Let us see.

Cle. How?

Ath. When a man is advancing in years, he no longer likes to sing; he has no pleasure in his own performances; and if compulsion is used, he will be more and more ashamed, the older and more discreet he grows: Is not this true?

Cle. Very true.

Ath. Well, and will he not be yet more ashamed if he has to stand up and sing in the theatre to a mixed audience; and if he is required to do this, like the other choirs who contend for prizes, and have been trained under a singing-master, when he is thirty and hungry he will certainly have a feeling of shame and discomfort which will make him very unwilling to exhibit. 666

Cle. That cannot be doubted.

Ath. How, then, shall we reassure him, and get him to sing? Shall we begin by enacting that boys shall not taste wine at all until they are eighteen years of age; we will tell them that fire must not be poured upon fire, whether in the body or in the soul, until they begin to go to labor (this is a precaution against the excitableness of youth); afterwards they may taste wine in moderation up to the age of thirty, but while a man is young he should abstain altogether from intoxication and excess of wine; when, at length, he has reached forty years, and is feasted at public banquets, he may invite not only the other gods, but Dionysus above all, to the mystery and festivity of the elder men, making use of the wine which he has given them to be the cure of the sourness of old age; that in age we may renew our youth, and forget our sorrows; and also in order that the nature of the soul, like iron melted in the fire, may become softer and more impressible. In the first place, will not any whose heart is warm within him, be more ready and less ashamed to sing,—I do not say before a large audience, but before a moderate number; nor among strangers, but among

his familiars, and, as we have often said, charm himself in song?

Cle. He will be far more ready.

Ath. There will be no impropriety in using such a method of persuading them to join in song.

Cle. None at all.

Ath. And what strain will they sing, and what muse will they hymn? The strain should clearly be one suitable to them.

Cle. Certainly.

Ath. And what strain is suitable for heroes? Shall they sing a choric strain?

Cle. Truly, Stranger, we of Crete and Lacedaemon know no strain other than that which we have learnt and been accustomed to sing in our chorus.

Ath. I dare say; for you have never acquired the knowledge of the most beautiful sort of song in your military way of life, which is modeled after the camp, and is not like that of dwellers in cities; and you have your young men herding and feeding together like young colts. No one takes his own individual colt and drags him away from his fellows against his will, raging and foaming, and gives him a groom for him alone, and trains and rubs him down privately, and gives him the qualities in education which will make him not only a good soldier, but also a governor of a state and of cities. Such a one,
667 as we were saying at first, would be a greater warrior than him of whom Tyrtaeus sings; and he would honor courage everywhere, but always as the fourth, and not as the first part of virtue, either in individuals or states.

Cle. Once more, Stranger, I must complain that you depreciate our lawgivers.

Ath. Not intentionally, if at all, my good friend, but whither the argument leads, thither let us follow; for if there be indeed some strain of song more beautiful than that of the choruses or the public theatres, I should like to impart it to those who, as we say, are ashamed of any ordinary strain, and want to have the best.

Cle. Certainly.

Ath. In all things which have an accompanying charm, either this very charm is the chief part of their good, or, secondly, there is some truth, or, thirdly, profit in them; for example, I should say that there is a charm which accompanies eating and drinking, and the use of food in general, and this we call pleas

ure; but that which we term the rightness and utility of the things served up to us, or more precisely their healthful quality, is also their highest rectitude.

Cle. Very true.

Ath. Thus, too, I should say that learning has a certain accompanying charm which is the pleasure; and that the right and the profitable, the good and the noble, are qualities given by the truth.

Cle. Exactly.

Ath. And so in the imitative arts, which make likenesses, — if they succeed in this, and are accompanied by pleasure, may not their works be said to have a charm?

Cle. Yes.

Ath. But equal proportions, whether of quality or quantity, and not pleasure, speaking generally, would give them truth or rightness.

Cle. Yes.

Ath. Then that only can be rightly judged by the standard of pleasure which makes or furnishes no utility, or truth, or similarity, nor on the other hand is productive of any hurtful quality, but exists solely for the sake of the accompanying charm; and the term "pleasure" is most appropriately used when these other qualities are absent.

Cle. You are speaking of harmless pleasure, are you not?

Ath. Yes; and this I term amusement, when doing neither harm nor good in any degree worth speaking of.

Cle. Very true.

Ath. Then, upon these principles, we must assert that imitation is not to be judged of by pleasure and false opinion; and this is true also of equality, for the equal is not equal or the symmetrical symmetrical, because somebody thinks or likes something, but they are to be judged of by the standard of truth, and by no other whatever.

Cle. Quite true.

Ath. Do we not regard all music as representative and imitative?

668

Cle. Certainly.

Ath. Then, when any one says that music is to be judged of by pleasure, this cannot be admitted; and if there be any music of which pleasure is the criterion, such music is not to be sought out or deemed to have any real excellence, but only that other kind of music which is an imitation of the good.

Cle. Very true.

Ath. And those who seek for the best kind of song and music, ought not to seek for that which is pleasant, but for that which is true; and the truth of imitation consists, as we were saying, in rendering the thing imitated according to quantity and quality.

Cle. Certainly.

Ath. And every one will admit that musical compositions are all imitative and representative. Will not poets and spectators and actors all agree in this?

Cle. They will.

Ath. Surely then he who would judge correctly must know what each composition is; for if he does not know what is the character and meaning of the piece, and what it represents, he will never discern whether the intention is true or false.

Cle. Certainly not.

Ath. And will he who does not know what is true be able to distinguish what is good and bad? I am not very clear; and perhaps you will understand me better if I put the matter in another way.

Cle. How is that?

Ath. There are ten thousand likenesses of objects of sight?

Cle. Yes.

Ath. And can he who does not know what the exact object is which is imitated, ever know whether the resemblance is truthfully executed? I mean, for example, whether a statue has the proportions of a body, and the true situation of the parts, what those proportions are, and how the parts fit into one another in due order; also their colors and conformations, or whether this is all confused in the execution? Do you think that any one can know about this, who does not know what the animal is which has been imitated.

Cle. Impossible.

Ath. But even if we know that the thing pictured or sculptured is a man, who has received at the hand of the artist all
669 his proper parts and figures and colors, must we not also know whether the work is beautiful or in any respect deficient in beauty?

Cle. If this were not required, Stranger, we should all of us be judges of beauty.

Ath. Very true; and may we not say that in everything imitated, whether in drawing, music, or any other art, he who is to

be a competent judge must possess three things; he must know, in the first place, of what the imitation is; secondly, he must know that it is true; and thirdly, that it has been well executed in words and melodies and rhythms?

Cle. Certainly.

Ath. Then let us not faint in discussing the peculiar difficulty of music. Music is more celebrated than any other kind of imitation, and therefore requires the greatest care of them all. For if a man makes a mistake here, he may do himself the greatest injury by welcoming evil dispositions, and the mistake may be very difficult to discern, because the poets are artists very inferior in character to the Muses themselves, who would never fall into the monstrous error of assigning to the words of men the gestures and songs of women; nor combine the melodies and gestures of freemen with the rhythms of slaves and men of the baser sort; or, beginning with the rhythms and gestures of freemen, assign to them a melody or words which are of an opposite character; nor would they mix up the voices and sounds of animals and of men and instruments, and every other sort of noise, as if they were all one. But human poets are fond of introducing this sort of inconsistent mixture, and thus make themselves ridiculous in the eyes of those who, as Orpheus says, "have attained maturity in their pleasures." The experienced see all this confusion, and yet the poets go on and make still further havoc by separating the rhythm and the figure of the dance from the melody, setting words to metre without music, and also separating the melody and rhythm from the words, using the lyre or the flute alone. For when there are no words, it is very difficult to recognize the meaning of the harmony and rhythm, or to see that any worthy object is imitated by them. And we must acknowledge that all this sort of thing, which aims only at swiftness and smoothness and a brutish noise, and uses the flute and the lyre not as the mere accompaniments of the dance and song, is exceedingly rude and coarse. The use of either, when unaccompanied by the others, leads to every sort of irregularity and trickery. This is all true enough. But we are considering not how our choristers, who are from thirty to fifty years of age, and may be over fifty, are not to use the Muses, but how they are to use them. And the considerations which we have urged seem to show in what way these fifty years' old choristers who are to sing, may be expected to be better trained. For they need to have a quick

670

perception and knowledge of harmonies and rhythms; otherwise, how will they ever know which melodies would be rightly sung to the Dorian mode, or to the rhythm which the poet has assigned to them.

Cle. Clearly they cannot.

Ath. The common people are ridiculous in imagining that they know what is in proper harmony and rhythm, and what is not, when they can only be made to sing and step in rhythm by sheer force; they never consider that they do not know what they are about. //Now every melody is right when suitably accompanied, and wrong when unsuitably.

Cle. That is most certain.

Ath. But can a man who does not know a thing, as we were saying, know that the thing is right?

Cle. Impossible.

Ath. Then now, as would appear, we are making the discovery that our newly appointed choristers, whom we hereby invite and in a manner compel to sing, but of their own free-will, must be educated to such an extent as to be able to follow the steps of rhythm and the notes of song, that they may know the harmonies and rhythms, and be able to select what are suitable for men of their age and character to sing; and may sing them, and from this receive innocent pleasure themselves, and also lead younger men to receive with dutiful delight good dispositions. Having such training, they will attain a more accurate knowledge than falls to the lot of the common people, or even of the poets themselves. For the poet need not know the third point, namely, whether the imitation is good or not, though
671 he can hardly help knowing the laws of melody and rhythm. But the aged chorus must know all the three, that they may choose the best, and that which is nearest to the best; for otherwise they will never be able to charm the souls of young men in the way of virtue. And now the original design of the argument which was intended to bring eloquent aid to the Chorus of Dionysus, has been accomplished to the best of our ability, and let us see whether we were right: I should imagine that a drinking assembly is likely to become more and more tumultuous as the drinking goes on; this, as we were saying at first, will certainly be the case.

Cle. Certainly.

Ath. Every man has a more than natural elevation; his heart is glad within him, and he will say anything and will be

restrained by nobody at such a time; he fancies that he is able to rule over himself and all mankind.

Cle. Quite true.

Ath. Were we not saying that on such occasions the souls of the drinkers become like iron heated in the fire, and grow softer and younger, and are easily fashioned by him who knows how to educate and fashion them, just as when they were young, and that this fashioner of them is the same who prescribed for them in the days of their youth, namely, the good legislator; and that he ought to enact laws of the banquet, which, when a man is confident, bold, and impudent, and unwilling to wait his turn of silence and speech, and drinking and music, will change his character into the opposite; such laws as will infuse into him a just and noble fear, which will take up arms at the approach of insolence, being that divine fear which we have called reverence and shame?

Cle. True.

Ath. And the calm and sober generals of others who are not sober, are the guardians of these laws and fellow-workers with them; and without their help there is greater difficulty in fighting against drink than in fighting against enemies, when the commander of an army is not himself calm; and he who is unwilling to obey them and the commanders of Dionysiac feasts who are more than sixty years of age, shall suffer a disgrace as great as he who disobeys military leaders, or even greater.

Cle. Right.

Ath. If, then, drinking and amusement were regulated in this way, would not the companions of our revels be improved? they would part better friends than they were, and not, as 672
now, enemies. Their whole intercourse would be regulated by law, and the sober would be the leaders of those who are not sober.

Cle. I think so, too, if drinking were regulated as you propose.

Ath. Let us not, then, simply censure the gift of Dionysus as bad and unfit to be received into the state. For wine has many excellences, and one preëminent one, about which there is a difficulty in speaking to the many, from a fear of their misconceiving and misunderstanding what is said.

Cle. What is that?

Ath. There is a tradition or story, which has somehow gone

about the world, that Dionysus was robbed of his wits by his step-mother Herè, and that in revenge for this he inspires Bacchic furies and dancing madnesses in others; for which reason he gave men wine. Such traditions concerning the gods I leave to those who think that they may be safely uttered; but this I know, that no animal is born having that degree or kind of intelligence which he is destined to have in maturity; and in the intermediate period, in which he has not yet acquired a a own proper sense, he rages and roars without rhyme or reason; and when he has once got on his legs he jumps about without rhyme or reason; and this, as you will remember, has been already said by us to be the origin of music and gymnastic.

Cle. To be sure, I remember.

Ath. And did we not say that the sense of harmony and rhythm sprang from this beginning among men, and that among the gods, Apollo, and the Muses, and Dionysus were the gods whom we had to thank for them?

Cle. Certainly.

Ath. The other story implied that wine was given man out of revenge, and in order to make him mad; but our present doctrine, on the contrary, is, that wine was given him as a balm, and in order to implant modesty in the soul, and health and strength in the body.

Cle. That, Stranger, is exactly what was said.

Ath. Then half the subject may now be considered to have been discussed; shall we proceed to the consideration of the other half, or leave that?

Cle. What is the other half, and how do you divide the subject?

Ath. The whole choral art is also in our view the whole of education; and of this art, rhythms and harmonies, having to do with the voice, form a part.

Cle. Yes.

Ath. And the movement of the body and the movement of the voice have a common form which is rhythm, but they differ in that the one is gesture and the other song.

Cle. Most true.

Ath. And the sound of the voice which reaches and educates the soul, we have ventured to term music.

378

Cle. True.

Ath. And the movement of the body, which, when regarded as an amusement, we termed dancing; when pursued with a view to

the improvement of the body, according to rules of art, may be called gymnastic.

Cle. Quite true.

Ath. Music, which was one half of the choral art, may again be said to have been completely discussed. Shall we proceed to the other half or not? What would you like?

Cle. My good friend, when you are talking with a Cretan and Lacedaemonian, and we have discussed music and not gymnastic, what answer are either of us likely to make to you?

Ath. That question is pretty much of an answer; and I understand and accept what you say both as an answer, and also as a command to proceed with gymnastic.

Cle. You quite understand me; do as you say.

Ath. I will; and there will be small difficulty in speaking intelligibly to you about a subject with which both of you are far more familiar than with music.

Cle. That is very true.

Ath. Is not the origin of gymnastics, too, to be sought in the tendency to rapid motion which exists in all animals; man, as we were saying, having attained the sense of rhythm, created and invented dancing; and melody arousing and awakening rhythm, both united formed the choral art?

Cle. Very true.

Ath. And one part of this subject has been already discussed by us, and there remains another part to be discussed?

Cle. Exactly.

Ath. I have first to add a crown to my discourse about drink, if you do not object.

Cle. What is that?

Ath. I would say that if a city seriously means to adopt this practice of drinking, under due regulation and with a view to the enforcement of temperance; and in like manner, and on the same principle, will allow of other pleasures, designing to gain the victory over them—in this way all of them may be used. But if the state makes only an amusement of it, and whoever likes may drink whenever he likes, and with whom he likes, and add to this any other indulgences, I shall never 674
agree or allow that this city or this man should adopt such a usage of drinking. I would go farther than the Cretans and Lacedaemonians, and am disposed rather to the law of the Carthaginians, that no one while he is on a campaign should be allowed to taste wine at all; but I would say that he should

drink water during all that time, and that in the city no slave, male or female, should ever drink wine; and that no rulers should drink during their year of office, nor pilots of vessels, nor judges while on duty should taste wine at all; nor any one who is going to hold a consultation about any matter of importance, nor in the daytime at all, unless in consequence of exercise or as medicine; nor again at night, when any one, either man or woman, is minded to get children. There are numberless other cases also in which those who have good sense and good laws ought not to drink wine, so that if what I say is true, no city will need many vineyards. Their husbandry and their way of life in general will follow an appointed order, and their cultivation of the vine will be the most limited and moderate of their employments. And this, Stranger, shall be the crown of my discourse about wine, if you agree.

Cle. Excellent: we agree.

BOOK III.

Ath. Str. ENOUGH of this. And what, then, is to be regarded as the origin of government? 376
Will not a man be able to judge best from a point of view in which he may behold the progress of states and their transitions to good or evil?

Cleinias What do you mean?

Ath. I mean that he might watch them from the point of view of time, and observe the changes which take place in them during infinite ages.

Cle. How is that?

Ath. Why, do you think that you can reckon the time which has elapsed since cities first existed and men were citizens of them?

Cle. Hardly.

Ath. But you are sure that it must be vast and incalculable?

Cle. Quite true.

Ath. And have there not been thousands and thousands of cities which have come into being and perished during this period? And has not every place had endless forms of government, and been sometimes rising and at other times falling, and again improving or waning?

Cle. Certainly.

Ath. Let us endeavor to ascertain the cause of these changes; for that will probably explain the first origin and succession of states.

Cle. Very good. You shall endeavor to impart your thoughts to us, and we will make an effort to understand you.

Ath. Do you believe that there is any truth in ancient traditions? 677

Cle. What traditions?

Ath. The traditions about the many destructions of mankind which have been occasioned by deluges and diseases, and in many other ways, and of the preservation of a remnant.

Cle. Every one is disposed to believe them.

Ath. Let us imagine one of them: I will take the famous one which was caused by a deluge.

Cle. What are we to think about that?

Ath. I mean to say that those who then escaped would only be hill shepherds, — small sparks of the human race preserved on the tops of mountains.

Cle. Clearly.

Ath. Such survivors would necessarily be unacquainted with the arts of those who live in cities, and with the various devices which are suggested to them by interest or ambition, and all the wrongs which they contrive against one another?

Cle. Very true.

Ath. Let us suppose, then, that the cities in the plain and on the sea-coast were utterly destroyed at that time.

Cle. Let us suppose that.

Ath. Would not all implements perish and every other excellent invention of political or any other sort of wisdom utterly fail at that time?

Cle. Why, yes, my friend; and if things had always continued as they are at present ordered, how could any discovery have ever been made even in the least particular? For it is evident that the arts were unknown during thousands and thousands of years. And no more than a thousand or two thousand years have elapsed since the discoveries of Daedalus, Orpheus, and Palamades, — since Marsyas and Olympus invented music, and Amphion the lyre, — not to speak of numberless other inventions which are but of yesterday.

Ath. Have you forgotten, Cleinias, the name of a friend who is really of yesterday?

Cle. I suppose that you mean Epimenides.

Ath. The same, my friend; for his ingenuity does indeed far overleap the heads of all your great men; what Hesiod had theorized about long before, he converted into a fact, as you declare.

Cle. Yes, that is our tradition.

Ath. After the great destruction, may we not suppose that the state of man was something of this sort: There was a fearful, illimitable desert and a vast expanse of land; a herd or two of oxen would be the only survivors of the animal world
678 and there might be a few goats, hardly enough to support the life of those who tended them in the beginning of
s.

Cle. True.

Ath. And of cities or governments or legislation, about which we are now talking, do you suppose that they could have any recollection at all?

Cle. They could not.

Ath. And out of this state of things has there not sprung all that we now are and have: cities and governments, and arts and laws, and a great deal of vice and a great deal of virtue?

Cle. What do you mean?

Ath. Why, my good friend, how can we possibly suppose that those who knew nothing of all the good and evil of cities could have attained their full development, whether of virtue or of vice?

Cle. I understand your meaning, and you are quite right.

Ath. But, as time advanced and the race multiplied, the world came to be what the world is.

Cle. Very true.

Ath. Doubtless the change was not made all in a moment, but little by little, during a very long period of time.

Cle. That is to be supposed.

Ath. At first, they would have a natural fear ringing in their ears which would prevent their descending from the heights into the plain.

Cle. Of course.

Ath. The fewness of the survivors would make them desirous of intercourse with one another; but then the means of travelling either by land or sea would have been almost entirely lost, as I may say, with the loss of the arts, and there would be great difficulty in getting at one another; for iron and brass and all metals would have become confused, and would have disappeared; nor would there be any possibility of extracting them; and they would have no means of felling timber. Even if you suppose that some implements might have been preserved in the mountains, they would quickly have worn out and disappeared, and there would be no more of them until the art of metallurgy had again revived.

Cle. There could not have been.

Ath. In how many generations would this be attained?

Cle. Clearly, not for many generations.

Ath. During this period, and for some time afterwards, all the arts which require iron and brass and the like would disappear?

Cle. Certainly.

Ath. Faction and war would also have died out in those days, and for many reasons.

Cle. How would that be?

Ath. In the first place, the desolation of these primitive men would create in them a feeling of affection and friendship towards one another; and, in the second place, they would have
679 no occasion to fight for their subsistence, for they would have pasture in abundance, except just at first, and in some particular cases; on this pasture-land they would mostly support life in that primitive age, having plenty of milk and flesh, and procuring other food by the chase, not to be despised either in quantity or quality. They would also have abundance of clothing and bedding, and dwellings, and utensils either capable of standing on the fire or not; for the plastic and weaving arts do not require any use of iron: God has given these two arts to man in order to provide him with necessaries, that, when reduced to their last extremity, the human race may still grow and increase. Hence in those days there was no great poverty; nor was poverty a cause of difference among men; and rich they could not be, if they had no gold and silver, and such at that time was their condition. And the community which has neither poverty nor riches will always have the noblest principles; there is no insolence or injustice, nor, again, are there any contentions or envyings among them. And therefore they were good, and also because of what would be termed the simplicity of their natures; for what they heard of the nature of good and evil in their simplicity they believed to be true, and practiced. No one had the wit to suspect another of a falsehood, as men do now; but what they heard about gods and men they believed to be true, and lived accordingly; and therefore they were in all respects such as we have described them.

Cle. That quite accords with my views, and with those of my friend here.

Ath. Would not many generations living on in this way, although ruder, perhaps, and more ignorant of the arts generally, and in particular of those of land or naval warfare, and likewise of other arts, termed in cities legal practices and party conflicts, and including all conceivable ways of hurting one another in word and deed; although inferior to those who lived before the deluge, or to the men of our day in these respects, —would they not, I say, be simpler and more manly, and also more temperate and in general more just? The reason of this has been already explained.

Cle. Very true.

Ath. I should wish you to understand that what has preceded and what is about to follow, has been, and will be said, with the intention of explaining what need the men of that time had of laws, and who was their lawgiver. 680

Cle. And very well said.

Ath. They could hardly have wanted lawgivers as yet; nothing of that sort was likely to have existed in those days, for they had no letters at this early stage; they lived according to custom and the laws of their fathers, as they are termed.

Cle. Probably.

Ath. But there was already existing a form of government which, if I am not mistaken, is generally termed a lordship, and this still remains in many places, both among Hellenes and barbarians; and is the government which is declared by Homer to have prevailed among the Cyclops: —

"They have neither councils nor judgments, but they dwell in hollow rocks on the tops of high mountains, and every one is the judge of his wife and children, and they do not trouble themselves about one another."

Cle. That must be a charming poet of yours; I have read some other verses of his, which are very clever; but I do not know much of him, for foreign poets are not much read among the Cretans.

Meg. But they are in Lacedaemon, and he appears to be the prince of them all; the manner of life, however, which he describes is not Spartan, but rather Ionian, and he seems quite to confirm what you are saying, carrying back the ancient state of mankind to barbarism in his legend.

Ath. Yes; and we may accept his witness to the fact that there was a time when primitive societies existed.

Cle. Very true.

Ath. And did not such states spring out of single habitations and families who were scattered and thinned in the devastations; and among them the eldest ruled, because government originated with them in the authority of a father and mother, whom, like a flock of birds, they followed, forming one troop under the patriarchal rule and sovereignty of their parents, which of all sovereignties is the most just?

Cle. Very true.

Ath. After this they came together in greater numbers, and increased the size of their cities, and betook themselves to husbandry, first of all at the foot of the mountains, and made inclosures of loose walls and works of defense, in order to 681

keep off wild beasts; thus creating a single large and common habitation.

Cle. Yes; that was probably the way.

Ath. There is another thing which would probably happen.

Cle. What is that?

Ath. When these larger habitations grew up out of the lesser original ones, each of the lesser ones would survive in the larger; every family would be under the rule of the eldest, and, owing to their separation from one another, would have peculiar customs about the gods and themselves, which they would have received from their several parents who had educated them; and these customs would incline them to order, when the parents had the element of order in them; and to courage, when they had the element of courage in them. And they would naturally stamp upon their children, and upon their children's children, their own institutions; and, as we are saying, they would find their way into the larger society, having already their own peculiar laws.

Cle. Certainly.

Ath. And every man surely likes his own laws best, and the laws of others not so well.

Cle. True.

Ath. Then now we seem to have stumbled upon the beginnings of legislation?

Cle. Exactly.

Ath. The next step will be that these persons, who meet together, must choose some arbiters, who will inspect the laws of all of them, and will publicly present such of them as they approve to the chiefs who lead the tribes, and are in a manner their kings, and will give them the choice of them. These will themselves be called legislators, and will appoint magistrates, framing some sort of aristocracy, or perhaps monarchy, out of the dynasties or lordships, and in this altered state of the government they will live.

Cle. That would certainly be the regular order.

Ath. Then, now let us speak of a third form of the state in which all other forms and conditions of polities and cities concur.

Cle. And what is that?

Ath. That which Homer has pointed out as the third form, which succeeds the second. He founded Dardania, he says, —

"For the holy Ilium had not as yet been built on the plain to be a city of men

nkingly-speaking men; but they were still dwelling at the foot of many-fountained Ida."

For indeed, in these verses, and in what he said of the Cyclops, he speaks the words of God and nature; for the inspiration of poets is divine, and often in their strains, by the aid of the Muses and the Graces, they attain truth. 682

Cle. Yes.

Ath. Then now let us proceed with the rest of our tale, which will probably be found to illustrate in some degree our proposed design. Shall we do so?

Cle. By all means.

Ath. Ilium was built when they had descended from the mountain, in a large and fair plain, on a sort of low hill, wa-'ared by many rivers descending from Ida.

Cle. That is what they say.

Ath. That we must suppose to have taken place many ages fter the deluge?

Cle. Yes; many ages must have elapsed.

Ath. A marvelous forgetfulness of the former destruction would appear to have come over them, when they placed their town right under numerous streams flowing from the heights, and trusting for security to not very high hills, either.

Cle. There must have been a long interval, — that is evident.

Ath. And, as men increased in number, many other cities would begin to be built on the plain?

Cle. Doubtless.

Ath. Those cities made war against Troy, — by sea as well as by land — for at that time men were ceasing to be afraid of the sea.

Cle. That is clear.

Ath. The Achaeans remained ten years, and overthrew Troy.

Cle. True.

Ath. And during the ten years in which the Achaeans were besieging Ilium, the homes of the besiegers were falling into an evil plight. Their youth revolted; and when the soldiers returned to their own cities and families, they did not receive them properly, and as they ought to have done, and numerous deaths, murders, exiles, were the consequence. The exiles came again, under a new name, no longer Achaeans, but Dorians, — a name which they derived from Dorieus, who was the assembler of them. The rest of the story is told by you Lacedaemonians as part of the history of Sparta.

Meg. Certainly.

Ath. Thus, after digressing from the original subject of laws into music and drinking-bouts, the argument has, as if by inspiration, returned to the same point, and presents to us another handle of discourse. For we have come to the settlement of
683 Lacedaemon; which, as you truly say, is in laws and institutions the sister of Crete. And we are all the better for the digression, because we have gone through various states and settlements, and have beheld a first, second, and third state in their origins, succeeding one another in infinite time and continuous. And now there appears on the horizon a fourth state or nation, which was once in process of settlement, and still remains settled. If, out of all these, we are able to discern what is well or ill settled, and what laws are the salvation or destruction of cities, and what changes would make a state happy, O Megillus and Cleinias, at this point we may begin again, unless we have some reason to find fault with what has preceded.

Meg. If some god, Stranger, would promise us that our new inquiry about legislation will be as good and full as the last, I would go a long way to hear such another, and would think that the longest day — and we are now approaching the summer solstice — was too short for the discussion.

Ath. Then I suppose that we must consider this subject?

Meg. Certainly.

Ath. Let us place ourselves in thought at that moment, when Lacedaemon and Argos and Messene and the other countries were all in complete subjection, Megillus, to your ancestors; for at a later date, as the legend informs us, they divided their army into three portions, and settled three cities, Argos and Messene and Lacedaemon.

Meg. True.

Ath. Temenus was the king of Argos, Cresphontes of Messene, Procles and Eurysthenes of Lacedaemon.

Meg. Of course.

Ath. To these kings all the men of that day made oath that they would assist them, if any one subverted their kingdom.

Meg. True.

Ath. But can a kingdom be destroyed, or was any other form of government ever destroyed, by any but the rulers themselves? Surely not. Have we forgotten what has just been laid down?

Meg. No.

Ath. And may we not now further confirm what was then said? For we have come upon facts which have brought us back again to the principle; so that, in resuming the discussion. we shall not be inquiring about an empty theory, but about events which actually happened. The case was as follows: Three royal heroes made oath to three cities which were under a kingly government, each to the other, that both rulers and subjects should govern and be governed according to the laws which were common to all of them: on the one hand, as time and the race went forward, the rulers promised that they would not make their rule more arbitrary; on the other hand, the subjects said that, if the rulers observed these conditions, they would never subvert or permit others to subvert those kingdoms; but that the kings would assist kings and peoples when injured, and that peoples would assist peoples and kings in like manner. Is not this true? 684

Meg. Certainly.

Ath. And these three states to whom laws were given, whether by their kings or by any others, had this very great security for their constitutions?

Meg. What security?

Ath. That the other two states were always to come to the rescue against a rebellious third.

Meg. True.

Ath. Many persons say that legislators ought to impose such laws as the mass of the people will be ready to receive; but this is just as if one were to command gymnastic masters or physicians to treat or cure their pupils or patients in an agreeable manner.

Meg. Exactly.

Ath. Whereas the physician may often be too happy if he can restore health, and make the body whole, without any very great infliction of pain.

Meg. Certainly.

Ath. There was also another advantage possessed by the men of that day, which greatly lightened the task of passing laws.

Meg. What was that?

Ath. The legislators of that day, when they equalized property, escaped the great accusation which generally arises in legislation, if a person attempts to disturb the possession of land, or to get rid of debts; because he sees that without this there

can never be any real equality. Now, in general, when the legislator attempts to make a new settlement of such matters, every one meets him with the cry, "that he is not to disturb vested interests,"—declaring with imprecations that he is introducing agrarian law and abolition of debts, until a man is at his wits' end; whereas no one could quarrel with the Dorians for distributing the land,—there was nothing to hinder them; and as for debts, they had none which were considerable or of old standing.

Meg. Very true.

Ath. But then, my good friends, why did the settlement and legislation of their country turn out so badly?

685 *Meg.* How do you mean; and for what do you blame them?

Ath. There were three kingdoms, and of these, two quickly corrupted their original constitution and laws, and the only one which remained was the Spartan.

Meg. The question which you ask is not easily answered.

Ath. And yet must be answered when we are inquiring about laws, which is our old man's sober game of play; and beguiles the way, as I said at first setting out on our journey.

Meg. Certainly; and we must find out why this was.

Ath. What laws are more worthy of our attention than those which have regulated such cities? or what cities or settlements are greater or more famous?

Meg. I know of none.

Ath. Can we doubt that they intended these institutions not only for the protection of Peloponnesus, but of all the Hellenes, in case they were attacked by the barbarian? For the inhabitants of the region about Ilium, when they provoked by their insolence the Trojan War, relied upon the power of the Assyrians and the Empire of Ninus, which still subsisted and had a great prestige; the people of those days fearing the united Assyrian Empire just as we now fear the great king. And the second capture of Troy was a serious offense on their part, because Troy was a portion of the Assyrian Empire. To meet this danger the constitution of the single army, distributed into three cities, was devised by the royal brothers, sons of Heracles, and far better ordered than the expedition against Troy. For, in the first place, they had, as they thought, in the Heraclidae better leaders than the Pelopidae; in the next place, they considered that this army was superior in valor to that which went

against Troy; for, although the latter conquered the Trojans, they were themselves conquered by the Heraclidae — Achaeans by Dorians. May we not suppose that this was the intention with which the men of those days framed the constitutions of their states?

Meg. Quite true.

Ath. And would not men who had shared with one another many dangers, and were governed by a single race of royal brothers, and had taken the advice of oracles, and in particular of the Delphian oracle, be likely to think that such an order would be permanent and lasting? 686

Meg. Of course they would.

Ath. Yet these institutions, of which such great expectations were entertained, seem to have all rapidly vanished away; with the exception, as I was saying, of that small part of them which existed in your land. And this third part has never to this day ceased warring against the two others; whereas, if the original idea had been carried out, and they had agreed to be one, their power would have been invincible in war.

Meg. Certainly.

Ath. Now, what was the ruin of this great confederacy? That is a subject well worthy of consideration.

Meg. Certainly, no one will ever find more striking instances of laws or governments being the salvation or destruction of great and noble interests, than are here presented to his view.

Ath. Then now we seem to have happily arrived at a real and important question?

Meg. Very true.

Ath. Did you never observe, sage friend, that men in general, and we ourselves at this moment, often fancy that they see some beautiful thing which might have effected wonders if they had only made a right use of it — in some way or other; and yet this mode of looking at things may turn out after all to be a mistake, and not according to nature, either in our own case or in any other?

Meg. To what are you referring when you say this?

Ath. I was thinking of my own admiration of the aforesaid Heraclid expedition, which was so noble, and might have had such wonderful results for the Hellenes, if only rightly used and I was just laughing at myself.

Meg. But were you not right and wise in speaking as you did, and we in assenting to you?

Ath. Perhaps; and yet I cannot help observing that any one who sees anything great or powerful, immediately has this feeling, — "If the owner only knew how to use his great and noble possession, how happy would he be, and what great results would he attain!"

687 *Meg.* And is not this, again, very right?

Ath. Reflect; in what point of view does this sort of praise appear just: First, in reference to the question in hand. If the then commanders had known how to arrange their army properly, how would they have attained success? Would not this have been the way? They would have bound them all firmly together and preserved them forever, giving them freedom and dominion at pleasure, combined with the power of doing in the whole world, Hellenic and barbarian, whatever they and their descendants desired. Would not that have been their aim?

Meg. Very true.

Ath. Suppose any one were in the same way to express his admiration at the sight of great wealth or family honor, or anything of this sort, he would praise them under the idea that through them he would attain either all or the greater and chief part of what he desires.

Meg. Yes, that seems to be true.

Ath. Well, now, and does not the argument show that there is one common desire of all mankind?

Meg. What is that?

Ath. The desire which a man has, that all things may come to pass in accordance with the will of his soul — at any rate, things human, if not divine.

Meg. Certainly.

Ath. And, as we ever desire this, in youth and in manhood, and in old age, for this we cannot help always praying also.

Meg. No doubt.

Ath. And we join in the prayers of our friends, and ask for them what they ask for themselves?

Meg Certainly.

Ath. Dear is the son to the father — the younger to the elder.

Meg. Of course.

Ath. And yet the son often prays to obtain things which the father prays that he may not obtain.

Meg. When the son is young and foolish, you mean?

Ath. Yes; and when the father, in the dotage of age or the heat of youth, having no sense of right and justice, prays with fervor, under the influence of feelings like those of Theseus when he cursed the unfortunate Hippolytus, do you imagine that the son, having a sense of right and justice, will join in his father's prayers?

Meg. I understand you to mean that a man should not desire or endeavor to have all things according to his wish, while his wish is at variance with his reason. Every one of us, whether individual or state, ought to pray and endeavor that he may have wisdom.

688

Ath. Yes; and I remember, and you will remember, my saying at first, that a statesman and legislator ought to ordain laws with a view to wisdom; whereas you were saying that the good lawgiver ought to order all with a view to war. And to this I replied that there were four virtues, and that your regards were fixed on one of the four only; but that you ought to regard all virtue, and especially that which comes first, and is the guide of all the rest — that is to say, wisdom and mind and opinion united with the affection and desire which waits upon them. And now the argument returns to the same point, and I say once more, in jest if you like, or in earnest if you like, that the prayer of a fool is full of danger, being likely to end in the opposite of what he desires. And if you would rather receive my words in earnest, I am willing that you should; and you will find, I suspect, that they accord with the view which has been already urged, that not cowardice was the cause of the ruin of the Dorian kings and of their whole design, nor ignorance of military matters, either on the part of the rulers or of their subjects; but the cause was the corrupting influence of the other vices, and especially their ignorance of the most important human affairs. That this was at that time, and is still, and always will be the case, I will endeavor, if you will allow me, to make out and demonstrate to you who are my friends, as the argument proceeds.

Cle. Pray go on, Stranger; compliments are troublesome, ut we will show, not in word but in deed, that we prize your words, for we will give them our best attention; and that is the way in which a gentleman expresses his approval.

Meg. Excellent, Cleinias; and let us do as you say.

Cle. By all means, if Heaven wills. Go on.

Ath. Well, then, proceeding in the same train of thought, I

say that the greatest ignorance was the ruin of that power, and that now, as then, ignorance is ruin. And if this be true, the legislator must endeavor to implant wisdom in states, and banish ignorance to the utmost of his power.

Cle. That is evident.

689 *Ath.* Then now consider what is really the greatest ignorance. I should like to know whether you and Megillus would agree with me about this; for my opinion is —

Cle. What?

Ath. That the greatest ignorance is when a man hates that which he nevertheless thinks to be good and noble, and loves and embraces that which he knows to be unrighteous and evil. This disagreement between the sense of pleasure and the judgment of reason in the soul is, in my opinion, the worst ignorance; and the greatest too, because affecting the greatest part of the human soul, for the principle which feels pleasure and pain in the individual, is like the multitude in a state. And when the soul is opposed to knowledge, or opinion, or reason, which are her natural lords, that I call folly, just as in the state, when the mass of the people refuses to obey their rulers and the laws; or, again, in the individual, when fair reasonings have their habitation in the soul and yet do no good, but rather the reverse of good. All these cases I term the worst ignorance, whether in individuals or states. I am not speaking, Stranger, as you will understand, of the ignorance of handicraftsmen.

Cle. Yes, my friend, we understand and agree.

Ath. Let this, then, be our first declaration and assertion, that the citizen who does not know these things ought never to have any kind of authority intrusted to him; he must be stigmatized as ignorant, even though he be skillful in calculation and versed in all sorts of accomplishments, and feats of mental dexterity; and the opposite are to be called wise, even although, in the words of the proverb, they know neither how to read nor how to swim; and to them, as to men of sense, authority is to be committed. For, O my friends, how can there be the least shadow of wisdom when there is no harmony? There is none; but the noblest and greatest of harmonies may be truly said to be the greatest wisdom; and of this he is a partaker who lives according to reason; whereas he who is devoid of reason is the destroyer of his house and the opposite of the savior of the state: he is ignorant of political wisdom. Let this, then, as I was saying, be laid down by us.

Cle. Let this be laid down.

Ath. I suppose that there must be rulers and subjects in states?

Cle. Certainly.

Ath. And what are the received principles of rule and obedience in cities, whether great or small; and similarly in families? What are they, and how many in number? Is not one claim of authority which is always just, that of fathers and mothers and in general of progenitors over their offspring? 690

Cle. Certainly.

Ath. Next follows the principle that the noble should rule over the ignoble; and, thirdly, that the elder should rule and the younger obey?

Cle. To be sure.

Ath. And, fourthly, that slaves should be ruled, and their masters rule?

Cle. Of course.

Ath. Fifthly, if I am not mistaken, comes the principle that the stronger should rule and the weaker be ruled?

Cle. That is an inevitable sort of rule.

Ath. Yes, and a rule which prevails very widely among all creatures, and is according to nature, as the Theban poet Pindar once said; and the sixth principle, and the greatest of all, is that the wise should lead and command, and the ignorant follow and obey; and yet, O thou most wise Pindar, as I should reply to him, that surely is not contrary to nature, but according to nature, being the rule of law over willing subjects, and not a rule of compulsion.

Cle. Very true.

Ath. There is a seventh kind of rule which is conferred by the arbitrament of the lot, and is dear to the gods and a token of good fortune: he on whom the lot falls is the ruler, and he who fails in obtaining the lot goes away and is the subject; and this we affirm to be quite just.

Cle. Very true.

Ath. Then now, as we say playfully to any of those who lightly undertake the making of laws, You see before you, legislator, the principles relating to government, and you see too that they are by nature opposed. There we have discovered a fountain-head of seditions, to which you must attend. And, first, we will ask you to consider with us, how and in what respect the kings of Argos and Messene violated these our max-

ims, and ruined themselves and the great and famous Hellenic power of the olden time. Was this because they did not know the truly excellent saying of Hesiod, that the half is often greater than the whole? His meaning was, that when the whole was injurious and the half moderate, then the moderate was more and better than the immoderate.

Cle. Very true.

Ath. And are we to suppose that this ignorance is less fatal in monarchies than in democracies?

691 *Cle.* The probability is that ignorance will be a more prevalent disorder among kings, because they lead a proud and luxurious life.

Ath. Is it not palpable that the kings of that time were guilty of trying to be above the established laws, and that they did not consistently observe what they had agreed to observe by word and oath? This inconsistency of theirs may have had the appearance of wisdom, but was really, as we assert, the greatest ignorance, and utterly overthrew the whole empire through fatal error and perversity.

Cle. That seems to be true.

Ath. Good; and what ought the then legislator to have done in order to avert this calamity? Truly there is no great wisdom in knowing, and no great difficulty in telling, after the evil has happened; but to have foreseen the remedy at the time would have taken a much wiser head than ours.

Meg. What do you mean?

Ath. Any one who looks at what has occurred with you, Megillus, may easily know and may easily say what ought to have been done at that time.

Meg. Speak a little more clearly.

Ath. Nothing can be clearer than the observation which I am about to make.

Meg. What is that?

Ath. That if any one gives too great a power to anything, too much food to the body, too large a sail to a vessel, too much authority to the mind, and is regardless of the mean, everything is overthrown, and, in the wantonness of excess, runs in the one case to disorder, and in the other to injustice, which is the child of excess. I mean to say, my dear friends, that there is no soul of man, young and irresponsible, who will be able to sustain the temptation of arbitrary power — no one who will not, under such circumstances, become filled with folly, that worst of dis

cases, and be hated by his nearest and dearest friends: when this happens his kingdom is undermined, and all his power vanishes from him. And great legislators should know the nature of the mean and take heed of the danger. Now, as far as we can guess at this time of day, what then occurred appears to have been as follows: —

Meg. What?

Ath. A god, who watched over Sparta, seeing into the future, gave you two families of kings instead of one; and thus brought you within the limits of moderation. In the next place, some human wisdom mingled with divine power, observing that the constitution of your government was still feverish and excited, tempered your inborn strength and pride of birth with the moderation which comes of age, making the 692
power of your twenty-eight elders equal with that of the kings in the most important matters. But your third savior, perceiving that your government was still swelling and foaming, imposed the power of the Ephori as a curb, approximating them to officers elected by lot; and by this arrangement the kingly office, being compounded of the right elements and duly moderated, was preserved, and was the means of preserving all the rest. Since, if there had been only the original legislators, Temenus, Cresphontes, and their contemporaries, as far as they were concerned, not even the portion of Aristodemus would have been preserved; for they had no proper experience in legislation, or they would surely not have imagined that oaths would moderate a youthful spirit invested with a power which might be converted into a tyranny. But now that God has instructed us what sort of government would have been or will be lasting, there is no wisdom, as I have already said, in judging after the event; there is no difficulty in learning from an example which has already occurred. If any one could only have foreseen all this at the time, and had been able to moderate the government of the three kingdoms and unite them into one, he might have saved all the excellent institutions which were then conceived; and no Persian or any other armament would have dared to attack us, or would have regarded Hellas as a power to be despised.

Cle. True.

Ath. There was small credit to us, Cleinias, in defeating them; and the discredit was, not that the conquerors did not win many great battles both by land and sea, but what, in my

opinion, brought discredit was, first of all, the circumstance that of the three cities one only fought on behalf of Hellas, and the two others were so utterly good for nothing that the one was waging a mighty war against Lacedaemon and thus prevented her from coming to the rescue, and the city of Argos, which had the precedence at the time of the distribution, when asked to aid in repelling the barbarian, would not answer to the call, or give aid. Many things might be told about Hellas in connection with that war which are far from honorable; nor, indeed, can we rightly say that Hellas repelled the invader; for the truth is, that unless the Athenians and Lacedaemonians, in
693 concert, had repulsed the advancing host, all the tribes of Hellas would have been fused in a chaos of barbarians mingling with Hellenes, and Hellenes with barbarians; just as nations who are now subject to the Persian power, owing to unnatural separations and combinations of them, are dispersed and scattered, and live miserably. These things, Megillus, we lay at the door of statesmen and legislators, as they are called, past and present, in order that we may analyze the causes of them, and find out what else might have been done. We were saying, for instance, just now, that there ought to be no great and unmixed powers; and this was under the idea that a state ought to be free and wise and harmonious, and that a legislator ought to legislate with a view to this end. Nor is there any reason to be surprised at our continually proposing aims for the legislator which are not always the same aims; but we should consider when we say that temperance is to be the aim, or wisdom is to be the aim, or friendship is to be the aim, that all these are really the same aims; and if there are more words of the same kind, let not that disturb us.

Cle. Let us resume the argument in that spirit. And now, speaking of friendship and wisdom and freedom, I wish that you would tell me at what, in your opinion, the legislator should aim?

Ath. Hear me, then: there are two mother forms of states from which the rest may be truly said to be derived; and one of them may be called monarchy and the other democracy; the Persians have the highest form of the one, and we of the other; almost all the rest, as I was saying, are variously made up of these. Now, if you are to have liberty and the combination of friendship with wisdom, you must have both of these forms of government in a measure; that is what the argument would

enforce — saying, that no city can be well governed which is not made up of both.

Cle. Impossible.

Ath. The state which has become exclusively and excessively attached to monarchy or to freedom has neither of them in moderation; but your states, the Laconian and Cretan, have a certain moderation; and the Athenians and Persians having had more at first, have now less. Shall I tell you the reason of this?

Cle. By all means, if that will tend to the elucidation of our subject. 694

Ath. Hear, then: There was a time when the Persians had more of the state which is a mean between slavery and freedom. In the reign of Cyrus they were freemen and also lords of many others; the rulers gave a share of freedom to the subjects, and being treated as equals, the soldiers were on better terms with their generals, and showed themselves more ready in the hour of danger. And if there was any wise councilor among them, he imparted his wisdom to the public; for the king was not jealous, but allowed him full liberty of speech, and gave honor to those who were able to be his counselors in anything, and allowed all men equally to participate in wisdom. And the nation waxed in all respects, because there was freedom and friendship and communion of soul among them.

Cle. That certainly appears to have been the case.

Ath. How, then, was this advantage lost under Cambyses, and again recovered under Darius? Shall I try to divine?

Cle. That question, certainly, has a bearing on the subject of our inquiry.

Ath. I imagine that Cyrus, though a great and patriotic general, never had any real education, and never attended to the order of his household.

Cle. What makes you say that?

Ath. I think that from his youth upwards he was a soldier, and intrusted the bringing up of his children to the women; and they brought them up from their childhood as the favorites of fortune, who were blessed already, and needed no more blessings. They thought that they were happy enough, and that no one should be allowed to oppose them in any way, and they compelled every one to praise all that they said or did. This was the manner in which they brought them up.

Cle. A beautiful education that!

Ath. Such an education as women were likely to give them, and especially princesses who had recently grown rich, and in the absence of the men, too, who were occupied in wars and dangers, and too busy to look after them.

Cle. There is reason in what you say.

Ath. Their father had possessions of cattle and sheep, and many herds of men and other animals; but he did not consider that those to whom he was about to make them over, were not trained in his own calling, which was Persian; for the Persians are shepherds — sons of a rugged land, which was a stern mother, and well fitted to produce a sturdy race, able to live in the open air and watch, and to fight also, if fighting was required. He did not observe that his sons were trained differently, being educated in the corrupt Median fashion by women and eunuchs (this was their high fortune), which led to their becoming such as people do become when they are brought up unreproved. And so, after the death of Cyrus, his sons, in the fullness of luxury and license, took the kingdom, and first one slew the other because he could not endure a rival; and, afterwards, he himself, mad with wine and brutality, lost his kingdom through the Medes and the eunuch, as they called him, who despised the folly of Cambyses.

695

Cle. That is what is said, and is probably the truth.

Ath. Yes; and the tradition says, that the empire came back to the Persians, through Darius and the seven chiefs.

Cle. True.

Ath. Let us note the rest of the story. Observe, that Darius was not the son of a king, and had not received a luxurious education. When he came to the throne, being one of the seven, he divided the country into seven portions, and of this there are some shadowy traces still remaining; he made laws upon the principle of introducing a sort of universal equality in the order of the state, and he embodied in a law the settlement of the tribute which Cyrus promised, — thus creating a feeling of friendship and community among all the Persians, and attaching the people to him with money and gifts. Hence his armies cheerfully acquired for him countries as large as those which Cyrus had left behind him. After Darius came Xerxes who again was brought up in the royal and luxurious fashion. Might we not justly say to him, "O Darius, why did you not learn wisdom from the misfortunes of Cyrus, instead of bring

ing up Xerxes in the same way in which he brought up Cambyses?" For Xerxes being the creation of the same education, met with much the same fortune as Cambyses; and from that time to this there has never been a really great king among the Persians, although they are all called great. And I would argue that this is not to be attributed to fortune; the reason is rather the evil life which is generally led by the sons of very rich and royal persons; for never will boy or man, young or old, excel in virtue, who has been thus educated. And this, I say, is what the legislator has to consider, and what at this moment has to be considered by us. Justly may you, O Lacedaemonians, be praised for this — that you do not give special honor or maintenance to poverty in particular, or to wealth in particular, or to a royal rather than to a private station, where the divine and inspired lawgiver has not originally commanded them to be given. For no man ought to have pre-eminent honor in a state because he surpasses others in wealth, any more than because he is swift or fair or strong, unless he have some virtue in him; nor even if he have virtue, unless he have this particular virtue of temperance. 696

Meg. What do you mean, Stranger?

Ath. I suppose that courage is a part of virtue?

Meg. To be sure.

Ath. Then, now hear and judge yourself: Would you like to have for a fellow-lodger or neighbor a very courageous man, who had no control over himself?

Meg. Heaven forbid!

Ath. Or an artist, who was clever in his profession, but a rogue?

Meg. Certainly not.

Ath. And surely justice does not grow apart from temperance?

Meg. Impossible.

Ath. Any more than our pattern wise man, whom we exhibited as having his pleasures and pains in accordance with and corresponding to true reason, can be without temperance?

Meg. No.

Ath. Let us now proceed to consider this matter in reference to the due and undue award of honors in states.

Meg. In what way?

Ath. I should like to know whether temperance without the other virtues, existing alone in the soul of man, is rightly to be had in honor or dishonor?

Meg. I cannot tell.

Ath. And that is the best answer; for whichever alternative you had chosen, I think that you would have gone wrong.

Meg. I am fortunate.

Ath. Very good; a quality, which is a mere appendage of things honorable and dishonorable, does not deserve an expression of opinion, but is best expressed in silence.

Meg. You are speaking of temperance, when you say this?

Ath. Yes; but of the other virtues, that which having the addition of temperance is also most beneficial, will be most deserving of honor, and next that which is beneficial in the next degree; and so, each of them will be rightly honored according to a regular order.

Meg. True.

697 *Ath.* And ought not the legislator to determine these classes?

Meg. Certainly he should.

Ath. Suppose that we leave to him the determination in detail of particular enactments. But, as we ourselves have a turn for legislation, let us divide laws into classes, making a first, a second, and a third class, according to their importance.

Meg. Very good.

Ath. We maintain, then, that a state which would be safe and happy, as far as the nature of man allows, must and ought to distribute honor and dishonor in the right way. And the right way is to place the goods of the soul first and highest in the scale, always assuming temperance as a condition of them; and in the second place, the goods of the body; and in the third place, those of money and property. And if any legislator or state departs from this rule by giving money the place of honor, or in any way preferring that which is really last, may we not say, that he or the state is doing an unholy and unpatriotic thing?

Meg. Yes; let that be plainly asserted.

Ath. The consideration of the Persian governments led us thus to enlarge. We remarked that the Persians grew worse and worse. And we affirm the reason of this to have been, that they too much diminished the freedom of the people, and introduced too much of despotism, and so destroyed friendship and community of feeling. And when there is an end of these, no longer do the governors govern on behalf of their subjects or of the people, but on behalf of themselves; and if they

think that they can gain ever so little for themselves, they devastate cities, and send fire and desolation among friendly races. And as they hate ruthlessly and horribly, so are they hated; and when they want the people to fight for them, they find no community of feeling or willingness to risk their lives in fighting for them; their untold myriads are useless to them on the field of battle, and they think that their salvation depends on the employment of mercenaries and strangers whom they hire, just as if they were in want of men. Moreover, they are 698
necessarily stupid, since they proclaim by their actions that the opinions which prevail in cities about the honorable and noble are a trifle, when compared with gold and silver.

Meg. Quite true.

Ath. And now enough of the Persians, and their present maladministration of their government, which is owing to the prevalence of slavery and despotism among them.

Meg. Good.

Ath. Next, we must pass in review the government of Attica, in like manner; and from this show that entire freedom and the absence of all superior authority, is not by any means so good as a limited government; which was our ancient Athenian constitution at the time when the Persians made their attack on Hellas, or, speaking more correctly, on the whole continent of Europe. There were four classes arranged according to a property census, and reverence was our queen and mistress, and made us willing to live in obedience to the laws. Also the vastness of the armament, both by sea and on land, caused a helpless terror, which made us more and more the servants of our rulers and of the laws; and for all these reasons, an exceeding harmony prevailed among us. About ten years before the naval engagement at Salamis, Datis came, leading a Persian host by command of Darius, which was expressly sent against the Athenians and Eretrians, having orders to carry them away captive; and these orders he was to execute under pain of death. Now Datis and his myriads soon became complete masters of Eretria, and a fearful report reached Athens hat no Eretrian had escaped him; for the soldiers of Datis .ad joined hands and netted the whole of Eretria. And this report, whether well or ill founded, was terrible to all the Hellenes, and above all to the Athenians, and they sent embassies in all directions, but no one was willing to come to their relief, with the exception of the Lacedaemonians; and they, either be-

cause they were detained by the Messenian war, which was then going on, or for some other reason (for the truth of the matter is not accurately known), came a day too late for the battle of Marathon. After this, the news arrived of mighty preparations being made, and innumerable threats came from the king. Then, as time went on, a rumor reached us that Darius had
699 died, and that his son, who was young and hot-headed, had come to the throne and was persisting in his design. The Athenians were under the impression that the whole expedition was directed against them, in consequence of the battle of Marathon; and hearing of the bridge over the Hellespont, and the canal of Athos, and the host of ships, considering that there was no salvation for them either by land or by sea, for there was no one to help them, and remembering that in the first expedition, when the Persians destroyed Eretria, no one came to their help, or would risk the danger of an alliance with them, they thought that this would happen again, at least on land; nor, when they looked to the sea, could they descry any hope of salvation; for they were attacked by a thousand vessels and more. One chance of safety remained, slight indeed and desperate, but their only one. They saw that on the former occasion they had gained a seemingly impossible victory, and, borne up by this hope, they found that their only refuge was in themselves and in the gods. All these things created in them the spirit of friendship; there was the immediate fear of the occasion, and that other present fear, which sprang out of the habit of obeying their traditional laws, and which I have several times in the preceding discourse called reverence, to which the good man is, as he ought be, a willing servant, and of which the meaner sort of man is apt to be independent and fearless. If they had not been possessed by this fear, they would never have met the enemy, or defended their temples and sepulchres and their country, and all that was near and dear to them, as they did on that occasion; but little by little they would have been all scattered and dispersed.

Meg. Your words, Athenian, are quite true, and worthy of yourself and of your country.

Ath. Yes, Megillus, they are true; and I may properly speak to you, who have inherited the virtues of your ancestors, of the actions of that day. And I would wish you and Cleinias to consider whether they have not also a bearing on legislation for I am not discoursing only for the pleasure of talking, but

for the argument's sake. Please to remark that, after a sort, the same result happened to us which happened to the Persians; and as they led their people into utter servitude, so we, on the other hand, led ours into all freedom. And now, how shall we proceed? for I would like you to observe that our previous arguments have a good deal to say for themselves.

Meg. True; but I wish that you would give us a fuller explanation. 700

Ath. I will. Under the ancient laws, my friends, the people was not as now the master, but rather the willing servant of the laws.

Meg. What laws do you mean?

Ath. In the first place, let us speak of the laws about music; that is to say, such music as then existed, in order that we may trace the growth of the excess of freedom from the beginning; for music was early divided among us into certain kinds and manners. One sort consisted of prayers to the gods, which were called hymns; and there was another and opposite sort called lamentations, and another termed paeans, and another called dithyrambs; of which latter the subject, if I am not mistaken, was the birth of Dionysus. And they used the actual word "laws," or νόμοι, when they wanted to denote a particular strain, adding only as an epithet "the laws or strains of the harp." All these and others were duly distinguished, nor were they allowed to intermingle one sort of music with another. And the authority which determined and gave judgment, and punished the disobedient, was not expressed in a hiss, nor in the most unmusical "sweet voices" of the multitude, as in our days; nor in applause and clappings of the hands. But the directors of public instruction insisted that the spectators should listen in silence to the end; and boys and their tutors, and the multitude in general, were kept quiet by the touch of the wand. Such was the good order which the multitude were willing to observe; they would not have dared to give judgment by noisy cries. And then, as time went on, the poets themselves introduced the reign of ignorance and misrule. They were men of genius, but they had no knowledge of what is just and lawful in music; raging like Bacchanals and possessed with inordinate delights — mingling lamentations with hymns, and paeans with dithyrambs; imitating the sounds of the flute on the lyre, and making one general confusion; ignorantly affirming that music has no truth, and, whether good or bad, can only be judged of

rightly by the pleasure of the hearer. And by composing such licentious poems, and adding to them words as licentious, they have inspired the multitude with lawlessness and boldness, and made them fancy that they can judge for themselves about melody and song. And in this way, the theatres from
701 being mute have become vocal, as though they had understanding of good and bad in music and poetry; and instead of an aristocracy, an evil sort of theatrocracy has grown up. For if the democracy which judged had only consisted of freemen, there would have been no fatal harm done; but in music there first arose the universal conceit of omniscience and general lawlessness; freedom came following afterwards, and men fancying that they knew what they did not know, had no longer any fear, and the absence of fear begets shamelessness. For what is shamelessness but the insolent refusal to regard the opinion of the better by reason of an overdaring sort of liberty?

Meg. That is most true.

Ath. Consequent upon this freedom comes the other freedom of disobedience to rulers; and then the attempt to escape the control and exhortation of father, mother, elders, and when near the end, the control of the laws also; and at the very end there is the contempt of oaths and pledges, and no regard at all for the gods,—herein they exhibit and imitate the old Titanic nature; and thus they return again to the old, and lead an evil life, and there is no cessation of ills. Why do I say this? Because I think that the argument, like a horse, ought to be pulled up from time to time, and not to be allowed to run away, but held with bit and bridle, and then we shall not, as the proverb says, fall off our ass, which is the argument. Let us then once more ask the question, to what end has all this been said?

Meg. Very good.

Ath. This, then, has been said for the sake—

Meg. Of what?

Ath. We said that the lawgiver ought to have three things in view: 1st, that the city for which he legislates should be free; and 2dly, be at unity with herself; and 3dly, should have understanding; these were our principles, were they not?

Meg. Certainly.

Ath. With a view to this we selected two kinds of government, the one the most despotic, and the other the most free and now we are considering which of them is the right form

we took a mean in both cases, of despotism in the one, and of liberty in the other, and we saw that in a mean they attained their perfection; but that when they were carried to the extreme of either, slavery or despotism, neither party were the gainers.

Meg. That is very true.

Ath. And that was our reason for considering the settlement of the Dorian army, and of the country at the foot of the Dardanian mountains, and the removal of the city to the plain by the sea, and the first men who were the survivors of the deluge. And all that was said about music and drinking, and what preceded, has been said with the view of seeing how a state might be best administered, and how an individual might best order his own life. And now, Megillus and Cleinias, how are we to prove to ourselves that our words are of any value? 702

Cle. Stranger, I think that I see how a proof of their value may be obtained. This discussion of ours appears to me to have been singularly fortunate, and just what I at this moment want; most auspiciously have you and my friend Megillus come in my way. For I will tell you what has happened to me; and I regard the coincidence as a sort of omen. The greater part of Crete is going to send out a colony, and they have intrusted the management of the affair to the Cnosians; and the Cnosians to me and nine others. And they desire us to give them any laws which we please, whether taken from the Cretan model or from any other; and they do not mind about their being foreign if they are better. Grant me then this favor, which will also be a kindness to yourselves: Let us make a selection from what has been said, and then let us imagine a state of which we will suppose ourselves to be the original colonizers. Thus we shall proceed with our inquiry, and at the same time I may have the use of the frame-work which you are constructing, for the city which is in contemplation.

Ath. That is good news, Cleinias, and, if Megillus has no objection, you may be sure that I will do all in my power to please you.

Cle. I agree.

Meg. And I, too,

Cle. Excellent; and now let us begin to frame the state.

BOOK IV.

704 *Ath Str.* AND now, what will this city be? I do not mean to ask what is or will be the name of the place; that may be determined by the accident of locality and the original settlement, — a river or fountain, or some local deity may give the sanction of a name to the newly founded city; I do not want to know that, but what the situation is; whether maritime or inland?

Cleinias. I should imagine, Stranger, that the city of which we are speaking is about eighty stadia distant from the sea.

Ath. And are there harbors on the seaboard?

Cle. Excellent harbors, Stranger; there could not be better.

Ath. You do not mean to say that! And is the surrounding country productive, or in need of importations?

Cle. Hardly in need of anything.

Ath. And is there any neighboring state?

Cle. None whatever, and that is the reason for selecting the place; in days of old, there was a migration of the inhabitants, and the region has been deserted from time immemorial.

Ath. And has the place a fair proportion of hill, and plain, and wood?

Cle. Like the rest of Crete in that.

Ath. You mean to say that there is more rock than plain?

Cle. Exactly.

Ath. Then there is some hope that your citizens may be virtuous; had you been on the sea, and well provided with harbors, and an importing rather than a producing country some mighty savior would have been needed, and lawgivers more than mortal, if you were to have a chance of preserving your state from degeneracy and discordance of manners. But there is comfort in the eighty stadia; although the sea is too
705 near, especially if, as you say, the harbors are so good. Still we must be satisfied. The sea is pleasant enough as

a daily companion, but has also a bitter and brackish quality; filling the streets with merchants and shopkeepers, and begetting in the souls of men uncertain and unfaithful ways — making the state unfriendly and unfaithful both to her own citizens, and also to other nations. There is a consolation, therefore, in the country producing all things at home; and yet, owing to the ruggedness of the soil, not providing anything in great abundance. Had there been abundance there might have been a great export trade, and a great return of gold and silver; which, as we may safely affirm, has the most fatal result on a state whose aim is the attainment of just and noble sentiments; this was said by us, if you remember, in the previous discussion.

Cle. I remember, and am of opinion that we both were and are in the right.

Ath. Well, but let me ask, how is the country supplied with timber for ship-building?

Cle. There is no pine of any consequence, or fir, and not much cypress; and you will find very little stone-pine or plane-wood, which shipwrights always require for the interior of ships.

Ath. These are also natural advantages.

Cle. Why is that?

Ath. Because no city ought to be easily able to imitate its enemies in what is mischievous.

Cle. How does that bear upon any of the matters of which we have been speaking?

Ath. Remember, my good friend, what I said at first about the Cretan laws, that they looked to one thing only, and this, as you both agreed, was war; and I replied that such laws, in so far as they tended to promote virtue, were good; but in that they regarded a part only, and not the whole of virtue, I disapproved of them. And now I hope that you in your turn will follow and watch me if I legislate with a view to anything but virtue, or only with a view to a part of virtue. For I consider that the true lawgiver, like an archer, aims only at that on which some eternal beauty is always attending, and dismisses everything else, whether wealth or any other benefit, when separated from virtue. I was saying that the imitation of enemies was a bad thing; and I was thinking of a case in which a maritime people are harassed by enemies, as the Athenians were by Minos (I do not speak from any desire to recall past grievances); but he, as we know, was a great naval potentate, who compelled the inhabitants of Attica to pay him 706

colonies kick against any laws which are other than they had at home, although they have been undone by the badness of them, yet because of the force of habit they would fain preserve the very customs which were their ruin; and the leader of the colony, who is their legislator, finds them troublesome and rebellious. On the other hand, the conflux of several populations might be more disposed to listen to new laws; but then, to make them combine and pull together, as they say of horses, is a most difficult task, and the work of years. And yet there is nothing which perfects the virtue of men like legislation and colonization.

Cle. No doubt; but I wish that you would explain to me clearly what is your view in saying this.

Ath. My good friend, I am afraid that the course of my speculations is leading me to say something depreciatory of legislators, but if the word be to the purpose there can be no harm. And yet, why am I dissatisfied, for I believe that all human beings are much alike?

709 *Cle.* In what respect?

Ath. I was going to say that man never legislates, but that destinies and accidents happening in all sorts of ways, legislate in all sorts of ways. Either the violence of war has overthrown governments, and changed laws, or the hard necessity of poverty. And the power of disease has often caused innovations in the state, when there have been pestilences, and bad seasons continuing during many years. Any one who sees all this, naturally rushes to the conclusion of which I was speaking, that no mortal legislates in anything, but that in human affairs chance is almost everything. And this may be said of the arts of the sailor, and the pilot, and the physician, and the general, and may seem to be well said, and yet there is another thing which may be said with equal truth of all of them.

Cle. What is that?

Ath. That God governs all things, and that chance and opportunity cöoperate with him in the government of human affairs. There is, however, a third and less extreme view, that art ought to go along with them; for I should say that when there is a storm, there must surely be a great advantage in having a pilot. You would grant that?

Cle. Yes.

Ath. And might not this be also said of legislation as well as

of other things; even supposing all other circumstances favorable, the true legislator is still required, from time to time, to provide for the happiness of the state?

Cle. That I admit.

Ath. In each case the artist would be right in praying for certain favorable conditions, under which he would only require to exercise his art?

Cle. That is very true.

Ath. And all other artists, if they had to offer up their prayers, would ask a similar boon?

Cle. Certainly.

Ath. And the legislator would do the same thing which they did?

Cle. I believe that he would.

Ath. "Come, legislator," we will say to him; "and what are the conditions which you require of us previously to organizing your state?" What ought to be his answer to this? Shall I give the answer of the legislator?

Cle. Very good.

Ath. He will say: "Give me a state which is governed by a tyrant, and let the tyrant be young and have a good memory; let him be quick at learning, and of a courageous and noble nature; let him have that which, as I said before, is the 710
inseparable companion of all the other parts of virtue, if there is to be any good in them."

Cle. I suppose, Megillus, that this companion virtue of which the Stranger speaks, must be temperance?

Ath. Yes, Cleinias, temperance in the vulgar sense, not that which in the exaggerated language of some philosophers is demonstrated to be prudence, but that which is the natural gift of children and animals, and makes some of them live continently and others incontinently, but when isolated was, as we said, hardly worth reckoning in the catalogue of goods. I think that you must understand my meaning?

Cle. Certainly.

Ath. Then our tyrant must have this as well as the other qualities, if the state is to acquire the form of government which is most conducive to happiness in the best manner and in the shortest time; for there neither is nor ever will be a better or speedier way of establishing a polity than this.

Cle. By what possible arguments, Stranger, can any one ever persuade another that he is right in saying that?

Ath. There is surely no difficulty in seeing, Cleinias, that this is according to the order of nature?

Cle. You would assume, as you say, a tyrant who was young temperate, quick at learning, having a good memory, courageous, of a noble nature?

Ath. Yes; and you must add fortunate; and his good fortune must be that he is the contemporary of a great legislator, and that some happy chance brings them together. When this has been accomplished, God has done all that he can ever do for a state which he desires to be eminently prosperous; he has done this in an inferior degree for a state in which there are two such rulers, and in the third degree when there are three. The difficulty increases with the increase of the number, and diminishes with the diminution of the number.

Cle. You mean to say, I suppose, that the best government is produced from a tyranny, and originates in a good lawgiver and an orderly tyrant, and most easily and rapidly passes out of such a tyranny into a perfect form of government; and, in the second degree, out of an oligarchy; and, in the third degree, out of a democracy: is not that your meaning?

Ath. Not so; I mean rather to say that the change is best made out of a tyranny; and secondly, out of a monarchy; and thirdly, out of some sort of democracy; fourthly, in the capacity for improvement, comes oligarchy, which has the greatest difficulty in admitting of such a change, because the government is in the hands of a number of potentates. I am supposing that the legislator is by nature of the true sort, and that his strength is united with that of the chief men of the state;
711 and when he is strongest, and, at the same time, there are the fewest persons concerned, as in a tyranny, there the change is likely to be easiest and most rapid.

Cle. How is that? I do not understand.

Ath. And yet I have repeated what I am saying a good many times; but I suppose that you have never seen a city which is under a tyranny?

Cle. No; I cannot say that I have any great desire to see one.

Ath. And yet, where there is a tyranny, you might certainly see that of which I am now speaking.

Cle. What do you mean?

Ath. I mean that you might see how, without trouble and in no very long period of time, the tyrant, if he wishes, can

change the manners of a state; he has only to go in the direction of virtue or of vice, whichever he prefers, he himself setting an example in his own person, praising and countenancing some actions, and reproving and setting a note of dishonor upon others.

Cle. But how can we imagine that the citizens in general will at once follow the example set to them; or how can he have this power both of persuading and of compelling them?

Ath. Let no one, my friends, persuade us that there is any quicker and easier way in which laws act upon states than when the rulers lead: such changes never have, nor ever will, come to pass in any other way. The real impossibility or difficulty is of another sort, and is rarely surmounted in the course of ages; but when this is once effected in a state, ten thousand, or rather all blessings follow.

Cle. Of what are you speaking?

Ath. The difficulty is to find the divine love of temperate and just institutions existing in any powerful forms of government, whether in a monarchy or oligarchy of wealth or of birth. You might as well hope to reproduce the character of Nestor, who is said to have excelled all men in the power of speech, and yet more in his temperance. This, however, according to the tradition, was in the times of Troy; in our own days there is nothing of the sort; but if such a one either has or ever shall come into being, or is now among us, blessed is he and blessed are they who hear the wise words that flow from his lips. And this may be said of power in general. 712
When the supreme power in man coincides with the greatest wisdom and temperance, then the best laws are by nature framed, and the best constitution; but in no other way will they ever come into being. And I would have what I am saying regarded as a sort of divination and declaration that, in one point of view, there may be a difficulty for a city to have good laws, but that there is another point of view in which nothing can be easier or sooner effected, granting our supposition.

Cle. How do you mean?

Ath. Let us try to put into words the laws which are suitable to your state; like children, framing our lips to utter them.

Cle. Let us proceed without delay.

Ath. Then let us invoke God at the settlement of our state; may he hear and be propitious to us, and come and set in order the state and the laws!

Cle. May he come!

Ath. But what form of polity are we going to give the city?

Cle. Tell me what you mean a little more clearly. Do you mean what form of polity, as, for example, democracy or oligarchy, or aristocracy or monarchy? For I suppose that you would not include tyranny.

Ath. Which of you will answer first, to which of these classes your own government is to be referred?

Meg. Ought I to answer first, as I am the elder?

Cle. Perhaps you should.

Meg. And yet, Stranger, I perceive that I cannot say, without more thought, what I should call the government of Lacedaemon, for it seems to me to be like a tyranny; the power of our ephors is marvelously tyrannical; and sometimes it appears to me to be of all cities the most democratical; and who can reasonably deny that it is an aristocracy? We have also a monarchy which is held for life, and is said by all mankind, and not by ourselves only, to be the most ancient of all monarchies; and, therefore, when asked on a sudden, I cannot precisely say which form of government the Spartan is.

Cle. I am in the same difficulty, Megillus, for I do not feel confident that the polity of Cnosus is any of these.

Ath. The reason is, my excellent friends, that you really have polities, but the cities of which we were speaking are mere aggregations of citizens who are the subjects and servants of
713 parts of their own state; they are named after their several ruling powers, and are not polities at all. But if states are to be named after their rulers, the true state ought to be called by the name of the god who rules over wise men.

Cle. And who is this god?

Ath. May I still make use of fable to some extent, in the hope that I may be better able to answer your question: shall I?

Cle. By all means.

Ath. In the primeval world, and a long while before the cities came into being whose settlements we have described, there is said to have been in the time of Cronos a blessed state and way of life, of which the best-ordered of existing states is a copy

Cle. It will be very necessary to hear about that.

Ath. I quite agree with you; and that is why I introduce the subject.

Cle. You are very right; and, if the tale is to the point, you will do well in giving us the whole story.

Ath. I will do as you suggest. There is a tradition of the happy life of mankind in days when all things were spontaneous and abundant. And of this the reason is said to have been as follows: Cronos, as I was observing, knew that no human nature invested with supreme power is able to order human affairs and not overflow with insolence and wrong. Which reflection led him to appoint not men but demi-gods, who are of a higher and more divine race, to be the kings and rulers of our cities; he did as we do with flocks of sheep and other tame animals. For we do not appoint oxen to be the lords of oxen, or goats of goats; but we ourselves are a superior race, and rule over them. In like manner God, in his love of mankind, placed over us the demons, who are a superior race, and they with great ease and pleasure to themselves, and no less to us, taking care of us and giving us peace and reverence and order and justice never failing, made the tribes of men happy and peaceful. And this tradition, which is true, declares that cities of which some mortal man and not God is the ruler, have no escape from evils and toils. Still we must do all that we can to imitate the life which is said to have existed in the days of Cronos, and, as far as the principle of immortality dwells in us, to that we must hearken, both in private and public life, and regulate our cities and houses according to law, meaning by the very term "law," the distribution of mind (*νόμος = νοῦ διανομή*). But if either an oligarchy or a democracy has a soul eager after pleasures and desires — wanting to be filled with them, yet retaining none of them, but perpetually afflicted with an endless and insatiable disorder, and such a one, having first trampled the laws under foot, becomes the master either of a state or an individual, then, as I was saying, there is no possibility of salvation. And now, Cleinias, we have to consider whether you will or will not accept my view. 714

Cle. Certainly we will.

Ath. Do you know that there are often said to be as many forms of laws as there are of governments? And how many there are of these we have already stated. And this you must regard as a matter of very great importance. For what is to be the standard of just and unjust, is once more the point at issue. And men say that the law ought not to regard either peace or war or virtue, in general, but only the interests and power and preservation of the existing form of government

this is thought by them to be the best way of expressing the natural definition of justice.

Cle. How?

Ath. They say that justice is the interest of the stronger.

Cle. Speak plainer.

Ath. I will; they surely assume that the governing power makes whatever laws have authority in any state?

Cle. True.

Ath. Well, they would say, and do you suppose that tyranny or democracy, or any other conquering power, does not make the continuance of the power which is possessed by them the first or principal object of their laws?

Cle. How can they have any other?

Ath. And whoever transgresses these laws is punished as an evil-doer by the legislator, who calls the laws just?

Cle. Naturally.

Ath. This, then, is always the mode and fashion in which justice exists?

Cle. Certainly that is implied, in this way of viewing the subject.

Ath. Why, yes, that is one of the ways in which governments are wronged.

Cle. To what wrongs are you referring?

Ath. To those which we were examining when we spoke of who ought to govern whom. Did we not arrive at the conclusion that parents ought to govern their children, and the elder the younger, and the noble the ignoble? And there were many other principles, if you remember, and they were not always consistent. One principle was that of Pindar; he spoke of law in the order of nature doing and justifying violence.

715

Cle. Yes; I remember.

Ath. Consider, then, to whom our state is to be intrusted. For there is a thing which has occurred times without number in states —

Cle. What?

Ath. That when there has been a contest for power, and the conquerors have monopolized the government, and have refused all share of power to the defeated party and their descendants, they have lived watching one another, in perpetual fear that some one will come into power who has a recollection of former wrongs, and will rise up against them. Now, according to

your view, such governments are not polities at all, nor are laws right which are passed for the good of particular classes and not for the good of the whole state. States which have such laws are not polities but parties, and their notion of justice is simply unmeaning. I say this, because I am going to assert that we must not intrust the government in your state to any one because he is rich, or because he possesses any advantage of that sort, such as strength, or stature, or again of birth; but he who is most obedient to the laws of the state wins the palm in that trial, and to him who gains this victory in the first degree, shall be given the highest office and chief ministry of the gods; and the second to him who bears the second palm; and in a similar ratio shall all the other offices be assigned to their holders. And when I call the rulers servants or ministers of the law, I give them this name not for the sake of novelty, but because I certainly believe that upon this quality in them depends the well or ill-being of the state. For that state in which the law is subject and has no authority, I perceive to be on the highway to ruin; but I see that the state in which the law is above the rulers, and the rulers are the inferiors of the law, has salvation, and every blessing which the gods can confer.

Cle. Truly, Stranger, you see with the keen vision of age.

Ath. Why, yes; every man when he is young has that sort of vision dullest, and when he is oldest most keen.

Cle. That is very true.

Ath. And now, what is to be the next step? May we not suppose the colonists to have arrived, and proceed to make our speech to them?

Cle. Certainly.

Ath. "Friends," we say to them, — "God, as the old tradition declares, holding in his hand the beginning, middle, and end of all that is, moves according to his nature in a straight line towards the accomplishment of his end. 716
Justice always follows him, and is the punisher of those who fall short of the divine law. To that law, he who would be happy holds fast, and follows it in all humility and order; but he who is lifted up with pride, or money, or honor, or beauty, who has a soul hot with folly, and youth, and insolence, and thinks that he has no need of a guide or ruler, but is able himself to be the guide of others, he, I say, is left deserted of God; and being thus deserted, he takes to him others who are

like himself, and dances about in wild confusion, and many think that he is a great man, but in a short time he pays a penalty which justice cannot but approve, and is utterly destroyed, and his family and city with him. Wherefore, seeing that human things are thus ordered, what should a wise man do or think, or not do or think?"

Cle. Every man ought to make up his mind that he will be one of the followers of the God; there can be no doubt of that.

Ath. Then what sort of action is agreeable to the God, and becoming in his followers? There is an old saying, that "like agrees with like, with measure measure," but things which have no measure agree neither with themselves nor with the things which have measure. Now, God is the measure of all things, in a sense far higher than any man could be, as the common saying affirms. And he who would be dear to God must, as far as is possible, be like him and such as he is. Wherefore the temperate man is the friend of God, for he is like him; and the intemperate man is unlike him; and different from him, and unjust. And the same holds of other things, and this is the conclusion, which is also the noblest and truest of all sayings: That for the good man to offer sacrifice to the gods, and hold converse with them by means of prayers and offerings and every kind of service, is the noblest and best of all things, and also the most conducive to a happy life, and very fit and meet. But with the bad man, the opposite of this holds: for the bad man has an impious soul, whereas the good is pure; and from one who is polluted, neither a good man nor God is right in receiving gifts. And therefore the unholy waste their much
717 service upon the gods, which, when offered by any holy man, is always accepted of them. Such is the mark at which we ought to aim. But what weapons shall we use, and how shall we direct them? In the first place, we affirm that next after the Olympians gods, and the gods of the state, honor should be given to the gods below; they should receive everything in even numbers, and of the second choice, and of evil omen, while the odd numbers and the first choice, and the things of lucky omen, are given to the gods above, by him who would rightly hit the mark of piety. Next to these gods, a wise man will do service to the demons or spirits, and then to the heroes, and after them will follow the sacred places of private and ancestral gods, having their ritual according to law. Next comes the honor of living parents, to whom, as is meet, we have to

pay the first and greatest and oldest of all debts, considering that all which a man has belongs to those who gave him birth and brought him up, and that he must do all that he can to minister to them: first, in his property; secondly, in his person; and thirdly, in his soul; paying the debts due to them for the care and travail which they bestowed upon him of old, in the days of his infancy, and which he is now to pay back to them when they are old and in the extremity of their need. And all his life long he ought never to utter, or to have uttered, an unbecoming word to them; for of all light and winged words he will have to give an account; Nemesis, the messenger of Justice, is appointed to watch over them. And we ought to yield to our parents when they are angry, and let them satisfy their feelings in word or deed, considering that, when a father thinks that he has been wronged by his son, he may be expected to be very angry. At their death, the most moderate funeral is best, neither exceeding the customary expense, nor yet falling short of the honor which has been usually shown by the former generation to their parents; and let a man not forget to pay the yearly tribute of respect to the dead, honoring them chiefly by omitting nothing that conduces to a perpetual remembrance of them, and giving a reasonable portion of their 718
fortune to the dead. Doing this, and living after this manner, we shall receive our reward from the gods and those who are above us; and we shall spend our life for the most part in good hope. And how a man ought to order what relates to his descendants and his kindred and friends and citizens, and the rites of hospitality taught by Heaven, and the intercourse which arises out of them, all with a view to the embellishment and orderly regulation of his own life — these things, I say, the laws, as we proceed with them, will accomplish, partly persuading, and partly when natures do not yield to persuasion, chastising them by might and right, and will thus render our state, if the gods coöperate with us, prosperous and happy. But of what has to be said, and must be said by the legislator, who is of my way of thinking, and yet, if said in the form of law, is out of place — of this I think that a person may offer a sample for himself and those for whom he is legislating; and then when, as far as he is able, he has gone through all the preliminaries, he may proceed to the work of legislation. Now, what will be the form of such prefaces? There may be a difficulty in including or describing them all under a single form, but I think

that we may get some notion of them if we can guarantee one thing.

Cle. What is that?

Ath. I should wish the citizen to be as receptive of virtue as possible; and that this will be the aim of the legislator in all his laws is evident.

Cle. Certainly.

Ath. What has been said appears to me to be of importance in this way: a person will listen with more gentleness and good-will to the precepts addressed to him by the legislator, when the soul of him who receives them is not altogether uncivilized. Even a little done in the way of conciliation gains his ear, and is always worth having. For there is no great inclination or readiness on the part of mankind to be made as good, or as quickly good, as possible. Rather the many prove the wisdom of Hesiod, who says that the road to wickedness is smooth and very short, and there is no need of perspiring: —

"But before virtue the immortal gods have placed the sweat of labor, and long
719 and steep is the way thither, and rugged at first; but when you have reached the top, then, however difficult, it becomes easy."

Cle. Yes; and he certainly speaks well.

Ath. Very true: and now let me tell you the effect which the preceding discourse has had upon me.

Cle. Proceed.

Ath. Suppose that we have a little conversation with the legislator, and say to him, — "O, legislator, speak; if you know what we ought to say and do, you can surely tell."

Cle. Certainly, he can.

Ath. Did we not hear you just now saying, that the legislator ought not to allow the poets to do what they liked? For that they did not know in which of their words they went against the laws, to the hurt of the state.

Cle. That is true.

Ath. May we not fairly make answer to him on behalf of the poets?

Cle. What answer shall we make to him?

Ath. That the poet, according to the tradition which has ever prevailed among us, and is accepted of all men, when he sits down on the tripod of the muse, is not in his right mind; like a fountain, he allows the stream of thought to flow freely and his art being imitative, he is often compelled to represent men under opposite circumstances, and thus to say two differen

things; neither can he tell whether there is any truth in either of them, or in one more than in the other. But this is not the case in a law; the legislator must give, not two rules about the same thing, but one only. Take an example from what you have just been saying. Of three kinds of funerals, there is one which is too extravagant, another is too niggardly, the third in a mean; and you choose and approve and order the last without qualification. But if I had an extremely rich wife, and she bade me bury her, and I were to describe her burial in poetry, I should praise the extravagant one; and a poor miserly man, who had not much to spend, would approve of the niggardly one; and the man of moderate means, who was himself moderate, would praise a moderate funeral. Now you in the capacity of legislator must not barely say "a moderate funeral," but you must define what moderation is, and how much; unless you are definite, you must not suppose that you are speaking a language that can become law.

Cle. Very true.

Ath. And is our legislator to have no preface to his laws, but to say at once — Do this, avoid that, and then holding the penalty in terrorem, to go on to another law; offering never a word of advice or exhortation to those for whom he is 720
legislating, after the manner of some doctors? Let us remember that there are two sorts of practitioners, a gentler and a ruder, who cure in different ways, and we may entreat the legislator as children might the doctor, to cure our disorders with the gentlest remedies. What I mean to say is, that besides doctors there are doctors' assistants, who are also styled doctors.

Cle. Very true.

Ath. And whether they are slaves or freemen makes no difference; they acquire their knowledge of medicine by obeying and observing their masters; by experience and not according to nature, as the manner of freemen is, who teach their children on the same principles on which they have learned themselves. You would admit that there are these two classes of doctors?

Cle. Certainly I should.

Ath. And did you ever observe that there are two classes of patients in states, slaves and freemen; and the slave doctors run about and cure the slaves, and wait for them in the dispensaries — practitioners of this sort never talk to their patients individually, or let them talk about their own individual com

plaints? The doctor prescribes what he thinks good, out of the abundance of his experience, as if he had no manner of doubt; and when he has given his orders, like a tyrant, he rushes off with equal assurance to some other servant who is ill; and he does a great service to the master of the house who in this manner is relieved of the care of his slaves. But the other doctor, who is a freeman, attends and practices upon freemen; and he carries his inquiries far back, and goes into the nature of the disorder; he enters into discourse with the patient and with his friends, and is at once getting information from the sick man, and also instructing him as far as he is able, and he will not prescribe for him until he has first convinced him; at last, when he has brought the patient more and more under his persuasive influences and set him on the road to health, he attempts to effect a cure. Now, which is the better way of proceeding in a physician and in a trainer? Is he the better who accomplishes his ends in a double way, or he who works in one way, and that the ruder and inferior?

Cle. I should say, Stranger, that the double way is far better.

Ath. Should you like to see an example of the double and single method in legislation?

Cle. Certainly I should.

721 *Ath.* What will be our first law? Will not the legislator, observing the order of nature, begin by making regulations for births?

Cle. Certainly.

Ath. And in all states the birth of children goes back to the connection of marriage?

Cle. Very true.

Ath. Then, according to the true order, the laws relating to marriage should be those which are first determined in every state?

Cle. Quite true.

Ath. Then let me first give the law of marriage in a simple form, which may be as follows: A man shall marry between the ages of thirty and thirty-five, or, if he does not, he shall pay such and such a fine, or shall suffer the loss of such and such privileges. This would be the simple law about marriage. The double law would run as follows: A man shall marry between the ages of thirty and thirty-five, considering that after a sort the human race naturally partakes of immortality of which all men have the greatest desire implanted in them

for the desire of every man that he may become famous, and not lie in the grave without a name, is only the love of continuance. Now, mankind are coeval with all time, and are ever following, and will ever follow, the course of time; in this way they are immortal, leaving children behind them, with whom they are one in the unity of generation. And for a man voluntarily to deprive himself of this gift of immortality, as he deliberately does who will not have a wife or children, is impiety. He who listens to the words of the law shall be free, and shall pay no fine; but he who is disobedient, and does not marry, when he has arrived at the age of thirty-five, shall pay a yearly fine of a certain amount, in order that his celibacy may not be a source of ease and profit to him; and he shall not share in the honors which the young men in the state give to the aged. Comparing now the two forms of the law, you will be able to arrive at a judgment about any other laws — whether they should be double in length even when shortest, because they have to persuade as well as threaten, or whether they shall only threaten and be of half the length.

Meg. The Lacedaemonians, Stranger, would generally prefer the shorter form; although, for my own part, if any one were to ask me which I myself prefer in the state, I should certainly 722
determine in favor of the longer; and I would have every law made after the same pattern, if I had to choose. But I think that Cleinias is the person to be consulted, for his is the state which is going to use these laws.

Cle. Thank you, Megillus.

Ath. Whether, in the abstract, words are to be many or few, is a very unmeaning question; the best form, and not the shortest, is to be approved; nor is length at all to be regarded. In the form of law which has been recited, the one kind is not only twice as good in practical usefulness as the other, but the case is like that of the two kinds of doctors, of whom I was just now speaking. And yet legislators never appear to have considered that whereas they have two instruments which they might use in legislation, — persuasion and force, in so far as a rude and uneducated multitude are capable of being affected by them, they use one only; for they do not temper their power[1] by persuasion, but employ force pure and simple. There is a third point, sweet friends, which ought to be, and never is, regarded in our existing laws.

[1] Reading ἀρχάς.

Cle. What is that?

Ath. A point which arises out of our previous conversation and comes into my mind I know not how. All this time, from early dawn until noon, we have been talking about laws in this charming retreat: now we are going to promulgate our laws, and what has preceded was only the prelude of them. Why do I mention this? For this reason: Because all discourses and vocal exercises have preludes and overtures, which are a sort of artistic beginnings, intended to help the strain which is to be performed; lyric measures and every other sort of music have preludes framed with wonderful care. But of the truer and higher strain of law and politics, no one has ever yet uttered any prelude, or composed or published any, as though there was no such thing in nature. Whereas our present discussion seems to me to imply that there is — these double laws, of which we were speaking, are not exactly double, but they
723 are in two parts, the law and the prelude of the law. The arbitrary command, which was compared to the commands of the physicians, whom we described as of the meaner sort, was the law pure and simple; and that which preceded, and was described by our friend as hortatory only, was, in fact, an exhortation, and is analogous to the preamble of a discourse. For I imagine that all this language of conciliation, which the legislator has been uttering in the preface of the law, was intended to create good-will in the person whom he addressed, in order that, by reason of this good-will, he might more intelligently receive his command, that is to say, the law. And therefore, in my way of speaking, this is more rightly described as the preamble than as the matter of the law. And I must further proceed to observe that the legislator should not make laws which have no preambles; he should remember how great will be the difference between them accordingly as they have, or have not preambles, as in the instances already given.

Cle. The lawgiver, if he asks my opinion, will certainly do as you advise.

Ath. I think that you are quite right, Cleinias, in affirming that all laws have preambles, and that throughout the whole of this work of legislation every single law should have a suitable preamble at the beginning; for that which is to follow is most important, and whether this is clearly recorded or not is a very serious matter Yet we should be wrong in requiring that al

laws, small and great alike, should have preambles of the same kind, any more than all songs or speeches; although they may be natural to all, they are not always necessary, and whether they are to be employed or not has to be left to the judgment of the speaker or the musician, or, in the present instance, of the lawgiver.

Cle. That I think is most true. And now, Stranger, without delay, let us return to the argument, and, as people say in play, make a second and better beginning, if you please, with the principles which we have been laying down, which we never thought of regarding as a preamble before, but of which we may now make a preamble, and not merely consider them to be chance topics of discourse. Let us acknowledge, then, that we have a preamble. About the honor of the gods and the respect of parents, enough has been already said; and we may proceed to the topics which follow next in order, until the preamble is deemed by you to be complete; and after that you shall go through the laws themselves.

Ath. I understand you to mean that we have made a sufficient preamble about the gods and demons, and about parents living or dead; and now you would have us bring the rest of the subject into the light of day?

Cle. Exactly.

Ath. After this, as is meet and for the general interest, I the speaker, and you the listeners, will try to estimate all that relates to the souls and bodies and properties of the citizens, as regards both their occupations and amusements, and thus arrive, as far as in us lies, at the nature of education — that will follow next in order.

Cle. Very good.

BOOK V.

726 *Ath. Str* LISTEN, all ye who have just now heard the laws about gods, and about our dear forefathers: Of all the things which a man has, next to the God, his soul is the most divine and most truly his own. Now in every man there are two parts: the better and superior part, which rules, and the worse and inferior part, which serves; and
727 the ruler is always to be preferred to the servant. Wherefore I am right in bidding every one next to the gods, who are our masters, and those who in order to follow them, to honor his own soul, which every one seems to honor, but no one honors as he ought; for honor is a divine good, and no evil thing is honorable; and he who thinks that he can honor the soul by word or gift, or any sort of compliance, not making her in any way better, seems to honor her, but honors her not at all. For example, every man, in his very boyhood, fancies that he is able to know everything, and thinks that he honors his soul by praising her, and he is very ready to let her do whatever she may like. But I mean to say that in acting thus he only injures his soul, and does not honor her; whereas, in our opinion, he ought to honor her as second only to the gods. Again, when a man thinks that others are to be blamed, and not himself, for the errors which he has committed, and the many and great evils which befell him in consequence, and is always fancying himself to be exempt and innocent, he is under the idea that he is honoring his soul; whereas the very reverse is the fact, for he is really injuring her. And when, disregarding the word and approval of the legislator, he indulges in pleasure, then again he is far from honoring her; he only dishonors her, and fills her full of evil and remorse; or when he does not endure to the end the labors and fears and sorrows and pains which the legislator approves, but gives way before

them, then, by yielding, he does not honor the soul, but by al. such conduct he makes her to be dishonorable; nor when he thinks that life at any price is a good, does he honor her, but yet once more he dishonors her; for the soul having a notion that the world below is all evil, he yields to her, and does not resist and teach or convince her that, for aught she knows, the world of the gods below, instead of being evil, may be the greatest of all goods. Again, when any one prefers beauty to virtue, what is this but the real and utter dishonor of the soul? For such a preference implies that the body is more honorable than the soul; and this is false, for there is nothing of earthly birth which is more honorable than the heavenly, and he who thinks otherwise of the soul has no idea how greatly he undervalues this wonderful possession; nor, again, when a person is willing, or not unwilling, to acquire dishonest gains, 728
does he then honor his soul with gifts? — far otherwise; he sells her glory and honor for a small piece of gold; but all the gold which is under or upon the earth is not to be given in exchange for virtue. In a word, I may say that he who does not estimate the base and evil, the good and noble, according to the standard of the legislator, and abstain in every possible way from the one and practice the other with all his might, does not know that he is most foully and disgracefully abusing his soul, which is the divinest part of man; for no one, as I may say, ever considers that which is declared to be the greatest penalty of evil-doing — namely, to grow into the likeness of bad men, and growing like them to fly from the conversation of the good, and be cut off from them, and cleave to and follow after the company of the bad. And he who is joined to them must do and suffer what such men by nature do and say to one another, which suffering is not justice but retribution; for justice and the just are noble, whereas retribution is the suffering which waits upon injustice; and whether a man escape or endure this, he is miserable, — in the former case, because he is not cured; in the latter, because he perishes in order that the rest of the world may be saved.

Speaking generally, our glory is to follow the better and improve the inferior, which is susceptible of improvement, in the best manner possible. And of all the possessions which a man has, the soul is by nature most inclined to avoid the evil and search out and find the chief good; and having found, to dwell with the good, during the remainder of life. Wherefore

the soul also is second in honor; and third, as every one will perceive, comes the honor of the body in natural order. Having determined this, we have next to consider which of the honors given to the body are genuine, and which are not genuine. This appears to me to be the business of the legislator, and he intimates that they are to be ranked in the following order: Honor is not to be given to the fair, or the strong, or the swift, or the tall, or the healthy body (although this would be the opinion of many), any more than to their opposites; but the mean states of all these habits are by far the safest and most moderate; for the one extreme makes the soul braggart and insolent, and the other illiberal and mean; and the possession
729 of money, and property, and distinction, beats to the same tune. The excess of any of these is apt to be a source of hatreds and divisions among states and individuals; and the defect of them is commonly a cause of slavery. And, therefore, I would not have any one fond of heaping up riches for the sake of his children, in order that he may leave them as rich as possible. For the possession of great wealth is of no use, either to them or to the state. The condition of youth which is free from flattery, and at the same time not in need of the necessaries of life, is the best and most harmonious of all, being in accord and agreement with our nature, and making life to be most entirely free from sorrow. Let parents, then, bequeath to their children not riches, but the spirit of reverence. We, indeed, fancy that they will inherit reverence from us, if we rebuke them when they show a want of reverence. But this quality is not really imparted to them by the present style of admonition, which only tells them that the young ought always to be reverential. A sensible legislator will rather exhort the elders to reverence the younger, and above all to take heed that no young man sees or hears him doing or saying anything base; for where old men have no shame, there young men will most certainly be devoid of reverence. The best way of training the young, is to train yourself at the same time; not to admonish them, but to be seen always doing that of which you would admonish them. He who honors his kindred, and reveres those who share in the same gods, and are of the same blood and family, may fairly expect that the gods who preside over generation will be propitious to him, and will quicken his seed. And he who deems the services which his friends and acquaintances do to him, greater and more impor

tant than they themselves deem them, and his own favors to them less than theirs to him, will have their good-will in the intercourse of life. And surely in his relations to the state and his fellow-citizens, he is by far the best, who rather than the Olympic or any other victory of peace or war, desires to win the palm of obedience to the laws of his country; and who, of all mankind, is the person reputed to have obeyed them best during his whole life. In his relations to strangers, a man should consider that a contract is a most holy thing, and that all concerns and wrongs of strangers are more directly dependent on the protection of God, than the wrongs done to citizens; for the stranger having no kindred and friends, is more to be pitied by gods and men. Wherefore, also, he who is able to assist him is more zealous in his cause, and he who is most able is the divinity and god of the stranger, who follows in the train of Zeus, the god of strangers. And for this reason, he who has a spark of caution in him, will do his best to 730
pass through life without sinning against the stranger. And of offenses committed, whether against strangers or fellow-countrymen, that against suppliants is the greatest. For the God who witnessed to the agreement made with the suppliant, becomes in a special manner the guardian of the sufferer; and he will certainly not suffer unavenged.

Thus we have nearly described the manner in which a man is to act about his parents, and himself, and his own affairs; and in relation to the state, and his friends, and kindred, both in what concerns his own countrymen, and in what concerns the stranger. I will now describe what manner of man he must be who would best pass through life in respect of those other things which are not matters of law, but of praise and blame only; in which praise and blame educate a man, and make him more tractable and amenable to the laws which are about to be imposed.

Truth is the beginning of every good to the gods, and of every good to man; and he who would be blessed and happy, should be from the first a partaker of the truth, that he may live a true man as long as possible, for then he can be trusted; but he is not to be trusted who loves voluntary falsehood, and he who loves involuntary falsehood is a fool. Neither condition is to be desired, for the untrustworthy and ignorant has no friend, and as time advances he becomes known, and lays up in store for himself isolation in crabbed age when life is on the

wane: so that, whether his children or friends are alive or not, he is equally solitary. Worthy of honor, too, is he who does no injustice, and of more than twofold honor if he not only does no injustice himself, but hinders others from doing any; the first may count as one man, the second is worth many men, because he informs the rulers of the injustice of others. And yet more highly to be esteemed is he who coöperates with the rulers in correcting the citizens as far as he can — he shall be proclaimed the great and perfect citizen, and bear away the palm of virtue. The same praise may be given about temperance and wisdom, and all other goods which may be imparted to others, as well as acquired by a man for himself; he who imparts them shall be honored as the man of men, and he who
731 is willing yet is not able, may be allowed the second place; but he who is jealous and will not, if he can help, allow others to partake in a friendly way of any good, is deserving of blame: the good, however, which he has, is not to be undervalued because possessed by him, but to be acquired by us to the utmost of our power. Let every man, then, freely strive for the prize of virtue, and let there no envy. For the unenvious nature increases the greatness of states — he himself contends in the race and defames no man; but the envious, who thinks that he ought to get the better by defaming others, is less energetic himself in the pursuit of true virtue, and reduces his rivals to despair by his unjust slanders of them. And thus he deprives the whole city of the proper training for the contest of virtue, and diminishes her glory as far as in him lies. Now every man should be spirited, but he should also be gentle. From the cruel, or hardly curable, or altogether incurable acts of injustice done by others, a man can only escape by fighting and defending himself, and conquering, and by never ceasing to punish them; and no man who is not of a noble spirit is able to accomplish this. As to the actions of those who do evil, but evil which is curable, in the first place, let us remember that the unjust man is not unjust of his own free-will. For no man of his own free-will would choose to possess the greatest of evils, and least of all in the most honorable part of himself. And the soul, as we said, of a truth is deemed by all men the most honorable. In the soul, then, which is the most honorable part of him, no one, if he could help, would admit, or allow to continue the greatest of evils. The unjust and the unfortunate are always to be pitied in any case; and one can afford to

forgive as well as pity, him who is curable, and refrain and calm one's anger, not giving way to passion, and continuing wrathful with feminine bitterness. But upon him who is incapable of reformation and wholly evil, the vials of our wrath should be poured out; wherefore I say that good men ought, when occasion arises, to be both gentle and passionate. The greatest evil to men, generally, is one which is innate in their souls, and which a man is always excusing in himself and never correcting; I mean, what is expressed in the saying, "that every man by nature is and ought to be his own friend." Whereas the excessive love of self is in reality the source to each man of all offenses; for the lover is blinded about the beloved, so that he judges wrongly of the just, the good, and the honorable, and thinks that he ought always to prefer his own interest to the truth. But he who would be a great man, ought to 732
regard what is just, and not himself or his interests, whether in his own actions, or those of others. Through a similar error, men are induced to fancy that their own ignorance is wisdom, and thus we who may be truly said to know nothing, think that we know all things; and because we will not let others act for us in what we do not know, we are compelled to act amiss ourselves. Wherefore, let every man avoid excess of self-love, and condescend to follow a better man than himself, not allowing any false shame to stand in the way. There are also lesser matters than these which are often repeated, and with good reason; a man should recollect them and remind himself of them. For when a stream is flowing out, there should be water flowing in too; and recollection is the flowing in of failing knowledge. Therefore I say that a man should refrain from excess either of laughter or tears, and should exhort his neighbor to do the same; he should veil his immoderate sorrow or joy, and seek to behave with propriety, whether his genius be set at good fortune, or whether at the crisis of his fate, when he seems to be mounting high and steep places, the gods oppose him in some of his enterprises. Still he may hope, that when calamities supervene upon the blessings which the God gives him, he will lighten them and change existing evils for the better; and as to the goods which are the opposite of these evils, he will not doubt that they will be ever present with him, and that he will be fortunate. Such should be men's hopes, and such should be the exhortations with which they admonish one another, never losing an opportunity, but on every occasion dis-

tinctly reminding themselves and others, of all these things both in jest and earnest.

Enough has now been said of divine matters, both as touching the practices which men ought to follow, and the several characters which they ought to cultivate. But of human things we have not as yet spoken, and we must; for to men we are discoursing and not to gods. Pleasures and pains and desires are a part of human nature, and on them every mortal being must of necessity hang and depend with the most eager interest. And therefore we must praise the noblest life, not only as the fairest in appearance, but if a man will only taste, and not as in the days of youth run away to another, he will find
733 that this nobler life surpasses also in the very thing which we all of us desire, — I mean in having the greatest pleasure and the least pain during the whole of life. And this will be plain, and will be quickly and clearly seen, if a man has a true taste of them. But what is a true taste? That is what the argument has to show, — the point being what is according to nature, and what is not according to nature. One life must be compared with another; the more pleasurable with the more painful, after this manner: We desire to have pleasure, but we neither desire nor choose pain; and the neutral state we are ready to take in exchange, not for pleasure, but for pain; and we also choose less pain and greater pleasure, but less pleasure and greater pain we do not choose; and an equal balance of either we cannot venture to assert that we should desire. And all these differ or do not differ severally in number and magnitude and intensity and equality, and in the opposites of these when regarded as objects of choice, in relation to the will. And such being the necessary order of things, we choose that life in which there are many great and intense elements of pleasure and pain, and in which the pleasures are in excess, and do not choose that in which the opposites exceed; nor, again, do we choose that in which the elements of either are small and few and feeble, and the pains exceed. And when, as I said before, there is a balance of pleasure and pain in life, this is to be regarded by us as the balanced life; while other lives are preferred by us because they exceed in what we like, or are rejected by us because they exceed in what we dislike. All the lives of men may be regarded by us as bound up in these, and we must also consider what sort of lives we by nature choose. And if we wish for any others, I say that we choose them only

through some ignorance and inexperience of the lives which actually exist.

Now, what lives are they, and how many in which, having searched out and beheld the objects of will and desire and their opposites, and making of them a law, choosing, I say, the dear and the pleasant and the best and noblest, a man may live in the happiest way possible? Let us say that the temperate life is one kind of life, and the rational another, and the courageous another, and the healthful another; and to these four let us oppose four other lives, — the foolish, the cowardly, the intemperate, the diseased. He who knows the temperate life will describe it as in all things gentle, having gentle pains and gentle pleasures, and placid desires and loves not insane; whereas 784
the intemperate life is impetuous in all things, and has violent pains and pleasures, and vehement and stinging desires, and loves utterly insane; and in the temperate life the pleasures exceed the pains, and in the intemperate life the pains exceed the pleasures in greatness and number and intensity. And hence the result is, that one of the two lives is naturally and necessarily more pleasant and the other more painful, and he who would live pleasantly cannot possibly choose to live intemperately. And if this is true, the inference clearly is that no man is voluntarily intemperate; but that the whole multitude of men lack temperance in their lives, either from ignorance or from want of self-control or both. And the same holds of the diseased and healthy life; they both have pleasures and pains, but in health the pleasure exceeds the pain, and in sickness the pain exceeds the pleasure. Now, our intention in choosing the lives is not that the painful should exceed, but the life in which pain is exceeded by pleasure we determine to be the more pleasant life. And we should say that the temperate life has the elements of both, fewer and minuter and less concentrated than the intemperate, and the wise life than the foolish life, and the life of courage than the life of cowardice; the one class exceeding in pleasure and the others in pain, the courageous surpassing the coward, and the wise exceeding the fool. And the general result is, that the one class of lives exceed the other class in pleasure; the temperate and courageous and wise and healthy exceed the cowardly and foolish and intemperate and diseased; and generally speaking, that which has any virtue, whether of body or soul, is pleasanter than the vicious life, and far superior in beauty and rectitude and excellence

and goodness and reputation, and causes him who lives accordingly to be infinitely happier than the opposite.

Let thus much be said of the prelude or preamble of the laws; and after the preamble, must follow the strain or law; or rather, the true way will be to give an outline of the laws. As, then, in the case of a web or any other tissue, the warp and the woof cannot be made of the same materials, but the warp is necessarily superior as being stronger, and having a certain character of firmness, whereas the woof is softer and has a proper degree of elasticity; in a similar manner those who are to hold great offices in states, should be distinguished truly in each case from those who have been but slenderly proven by education. I say, then, that there are two parts in the constitution of a state — one the appointment of officers, the other the rules which are prescribed for them.

But, before all this, comes the following consideration: The shepherd or herdsman, or breeder of horses or the like, when he has received his animals will not begin to train them until he has first purified them in a manner which befits a community of animals; he will divide the healthy and unhealthy, and the good breed and the bad breed, and will send away the unhealthy and badly bred to other herds, and tend the rest, reflecting that his labors will be vain and without effect, either on the souls or bodies of those whom nature and ill nurture have corrupted, and that they will involve in destruction the pure and healthy nature and being of every other animal, if he neglect to purge them away. Now, the case of other animals is not so important; they are only worth mentioning for the sake of illustration, but what relates to man is of the highest importance; and the legislator should make inquiries, and indicate what is proper for each in the way of purification, and of all other processes. Take, for example, the purification of a city — there are many kinds of purifications, some easier and others more difficult; and some of them, and the best and most difficult of them, the legislator, if he be also a despot, may be able to effect; but he who without a despotism sets up a new government and laws, even if he attempt the mildest of purgations, may think himself happy if he can complete his work. When best the purification is painful, like similar cures in medicine, involving righteous punishment and inflicting death or exile in the last resort. For in this way we commonly dispose of great sinners who are incurable, and are the greatest injury of the whole

state. But the milder form of purification is as follows: When men who have nothing, and are in want of food, show a 736
disposition to follow their leaders in an attack on the property of the rich — these, who are the natural plague of the state, are sent away by the legislator in a friendly spirit as far as he is able; and this dismissal of them is euphemistically termed a colony. And every legislator should contrive to do this at once. Our present case, however, is peculiar. For there is no need to devise any colony or purifying separation under the circumstances in which we are placed. But, as when many streams flow together from springs and mountain torrents into a single lake, we ought to attend and take care that the confluence of water should be perfectly clear; and in order to effect this, should pump and draw off and divert the impure waters, so in every political arrangement there may be trouble and danger. But, seeing that we are discoursing and not acting, let our selection be supposed to be completed, and the desired purity attained. For evil men, who want to join and be citizens of our state, we will test by persuasion and time, and hinder them from coming; and the good we will to the utmost of our ability receive as friends with open arms.

Another piece of good fortune must not be forgotten, which, as we were saying, the Heraclid colony had, and which is also ours, — that we have escaped division of land and the abolition of debts; for these are always a source of dangerous contention, and a city which is driven to legislation upon such matters can neither allow the old ways to continue, nor yet venture to alter them. We must have recourse to prayers, as men say, and hope that a slight change may be cautiously effected in a length of time. And such a change can be accomplished [1] by those who have abundance of land, and having also many debtors, are willing, in a kindly spirit, to share with those who are in want, remitting some and dividing some, holding fast in a path of moderation, and deeming poverty to be the increase of a man's desires and not the diminution of his property. For this is the chiefest foundation of a state, and upon this lasting basis may be erected afterwards whatever political order is suitable under the circumstances; but if the change be based upon an unsound principle, the political superstructure 737
which is added will hardly succeed. That is a danger, which, as I am saying, is escaped by us, and yet we had better

[1] Reading ἐνδέχεται.

say how we, if we had not escaped, might have escaped; and we may venture now to assert that no other way of escape, whether narrow or broad, can be devised but a just contentment: this is to be the rock on which our city is built: for there ought to be no disputes among citizens about property. If there are quarrels of long standing among them, no legislator of any degree of sense will proceed a step in the arrangement of the state until they are settled. But that they to whom God has given, as he has to us, to be the founders of a new state free from enmity — that they should create themselves enmities, by reason of their mode of dividing lands and houses, would be superhuman folly and wickedness.

How, then, can we rightly distribute our citizens? In the first place, their number has to be determined, and also the number and size of the portions which are to be assigned to them; and the land and the houses will then have to be apportioned by us as fairly as we can. The number of citizens can only be estimated satisfactorily in relation to the territory and the neighboring states. The territory must be sufficient to maintain a certain number of inhabitants in a moderate way of life — more than this is not required; and the number of citizens should be sufficient to defend themselves against the injustice of their neighbors, and not altogether incapable of aiding their neighbors when they are wronged. Upon this basis we will hereafter define the limits of theirs and their neighbors' territory in act as well as word. But now, let us proceed to legislate with a view to perfecting the form and outline of our state. The number of our citizens shall be 5040 — this will be a convenient number; and these shall be possessors of the land and protectors of the distribution. The houses and the land will be divided in the same way, so that every man may correspond to a lot. Let the whole number be first divided into two parts, and then into three; and the number is further capable of being divided into four or five parts, or any number of parts up to ten. Every legislator ought to know so much arithmetic as to be able to tell what number is most likely to
738 be useful to all cities; and we are going to take that number which contains the greatest and most regular and unbroken series of divisions. The whole of number has every possible division, and the number 5040 can be divided by exactly fifty-nine divisors, and ten of these proceed without interval from one to ten: this will furnish numbers for war and

peace, and for all contracts and dealings, including taxes and distributions. These properties of number should be ascertained at leisure by those who are bound by law to know them; for they are true, and should be proclaimed at the foundation o the city, with a view to use. Whether the legislator is establishing a new state or restoring an old and decayed one, in respect of gods and temples,— the temples which are to be built in each city, and the gods or demi-gods after whom they are to be called, if he be a man of sense, he will make no change in anything which the oracle of Delphi, or Dodona, or Ammon, or any ancient tradition has sanctioned in whatever manner, whether by apparitions, or reputed inspiration of Heaven in obedience to which mankind have established sacrifices in connection with mystic rites, either originating on the spot, or derived from Tyrrhenia or Cyprus, or some other place, and on the strength of these traditions have consecrated oracles and images, and altars and temples, and made sacred groves for each of them. The least part of all these ought not to be disturbed by the legislator; but he should assign to the several districts some god, or demi-god, or hero, and, in the distribution of the soil, should give to these first their separate domain and all things fitting, that the inhabitants of the district may meet at fixed times, and that they may readily supply their several wants, and entertain one another with sacrifices, and become friends and acquainted; for there is no greater good in a state than that the citizens should be known to one another. When darkness, and not light, reigns in the daily intercourse of life, no man will receive the honor of which he is deserving, or the power or the justice to which he is fairly entitled: wherefore, in every state, above all other things, every man ought to take heed of this,— that he have no deceit in him, but that he is always true and simple, and that no other deceitful person takes any advantage of him.

And now comes the movement of the pieces from the sacred line as in the game of draughts. The form of constitution being unusual, may excite wonder when mentioned for the first time; but, upon reflection and trial, will appear to us, if not the best, to be the second best. And yet a person may not approve this form, because he thinks that the sort of legislation is ill adapted to a legislator who has not despotic power. The truth is, that there are three forms of government, the best, the second and third best, which we may just mention, 739

and then leave the selection to the ruler of the settlement Following this method in the present instance, let us speak of that state which is first and second and third in excellence, and then leave to Cleinias, or to any one who has any choice, the selection of that form of polity which he approves in his own country.

The first and highest form of the state and of the government and of the law is that in which there prevails most widely the ancient saying, that "Friends have all things in common." Whether there is now, or ever will be, this communion of women and children and of property, in which the private and individual is altogether banished from life, and things which are by nature private, such as eyes and ears and hands, have become common, and in some way see and hear and act in common, and all men express praise and blame, and feel joy and sorrow, on the same occasions, and the laws unite the city to the utmost, — whether all this is possible or not, I say that no man, acting upon any other principle, will ever constitute a state more exalted in virtue, or truer or better than this. Such a state, whether inhabited by gods or sons of gods, will make them blessed who dwell therein; and therefore to this we are to look for the pattern of the state, and to cling to this, and, as far as possible, to seek for one which is like this. The state which we have now in hand, when created, will be nearest immortality in the next degree; and, after that, by the grace of God, we will complete the third one. And, we will begin by speaking of the nature and origin of the second.

Let them at once distribute their land and houses, and not till the land in common, since this sort of constitution goes
740 beyond their proposed origin, and nurture, and education. But in making the distribution, let the several possessors feel that their particular lots also belong to the whole city; and as the land is the parent, let them tend this more carefully than children do their mother. For she is a goddess and their queen, and they are her mortal subjects. Such also are the feelings which they ought to entertain to the gods and demigods of the country. And in order that the distribution may always remain, they ought to consider further that the present number of families should be always retained, and neither increased nor diminished. This may be secured for the whole city in the following manner: Let the possessor of a lot leave the one of his children who is his best beloved, and one

only, to be the heir of his dwelling, and his successor in the duty of ministering to the gods, the family and the state, as well the living as those who are departed; but of his other children, if he have more than one, he shall give the females in marriage according to the law to be hereafter enacted, and the males he shall distribute as sons to such of the citizens as have no children, and are willing, if possible; or if there is no one willing, and particular individuals have too many children, male or female, or too few, as in the case of barrenness — in all these cases let the highest and most honorable magistracy created by us, judge and determine what is to be done with the redundant or deficient, and devise a means that the number of 5040 houses shall always remain the same. There are many ways of accomplishing this; for they in whom generation is affluent may be made to refrain, and, on the other hand, special care may be taken to increase the number of births by rewards and stigmas, and by the instruction and admonition of the younger by their elders — in this way the object may be attained. And if after all there be very great difficulty about the preservation of the 5040 houses, and there be an excess of citizens, owing to the too great love of those who live together, and we are at our wit's end, there is still the old device often mentioned by us of sending out a colony, which will part friends with us, and be composed of suitable persons. If, on the other hand, there come a wave bearing a deluge of dis- 741
ease, or a plague of war, and the inhabitants become much fewer than the appointed number by reason of mortality, you ought not to introduce citizens of spurious birth and education, if this can be avoided; but even God is said not to be able to fight against necessity.

Wherefore let us suppose this "high argument" of ours to address us in the following terms: Best of men, cease not to honor, in their natural order, similarity, and equality, and sameness, and agreement, as manifested in number, and in every quality of goodness and greatness. And, above all, observe the aforesaid number 5040, throughout life; in the second place, do not disparage the small and modest proportions of the inheritances which you received in the distribution, by buying and selling them to one another. For then neither will the god who gave you the lot be your friend, nor will the legislator; and indeed the law declares to the disobedient the terms upon which he may or may not take the lot. In the first place, the

earth as he is informed is sacred to the gods; and in the next place, priests and priestesses will offer up prayers over the sacrifices, once, twice, and thrice, that he who buys or sells the houses or lands which he has received, may suffer the punishment which he deserves; and these their prayers they shall write down in the temples, on tablets of cypress-wood, for the instruction of posterity. Moreover they will set a watch over all these things, that they may be observed — the magistracy which has the sharpest eyes shall keep watch that any infringements of their commands may be discovered and punished as offenses both against the law and the God. How great is the benefit of such an ordinance to all those cities, which obey and are administered accordingly, no bad man can ever know, as the old proverb says; but only a man of experience and good habits. For in such an order of things, there will not be much opportunity for making money; no man either ought, or indeed will be, allowed to exercise any ignoble occupation, of which the vulgarity deters a freeman, and disinclines him to acquire riches by any such means.

742 Further, the law enjoins that no private man shall be allowed to possess gold and silver, but only coin for daily use, which is almost necessary in dealing with artisans, and for payment of all those hirelings whose labor he may require, whether slaves or immigrants. Wherefore our citizens, as we say, should have a coin passing current among themselves, but not allowed among the rest of mankind; with a view, however, to expeditions and journeys to other lands, — for embassies, or for any other occasion which may arise of sending out a herald, the state must also possess a common Hellenic currency. If a private person is ever obliged to go abroad, let him have the consent of the archons and go; and if when he returns he has any foreign money remaining, let him give the surplus back to the treasury, and receive a corresponding sum in the local currency. And if he is discovered to appropriate it, let it be confiscated, and let him who knows and does not inform, be subject to curse and dishonor equally with him who brought the money, and also to a fine not less in amount than the foreign money which has been brought back. In marrying and giving in marriage, no one shall give or receive any dowry at all; and no one shall deposit money with another whom he does not trust as a friend, nor shall he lend money upon interest; and he who borrows shall not be required to pay either capital or interest

That these principles are best, any one may see who compares them with the first principle and intention of a state. The intention, as we affirm, of a reasonable statesman, is not what the many declare to be the object of a good legislator; namely, that the state for which he is advising should be as great and as rich as possible, and should possess gold and silver, and have the greatest empire by sea and land; this they imagine to be the true object of legislation, at the same time adding, inconsistently, that the true legislator desires to have the city the best and happiest possible. But they do not see that some of these things are possible, and some of them are impossible; and he who orders the state will desire what is possible, and will not indulge in vain wishes or attempts to accomplish that which is impossible. The citizen must indeed be happy and good, and the legislator will seek to accomplish this; but very rich and very good at the same time he cannot be, not, at least, in the sense in which the many speak of riches. For they describe by the term "rich," the few who have the most valuable possessions, although the owner of them be a rogue. And 743
if this is true, I can never assent to the doctrine that the rich man will be happy; he must be good as well as rich. And good in a high degree, and rich in a high degree at the same time, he cannot be. Some one will ask, why is this? And we shall answer, — because acquisitions which come from unjust as well as just sources, are more than double those which come from just sources only; and the sums which are expended neither honorably nor disgracefully, are only half as great as those which are expended honorably, and on honorable purposes. Thus, if one acquires double and spends half, the other who is in the opposite case cannot possibly be wealthier than he. One of them is a good man, and the other — I am speaking of the saver and not of the spender — is not always bad; he may indeed be utterly bad, but, as I was saying, a good man he never is. For he who receives money unjustly as well as justly, and spends neither justly nor unjustly, will be a rich man if he be also thrifty. On the other hand, the utterly bad is in general profligate, and therefore poor; while he who spends on noble objects, and acquires wealth by just means only, can hardly be remarkable for riches, any more than he can be very poor. The argument then is right in declaring that the very rich are not good, and, if they are not good, they are not happy. But the intention of our laws was, that the citizens

should be as happy as possible, and as friendly as possible to one another. And men who are always at law with one another, and amongst whom there are many wrongs done, can never be friends to one another, but only those among whom crimes and lawsuits are few and slight. Therefore, we say that gold and silver ought not to be allowed in the city, nor much of the vulgar sort of trade which is carried on by lending money, or rearing the meaner kinds of live stock; but only the produce of agriculture, and only so much of this as will not compel us in pursuing it to neglect that for the sake of which riches exist,—I mean, soul and body, which without gymnastics, and without education, will never be worth anything; and therefore, as we have said not once but many times, the care of riches should have the last place in our thoughts. For there are in all three things about which every man has an interest; and the interest about money, when rightly regarded, is the third and lowest of them: midway comes the interest of the body; and, first of all, that of the soul; and the state which we are describing will have been rightly constituted if it ordains honors according to this scale. But if, in any of the laws which have been or-
744 dained, health be preferred to temperance, or wealth to health and temperate habits, that law must clearly be wrong. Wherefore, also, the legislator ought often to impress upon himself the question, — "What do I want?" and "Do I attain my aim, or do I miss the mark?" In this way, and in this way only, he may acquit himself and free others from the work of legislation. Let the allottee then hold his lot upon the conditions which we have mentioned.

It would have been well that every man should come to the colony having all things equal; but seeing that this is impossible, and one man will have greater possessions than another, for many reasons, and, in particular, for the sake of equality in the various crises of the state, qualifications of property must be unequal, in order that offices and contributions and distributions may be proportioned to the value of each person's wealth, and not solely to the virtue of his ancestors or himself, nor yet to the strength and beauty of his person, but also to the measure of his wealth or poverty; and so by a law of inequality, which will be in proportion to his wealth, he will receive honors and offices as equally as possible, and there will be no quarrels and disputes. To which end there should be four different standards appointed: there should be a first and a second and

third and a fourth class of citizens, or whatever may be the name of the class assigned to them. In these the citizens will be placed, whether they continue in the same rank, or pass into their proper rank in any individual case, on becoming richer from being poorer, or poorer from being richer. The form of law which I should propose as the sequel of this would be as follows: In a state which is desirous of being saved from the greatest of all plagues — not faction, but rather distraction — there should exist among the citizens neither extreme poverty, nor, again, excessive wealth, for both are productive of both these evils. Now the legislator should determine what is to be the limit of poverty or wealth. Let the limit of poverty be the value of the lot; this ought to be preserved, and no ruler, nor any one else who aspires after a reputation for virtue, will allow the lot to be impaired in any case. This the legislator gives as a measure, and he will permit a man to acquire double or triple, or as much as four times the amount of this. But if a person have yet greater riches, whether he has found them, or they have been given to him, or he has made them in business, or has acquired by any stroke of fortune that which is in excess of the measure, if he give them back 745 to the state, and to the gods who are the patrons of the state, he shall suffer no penalty or loss of reputation; but if he disobeys this law, any one who likes may inform against him and receive half the value, and the delinquent shall pay as much again out of his own property, and the other half shall be the property of the gods. And let every possession of every man, with the exception of the lot, be publicly registered with the archons whom the law appoints, in order that all suits relating to money may be easy and quite simple.

The next thing to be noted is, that the city should be placed as nearly as possible in the centre of the country; we should choose a place which possesses what is suitable for a city, and this may easily be imagined and described. Then we will divide the city into twelve portions, first founding a temple to Hestia and Zeus and Athene, to be termed the Acropolis, which we surround with a circular inclosure, and beginning at this point, divide the city and the entire country into twelve portions. The twelve portions should be equalized in this way: The smaller portions shall be of good land and the larger of inferior land; and the lots shall be 5040 in number. Further, each of them shall be divided into two, and the

two sections form one allotment, having a share of the land which is near the city and of the land which is at a distance. let the portion which is close to the city be added to that which is farthest, and form one lot, and the portion which is next nearest be added to the portion which is next farthest, and so on of the rest. Moreover, in the two sections of the lots the same principle of equalization of the soil ought to be maintained; the badness and goodness shall be compensated by more and less. And the legislator shall divide the citizens into twelve parts, and arrange the rest of their property, as far as possible, so as to form twelve equal parts; and there shall be a description of all. After this they shall assign twelve lots to twelve gods, and call them by their names, and dedicate to each god their several portions, and call the tribes after them. And they shall distribute the twelve divisions of the city in the same way in which they divided the country; and every man shall have two habitations, one near the centre of the country, and the other at the extremity. Enough, then, of the manner of settlement.

Now we ought to consider always that there can never be such a happy concurrence of circumstances as we have described; neither can all things coincide as they are wanted. Men who
746 will not take offense at such a mode of living together, and will endure all their life long to have their property fixed at a moderate limit, and to beget children in accordance with our ordinances, and will allow themselves to be deprived of gold and other things which the legislator will clearly proceed to forbid them; and will endure, further, the two dwellings, the one centralized in the city and the other round about; all this is like the legislator telling his dreams, or making a city and citizens out of wax. There is truth in these objections, and therefore every one should take to heart what I am going to say. Once more, then, the legislator shall appear and address us: "O, my friends," he will say to us, "do not suppose me ignorant that there is a certain degree of truth in these words; but I am of opinion that, in matters which are not present but future, he who exhibits a pattern of that at which he aims, should in nothing fall short of the fairest and truest; and if he finds that any part of this is impossible, he should avoid and not execute that part, but he should contrive to carry out that which is nearest and most akin to it; he should let the legislator perfect his design, and when he has accomplished it, he

should join with him in considering what part of his legislation is expedient and what will arouse opposition; for surely the artist who is to be deemed worthy of any regard at all, ought always to make his work self-consistent."

Having determined that there is to be a distribution into twelve parts, let us now see in what way this is to be accomplished. There is no difficulty in perceiving that the twelve parts admit of the greatest number of divisions of that which is included under them, consisting of other parts which agree with them, and are produced out of them up to 5040; and hence the law ought to order phratries and demes and villages, and also military ranks and movements, as well as coins and measures, dry and liquid, and weights, so as to be commensurable and agreeable to one another. Nor should we fear the appearance of minuteness, if the law commands that all the vessels which a man possesses should have a common measure, when we consider that the divisions and variations of numbers 747
have a use in respect of all the variations of which they are susceptible, both in themselves and as measures of height and depth, and in all sounds and motions, as well those which proceed in a straight direction, upwards or downwards, as in those which go round and round. The legislator is to consider all these things, and to bid the citizens, as far as possible, not to lose sight of numerical order; for no single instrument of youthful education has such mighty power, both as regards domestic economy and politics, and in the arts, as the study of arithmetic. Above all, arithmetic stirs up him who is by nature sleepy and dull, and makes him quick to learn, retentive, shrewd, and, aided by art divine, he makes progress quite beyond his natural powers. All these, if only the legislator, by laws and institutions, can banish meanness and covetousness from the souls of the disciples, and enable them to profit by them, will be excellent and suitable instruments of education. But if he cannot do this, he will unintentionally create in them, instead of wisdom, the habit of craft, which evil tendency may be observed in the Egyptians and Phoenicians, and many other races, through the general illiberality of their pursuits and possessions, whether some unworthy legislator of theirs have caused this result, or some impediment of chance or nature. For we must not fail to observe, O Megillus and Cleinias, that there is a difference in places, and that some beget better men and others worse; and we must legislate accordingly. Some places

are subject to strange and fatal influences by reason of diverse winds and violent heats, some by reason of waters; or, again, from the character of that subsistence which the earth supplies them, which not only affects the bodies of men for good or evil, but produces similar results in their souls. And in all such qualities those spots excel in which there is a divine inspiration, and in which the gods have their appointed lots, and are propitious to the dwellers in them. To all these matters the legislator, if he have any sense in him, must attend, as far as man can, and frame his laws accordingly. And this is what you, Cleinias, must do, and to matters of this kind you must turn your mind when about to colonize a new country.

Cleinias. Your words, Athenian Stranger, are excellent, and I will do as you say.

BOOK VI.

Ath. Str. AND now that this discussion has come to an end, the time will have arrived for appointing the magistrates. 751

Cleinias. True.

Ath. In the government of a state there are two parts: First, the appointment of magistrates, their number, and the mode of appointing them; and, secondly, when they have been appointed, laws will have to be provided for each of them, in nature and number suitable to them. But before electing the magistrates let us stop a little and say a word in season.

Cle. What have you got to say?

Ath. This is what I have to say; every one can see, that although the work of legislation is a most important matter, yet if a well-ordered city superadd to good laws unsuitable officers, there will be no use in having the good laws; not only are they ridiculous and useless, but the greatest political injury and evil accrues from them.

Cle. Of course.

Ath. Then now, my friend, let us observe what will happen in the constitution of our intended state. In the first place, you will acknowledge that those who are duly appointed to magisterial power, and their families, should severally give satisfactory proof of what they are, from their youth upward until the time of their election; in the next place, those who are to elect should be trained in habits of law, and be well educated, that they may have a right judgment, and may be able to select or reject men whom they approve or disapprove, as they are worthy of either. Now, when we consider this, how can we imagine that those who are brought together for the first time, and are strangers to one another, and also uneducated, can avoid making mistakes in the choice of magistrates?

Cle. Impossible.

Ath. The matter is serious, and excuses will not serve the turn. I will tell you, then, what you and I will have to do, since you, as you tell me, with nine others, have offered to settle the state on behalf of the people of Crete, and I am to help you, which is my reason for inventing this romance. I certainly should not like to leave the tale wandering all over the world without a head; a headless monster is such a hideous thing.

752

Cle. Excellent, Stranger.

Ath. Yes; and I will be as good as my word.

Cle. Let us by all means do as you propose.

Ath. That we will, by the grace of God, if old age will only permit us.

Cle. But God will be gracious.

Ath. Yes; and under His guidance let us consider a further point.

Cle. What is that?

Ath. Let us remember what a courageously mad and daring creation this our city is.

Cle. What are you specially thinking of when you say that?

Ath. I am thinking of the free and easy manner in which we are ordaining that the inexperienced colonists shall receive our laws. Now a man need not be very wise, Cleinias, in order to see that no one can easily receive laws at their first imposition. But if we could anyhow wait until those who have been imbued with them from childhood, and have been nurtured in them, and become habituated to them, take their part in the public elections; I say, if this could be accomplished, and rightly accomplished by any way or contrivance, — then, I think that there would be very little danger, at the end of the time, of a state thus trained not being permanent.

Cle. That may be believed.

Ath. Then let us consider if we can find any way of accomplishing this; for I say, Cleinias, that the Cnosians, above all the other Cretans, ought not to clear themselves by a form only in the matter of this colony, but they ought to take the utmost pains to establish the principal offices of the state in the best and surest manner. Above all, this applies to the selection of the guardians of the law, who must be chosen first of all and with the greatest care; the others are of less importance.

Cle. What method can we devise of electing them?

Ath. This will be the method: "Sons of the Cretans," I shall say to them, "inasmuch as the Cnosians have precedence over the other states, they should, in common with those who join this settlement, choose of themselves a body of thirty-seven in all, nineteen of them being taken from the settlers, and the remainder from the citizens of Cnosus. Of these latter the Cnosians shall make a present to your colony, and you yourself shall be one of the eighteen, and shall become a citizen of the new state; and if you and the others will not agree, they may fairly use a little violence in order to accomplish their end. 753

Cle. But why, Stranger, do not you and Megillus take a part in our new city?

Ath. O, Cleinias, Athens is proud, and Sparta too; and they are both a long way off. But you and the other colonists are conveniently situated as you describe. I have been speaking of the way in which the new citizens may be best managed under present circumstances; but in after ages, and when the city is permanently established, let the election be on this wise. All who are horse or foot soldiers, or have taken part in war during the age for military service, shall share in the election of magistrates; and the election shall be held in whatever temple the state deems most venerable, and every one shall carry his vote to the altar of the God, at the same time writing down on a tablet the name of his father, and tribe, and ward; and at the side he shall write his own name in like manner. Any one who is dissatisfied with the writing on any of the tablets may, if he pleases, take away that which he has written, and again place the tablet in the agora, during a period of not less than thirty days. The tablets which are judged to be first, to the number of 300, shall be exhibited by the archons to the whole city, and the city shall in like manner select from these the candidates whom they prefer; and this second selection, to the number of 100, shall be again exhibited to the citizens; in the third, let any one who pleases select out of the 100, walking through the parts of victims, and let them choose for magistrates and proclaim the seven-and-thirty who have the greatest number of votes. But who, Cleinias and Megillus, will order for us in the colony all this matter of the magistrates, and the scrutinies of them? If we reflect, we shall see that the cities which are thus constituted must originally have some such persons, who cannot possibly be elected before there are any magistrates;[1] and yet

[1] Reading τοὺς πρώτους.

they must be elected in some way, and they are not to be inferior men, but the best possible. For as the proverb says, "A good beginning is half the business;" and "to have begun well" is praised by all, and in my opinion is a great deal more than
754 half the business, and has never been praised by any one enough.

Cle. That is very true.

Ath. Then let us recognize the difficulty, and make clear to our own minds how the beginning is to be accomplished. There is only one proposal which I have to offer, and that is one which, under our circumstances, is both necessary and expedient.

Cle. What is that?

Ath. I maintain that this colony of ours has a father and mother, which is no other than the colonizing state. Well, I know that many colonies have been, and will be, at enmity with their parents. But in early days the child, as in a family, loves and is beloved; even if there come a time later, when the tie is broken, still, while he is in want of education, he naturally loves his parents and is beloved by them, and flies to them for protection, and finds in them his natural defense in time of need; and this parental feeling already exists in the Cnosians, as is shown by their care of the new city; and there is a similar feeling on the part of the young city towards Cnosus. And I repeat what I was saying — for there is no harm in repeating what is good — that the Cnosians should take a public interest in all these matters, and choose, as far as they can, the eldest and best of the colonists, to the number of not less than a hundred; and let there be another hundred of the Cnosians themselves. These, I say, on their arrival, should have a joint care that the magistrates should be appointed according to law, and that when they are appointed they should undergo a scrutiny. When this has been effected, the Cnosians shall return home, and the new city do the best she can for her own preservation and happiness. I would have the seven-and-thirty now, and in all future time, chosen to fulfill the following duties: Let them, in the first place, be the guardians of the law; and, secondly, of the registers in which each one registers before the magistrate the amount of his property, not including four minae which are allowed to citizens of the first class; three minae which are allowed to the second; or the wo minae allowed to the third; and the single mina to the

fourth. And if any one despising the laws, for the sake of gain be found to possess anything more which has not been registered, let all this be confiscated, and let him suffer a punishment which shall be the reverse of honorable or fortunate. And let any one who will, indict him on the charge of loving base gains, and proceed against him before the guardians of the law. And if he be cast, let him lose his share of 755
the public possessions, and when there is any public distribution let him have nothing but the original lot, and let him be written down as a criminal as long as he lives, in some place in which any one who pleases can read about his crimes. The guardian of the law shall not hold office longer than twenty years, and shall not be less than fifty years of age when he is elected; or if he is elected when he is sixty years of age, he shall hold office for ten years only; and upon the same principle, he must not imagine that he will continue to hold such an important office as that of guardian of the laws, after he is seventy years of age, if he live so long.

These are the three first ordinances about the guardian of the laws; as the work of legislation progresses, there will be laws for each of them, which will assign to them their further duties. And now we may proceed in order to speak of the election of other officers; for generals have to be elected, and these again must have their ministers, generals, and colonels of horse, and commanders of brigades of foot, who would be more rightly called by their popular name of brigadiers. The guardians of the law shall propose generals, who are natives of the city, and from the candidates who are proposed, let those select who are or have been of the age of military service. And if one who is not proposed is thought by somebody to be better than one who is, let him name him whom he prefers in the place of the other, and make oath that he is better, and propose him: and whichever of them is approved by vote shall be taken; and the three who have the greatest number of votes shall be appointed generals, and superintendents of military affairs, after previously undergoing a scrutiny, like the guardians of the law. And let the generals thus elected propose twelve taxiarchs or brigadiers, one for each tribe; and there shall be a counter-proposal as in the case of the generals, and the voting and decision shall take place in the same way. Until the prytanes and council are elected, the guardians of the law shall convene the assembly in some holy spot which is

suitable to the purpose, placing the hoplites by themselves, and the cavalry by themselves, and in a third division all the rest of the army. All are to vote for the general officers of foot [and horse], but the brigadiers are to be voted for only by those who carry shields. Let the body of cavalry choose phylarchs for the generals, but captains of light troops, or archers, or any other division of the army, shall be appointed by the generals for themselves. There only remains the appointment of officers of cavalry: These shall be proposed by the same persons who proposed the generals, and the election and proposal of other candidates shall be carried out in the same way as in the case of the generals, and let the cavalry vote and the infantry look on at the election; the two who have the greatest number of votes shall be the leaders of all the horse. Disputes about the voting may be raised once or twice; but if the dispute be raised a third time, the presiding officers in each case shall decide.

756

The council shall consist of 360 members, — this will be a convenient number for sub-division. If we divide the whole number into four parts of ninety each, we get ninety counselors for each class. First, all the citizens shall vote for members of the council taken from the first class; they shall be compelled to vote, and, if they do not, shall be duly fined. When the candidates have been elected, some one shall mark them down; this shall be the business of the first day. And on the following day, the election shall be made from the second class in the same manner and under the same conditions as on the previous day; and on the third day an election shall be made from the third class, at which every one may if he likes vote, and the three first classes shall be compelled to vote; but the fourth and lowest class shall be under no compulsion, and any member of this class who does not vote shall not be punished. On the fourth day members of the council shall be elected from the fourth class; they shall be elected by all, but he who is of the fourth class shall suffer no penalty, nor he who is of the third, if he be not willing to vote; but he who is of the first or second class, if he does not vote shall be punished he who is of the second class shall pay a fine which is triple the former fine, and he who is of the first class a fine which is quadruple. On the fifth day the rulers shall bring out the names noted down, in the presence of all the citizens, and every man shall choose out of them, under pain, if he do not of suffering the first penalty; and when they have chosen 180

out of each of the classes, they shall choose one half of them by lot, who shall undergo a scrutiny: These are to form the council for the year.

The mode of election which has been described, is in a mean between monarchy and democracy, and such a mean the state ought always to observe; for servants and masters never 757
can be friends, nor good and bad, merely because they are said to have equal privileges. For to unequals equals become unequal, if they are not harmonized by measure; and both by reason of equality, and by reason of inequality, cities are filled with seditions. The old saying, that "equality makes friendship," is witty and also true; but there is obscurity and confusion as to what sort of equality is meant. For there are two equalities which are called by the same name, but are in reality in many ways almost the opposite of one another; one of them may be introduced without difficulty, by any state or any legislator in the distribution of honors: this is the rule of measure, weight, and number, which regulates and apportions the distribution of honors. But there is another equality, of a better and higher kind, which is not at once recognized. This is the judgment of Zeus, which has little place in human things; that little, however, is the source of the greatest good to individuals and states. For it gives to the greater more, and to the inferior less always and in proportion to the nature of each; and, above all, greater honor to the greater virtue, and to the less less; and to either in proportion to their respective measure of virtue and education. And this we deem to be justice, which is ever the true principle of politics, and at this we ought to aim; and with a view to this equality, Cleinias, to order the new city which we are founding, and any other city which may be hereafter founded. To this the legislator should look, — not to the interests of tyrants one or more, or to the power of the people, but to justice always; which, as I was saying, is the distribution of natural equality among unequals. But there are times at which every state is compelled slightly to change the use of terms, in the hope of escaping in some degree from factions. For equity and clemency are infractions of the perfect and strict rule of justice. This is the reason why we are obliged to use the equality of the lot, in order to avoid the discontent of the people. And we invoke God and fortune in our prayers, and beg that they themselves would direct the lot with a view to supreme justice. And therefore, although we are

compelled to use both equalities, we should use that into which
758 the element of chance enters as seldom as possible.

Thus, O my friends, and for the reasons given, should a state act which would endure and be saved. But as a ship sailing on the sea has to be watched night and day, in like manner a city also is sailing on a sea of politics, and is liable to all sorts of insidious assaults; and therefore from morning to night, and from night to morning, rulers must join hands with rulers, and watchers succeed watchers, receiving and giving up their trust in a perpetual order. A multitude can never act with energy in anything of this sort; moreover, the greater number of the senators will have to be left during the greater part of the year to order their concerns at their own homes. They must be arranged in twelve portions, answering to twelve months, and serve as guardians each portion for a single month. Their business is to be at hand and receive any foreigner or citizen who comes to them, whether to give information, or to put questions of which other states are to receive the answers; or when the city desires to ask a question and receive an answer; or again, when there is a likelihood of internal commotions, which are always liable to happen in some form or other, they will, if they can, prevent their occurring; or if they have already occurred, will lose no time in making them known to the city, and healing the evil. Wherefore, also, this which is the presiding body of the state, ought always to have the control of their assemblies, and the dissolutions of them, regular as well as occasional. All this is to be ordered by the twelfth part of the council, which is to rest during the other eleven portions of the year, and this portion of the council is always to keep watch in common with the other officers of the state.

Thus will the city be fairly ordered. And now, who is to have the superintendence of the country, and what shall be the arrangement? Seeing that the whole city and the entire country have been divided into twelve portions, ought there not to be appointed superintendents of the ways of the city, and of the houses, and buildings, and harbors, and the agora, and fountains, and groves, and temples, and the like?

Cle. To be sure there ought.

759 *Ath.* Let us assume, then, that there ought to be servants of the temples, and priests and priestesses, and three kinds of officers who shall preside over roads and buildings, and the order of them; and over men, that they may keep them from

crime, and over beasts who are within the inclosure and suburb of the city, according to the requirements of the city. And those who have the care of the city shall be called wardens of the city; and those who have the care of the agora shall be called wardens of the agora; and those who have the care of the temples shall be called priests. Those who hold the hereditary office of priest or priestess, shall not be disturbed; but if there be few or none such, as is probable at the foundation of a new city, priests and priestesses shall be appointed to be servants of the gods, who have no servants. Some of them shall be elected, and others appointed by lot, and they shall mingle in a friendly manner those who are of the people and those who are not of the people in every place and city, that the state may be as far as possible of one mind. The officers of the temple shall be appointed by lot; in this way their election will be committed to God, who will do what is agreeable to him. And he who obtains the lot shall undergo a scrutiny, first, as to whether he is sound of body and of legitimate birth; and in the second place, in order to show that he is of a perfectly pure family, not stained with homicide or any similar impiety in his own person, and also that his father and mother have led a similar unstained life. Now the laws about all divine things should be brought from Delphi, and they should use them under the direction of the interpreters of them. The tenure of the priesthood should always be for a year and no longer; and he who will duly execute the sacred office, according to the laws of religion, must be not less than sixty years of age; the laws shall be the same about priestesses, and let the twelve tribes taken by fours appoint interpreters, one out of each tribe, and let this be done thrice; and let the three who have the greatest number of votes undergo a scrutiny, and the remaining nine go to Delphi, in order that the God may return one out of each triad; their age shall be the same as that of the priests, and the scrutiny of them shall be conducted in the same manner; let them be interpreters for life, and when any one dies let the tribes, taken as before by fours, select another from the tribe of the deceased; moreover, they shall choose treasurers of the property of the several temples, and of the sacred groves, who shall have authority over the produce and the letting of them; and three of them shall be chosen from the highest classes for the greater temples, and two for the lesser, and one for the least of all the manner of their 76v

election and the scrutiny of them shall be the same as that of the generals. This shall be the order of the temples.

Let everything have a guard as far as this is possible; and let the defense of the city be committed to the generals and taxiarchs, and hipparchs, and phylarchs, and prytanes, and the wardens of the city, and of the agora, when the election of them has been completed. The defense of the country shall be provided for as follows: The entire land has been already distributed into twelve as nearly as possible equal parts, and let one tribe, taken by lot, provide annually for each division five wardens of the country and commanders of the watch; and let each of the five have the power of selecting twelve others out of the youth of their own tribe,—these shall be not less than twenty-five years of age, and not more than thirty. And let there be allotted to them severally every month one of the twelve portions of the land, in order that they may all acquire knowledge and experience of the whole country. This duty and service of commanders and of watchers shall continue during two years. At first, they will have their stations allotted to them, and will afterwards go from place to place in regular order, making their round from left to right as their commanders direct them; (when I speak of going to the right, I mean that they are to go to the east). And at the commencement of the second year, in order that as many as possible of the guards may not only get a knowledge of the country at any one season of the year, but may also have experience of the manner in which different places are affected at various seasons of the year, their then commanders shall lead them again towards the left, from place to place in succession, until they have completed the second year. In the third year they shall choose other wardens of the country, and commanders of the watch, five in number, who are to be the superintendents of the bands of twelve. While on service at each station, their attention shall be directed to the following points: In the first place, they shall see that the country is well protected against enemies; they shall trench and dig wherever this is required, and, as far as they can, they shall confine in fastnesses the evil-disposed, in order to prevent them from doing any harm to the country or the property; they shall use the beasts of burden and the laborers
761 whom they find on the spot: these will be their instruments whom they will superintend, taking their service as far as possible, when they are not engaged in their own busi

ness. They shall make every part of the country inaccessible to enemies, and as accessible as possible to friends; there shall be ways for man and beast, and they shall take care to have them always as smooth as they can; and shall provide against the rains doing harm instead of good to the land, when they come down from the mountains into the hollows; and shall keep them back by the help of works and ditches, in order that they may receive and drink up the rain from heaven, and making fountains and streams for the fields and places which are underneath, may furnish even to the dry places plenty of good water. The fountains of waters, whether of rivers or of springs, shall be ornamented with plantations and buildings for beauty; and let them bring together the streams in subterraneous channels, and make water plentiful by irrigation at all seasons of the year; and if there be a sacred grove or dedicated precinct in their neighborhood, they shall let the stream have a way to the actual temples of the gods. Everywhere in such places the youth shall make gymnasia for themselves, and warm baths for the aged, placing by them abundance of dry wood, for the benefit of those laboring under disease — there the weary frame of the rustic, worn with toil, will be kindly received, and experience far better treatment than at the hands of a not over-wise doctor.

The building of these and the like works will be useful and ornamental; they will provide a pleasing amusement, but they will be a serious employment too; for the companies of sixty will have to guard their own positions, not only with a view to enemies, but also with an eye to professing friends. When a quarrel arises among neighbors or citizens, and any one whether slave or freeman wrongs another, let the five rulers decide small matters on their own authority; but where the charge against another relates to greater matters, the seventeen composed of the five and the twelve, shall determine any charges which one man brings against another, not involving more than three minae. Every judge and ruler shall be liable to give an account of his conduct in office, except those who, like kings, have the final decision. Moreover, as regards the aforesaid wardens of the country, if they do any wrong to those of whom they have the care, whether by imposing upon them unequal tasks, or by taking the produce of the soil 762
without their consent; also if they receive anything in the way of a bribe, or decide suits unjustly, or if they yield to the influ

ences of flattery, let them be publicly dishonored for this; and in regard to any other wrong which they do to the inhabitants of the country, if the question be of a mina, let them submit to the decision of the villagers in the neighborhood; but in suits of greater amount, or in case of the lesser if they refuse to submit, trusting that their monthly removal into another part of the country will enable them to escape — in such cases the injured party may bring his suit in the common court, and if he obtains a verdict he may exact from the defendant who refused to submit a double penalty.

The rulers and the wardens of the country, while on their two years' service, shall have common meals at their several stations, and shall all live together; and he who is absent from the daily meal, or sleeps out at night, unless by order of the rulers, or by reason of absolute necessity, if the five denounce him and inscribe his name in the agora as not having kept his guard, let him be deemed to have betrayed the city, and let him be disgraced and beaten with impunity by any one who meets him and is willing to punish him. If any of the rulers is guilty of anything of the sort, the whole company of sixty shall see to it; and he who is cognizant of the offense, and does not bring the offender to trial, shall be amenable to the same laws as the younger offender himself, and shall pay a heavier fine, and be incapable of ever commanding the young. The guardians of the law are to be careful inspectors of these matters, and shall either prevent or punish offenders. Every man should remember the universal rule, that he who is not a good servant will not be a good master; a man should pride himself more upon serving well than upon commanding well: first upon serving the laws, which is also the service of the gods; in the second place, upon having served ancient and honorable men in the days of his youth. Moreover, during the two years in which he is a warden of the country, his daily food ought to be of a simple and humble kind. When the twelve are gath-
763 ered together, let them take counsel with the five, and determine that they will serve themselves, and will not have other slaves and servants for their own use, neither will they use those of the villagers and husbandmen for their private advantage, but for the public service only; and in general let them make up their minds to live independently by themselves, serving and served by themselves. Further, at all seasons of the year, summer and winter alike, let them survey minutely

the whole country, bearing arms and keeping guard,—at the same time acquiring a perfect knowledge of every locality. For there can be no more important kind of information than the exact knowledge of a man's own country; and for this as well as for more general reasons of pleasure and advantage, hunting with dogs and other kinds of sports should be pursued by the young. The service to whom this is committed may be called the secret police or wardens of the country; the name does not much signify, but every one who has the safety of the state at heart will use his utmost diligence in this service.

After the wardens of the country, we have to speak of the election of wardens of the agora and of the city. The wardens of the country were sixty in number, and the wardens of the city will be three, and will divide the twelve parts of the city into three; like the former, they shall have care of the ways, and of the different high-roads which lead out of the country into the city, and of the buildings, that they may be all made according to law; also of the waters, which those who superintend and preserve the waters convey to them, care being taken that they may reach the fountains pure and abundant, and be both an ornament and a benefit to the city. These also shall be men of ability, and at leisure to take care of the public interest. Let every man propose as warden of the city any one whom he likes out of the highest class, and when the vote has been given on them, and the number is reduced to the six who have the greatest number of votes, let the electing officers choose by lot three out of the six, and when they have undergone a scrutiny let them hold office according to the law appointed for them. Next, let the wardens of the agora be elected in like manner, out of the first and second class, five in number: ten are to be first elected, and out of the ten five are to be chosen by lot, as in the election of the wardens of the city; and when they have undergone a scrutiny, they shall be proclaimed wardens of the agora. Every one shall vote for all the ten, and he who will not vote, if he be informed against before the archons, shall be fined fifty drachmae, and shall also be deemed a bad citizen. Let any one who likes go 764
to the assembly and to the general council; this shall be compulsory on citizens of the first and second class, and they shall pay a fine of ten drachmae if they be found not answering to their names at the assembly. But the third and fourth class shall be under no compulsion, and shall be let off without a

fine, unless the rulers have commanded all to be present, in consequence of some urgent necessity. The wardens of the agora shall observe the order appointed by law for the agora, and shall have the charge of the temples and fountains which are in the agora; and they shall see that no one injures them, and punish him who does with stripes and bonds, if he be a slave or stranger; but if he be a citizen who misbehaves in this way, they shall have the power themselves of inflicting a fine upon him to the amount of a hundred drachmae, or with the consent of the wardens of the city up to double that amount. And let the wardens of the city have a similar power of imposing punishments and fines in their own department; and let them impose fines by their own authority, up to a mina or up to two minae, with the consent of the wardens of the agora.

In the next place, it will be proper to appoint ministers of music and gymnastic, two of each kind — one whose business will be education, and the other for the superintendence of contests. In speaking of education, the law means to speak of those who have the care of order and instruction in gymnasia and schools, and of the going to school and lodging of boys and girls; and in speaking of contests, the law refers to the judges of gymnastics and of music; these again are divided into two classes, the one having to do with music, the other with gymnastic; and the same who judge of the gymnastic contests of men, shall judge of horses; but in music there shall be one set of judges of solo singing, and of imitation — I mean, who judge of raphsodists, players on the harp, the flute, and the like, and another who shall judge of choruses. First of all, we must choose leaders for the choruses of boys, and men, and maidens, whom they shall follow in the amusement of the dance, and in
765 our other musical arrangements; one leader will be enough for them, and he should be not less than forty years of age. One leader of the solo singers will also be enough to introduce them, and to give judgment on the competitors, and he ought not to be less than thirty years of age. The leader and regulator of the choruses shall be elected on this wise: Let those who take an interest in such matters go to the meeting, and be fined if they do not go (of this the guardians of the law are to be the judges), but those who do not like shall not be compelled. The elector shall propose as leader some one who understands music, and in the scrutiny he may be challenged on the one part by those who say he has no

skill, and defended on the other hand by those who say that he has skill. Ten are to be elected by vote, and he of the ten who is chosen by lot shall undergo a scrutiny, and lead the choruses for a year according to law. And in like manner the competitor who wins the lot shall be leader of the solo and concert music for that year; and he [who is elected] shall refer the judgment of them to the judges. In the next place, we have to choose judges in the contests of horses and of men; these shall be selected from the third and also from the second class of citizens, and the three first classes shall be compelled to go to the election, but the lowest class shall not be compelled; and let there be three elected by lot out of the twenty who have been chosen previously, and they must also have the vote and approval of the examiners. But if any one is rejected in the scrutiny at any ballot or decision, others shall be chosen in the same manner, and undergo a similar scrutiny.

There remains the minister of the education of youth, male and female; he too will rule according to law, being a single magistrate of fifty years old at least; the father of children lawfully begotten, of both sexes, or of one at any rate. He who is elected, and he who is the elector, should consider that of all the great offices of state this is the greatest; for the first shoot of any plant rightly tending to the perfection of its own nature, has the greatest effect on its maturity; and this is not only true of plants, but of animals wild and tame, and also of men. Man, as we say, is a tame or civilized animal; nevertheless, he requires proper instruction and a fortunate nature, and then of all animals he becomes the most divine and most civilized; but if he be insufficiently or ill-educated he is the savagest of earthly creatures. Wherefore the legislator ought not to allow the education of children to become a secondary or accidental matter. In the first place, he who would be rightly provident about them, should begin by taking care that he is elected, who of all the citizens is in every respect the best; him they shall do their best to appoint as guardian and superintendent. To this end all the magistrates, with the exception of the council and prytanes, shall go to the temple of Apollo, and elect by ballot him of the guardians of the law whom they severally think will be the best superintendent of education. And he who has the greatest number of votes, after he has undergone a scrutiny at the hands of the magistrates, — who have been his electors with the exception

766

of the guardians of the law, — shall hold office for five years and in the sixth year let another be chosen in like manner to fill his office.

If any one dies while he is holding a public office, and more than thirty days before his term of office expires, let those who are concerned with the matter elect another to the office in the same manner as before. And if any one who is intrusted with orphans dies, let the relations both on the father's and mother's side, who are residing at home, including cousins, appoint another guardian within ten days, and be fined a drachma a day for neglect.

A city which has no regular courts of law ceases to be a city; and again, if a judge is silent and says no more than the litigants in preliminary trials and in private arbitrations, he will never be able to decide justly; wherefore a multitude of judges will not easily judge well, nor a few if they are not good judges. The point in dispute should be made clear by both parties, and time, and deliberation, and repeated examination, greatly tend to clear up doubts. For this reason, he who goes to law with another, should go first of all to his neighbors and friends who
767 know best the questions at issue. And if he be unable to obtain from them a satisfactory decision, let him have recourse to another court; and if the two courts cannot settle the matter, let the third put an end to the suit.

Now the establishment of courts of justice may be regarded as a choice of magistrates, for every magistrate must also be a judge of some things; and the judge, though he be not a magistrate, yet in certain respects is a very important magistrate on the day on which he is determining a suit. Regarding then the judges also as magistrates, let us say who are fit to be judges, and of what they are to be judges, and how many of them are to judge in each suit. Let that be the supreme tribunal which the ligitants agree to appoint in common for themselves. And let there be two other tribunals: one for private individuals, who desire to have causes of action decided against one another; the other for public causes, in which some citizen is of opinion that the public has been wronged by an individual, and is willing to vindicate the common interests. And we must not forget to mention how the judges are to be qualified, and who they are to be: In the first place, let there be a tribunal open to all private persons who are trying causes one against another for the third time, and let this be composed as follows: All the

officers of state, as well annual as those holding office for a longer period, at the beginning of the new year, in the month which follows the summer solstice, shall meet on the evening before the expiration of the year in some temple, and calling God to witness, shall dedicate one judge of every court, as the first-fruits, choosing the one in each office who seems to them to be the best, and whom they deem likely to decide the causes of his fellow-citizens during the ensuing year in the best and holiest manner. And when the election is completed, a scrutiny shall be held in the presence of the electors themselves, and if any one be rejected another shall be chosen in the same manner. Those who have undergone the scrutiny shall judge the causes of those who have declined the inferior courts, and shall give their vote openly. The counselors and other magistrates who have elected them shall be required to be hearers and spectators of the causes; and any one else may be present who pleases. If one man charges another with having intentionally decided wrong, let him go to the guardians of the law and lay his accusation before them, and he who is found guilty in such a case shall pay damages to the injured party equal to half the injury; but if he shall appear to deserve a greater penalty, the judges shall determine what additional punishment he shall suffer, and what he ought to pay to the public treasury, or to the party who brought the original suit.

In the judgment of offenses against the state, the people ought to participate, for when any one wrongs the 768
state they are all wronged, and may reasonably complain if they are not allowed to share in the decision. Such causes ought to originate with the people, and they ought also to have the final decision of them, and the trial of them shall take place before three of the highest magistrates, upon whom the plaintiff and the defendant shall agree; and if they are not able to come to an agreement themselves, the council shall choose one of the two proposed. And in private suits, too, as far as is possible, all should have a share; for he who has no share in the administration of justice, is apt to imagine that he has no share in the state at all. And for this reason there shall be a court of law in every ward, and the judges shall be chosen by lot; they shall give their decisions at once, and shall be inaccessible to entreaties. The final judgment shall rest with that court which, as we maintain, has been established in the most incorruptible form of which human things admit

this shall be the court established for those who are unable to get rid of their suits either in the courts of the neighbors or of the tribes.

Thus then of the courts of law, which, as we affirm, cannot quite certainly be described either as being offices or not being offices — of the courts, I say, a superficial sketch has been given in which some things have been told and others omitted. For the right place of an exact statement of the laws respecting suits, under their several heads, will be at the end of the body of legislation; let us then expect them at the end. Hitherto our legislation has been chiefly occupied with the appointment of offices. Perfect unity and exactness, extending to the whole and every particular of political administration, cannot be attained to the full, until the discussion shall have a beginning, middle, and end, and is complete in every part. At present we have reached the election of rulers, and this may be regarded as a sufficient termination of what has preceded. And now there need no longer be any delay or hesitation in making laws.

Cle. I like your way, Stranger, both in what you have said, and still more in what you are going to say. I particularly approve of your manner of joining the beginning to the end.

769 *Ath.* Thus far, then, the old man's game of play has gone off well.

Cle. I suppose you mean to say rather their serious and noble pursuit?

Ath. Perhaps; but I should like to know whether you and I are agreed about a certain thing?

Cle. What is that?

Ath. You know the endless labor which painters expend upon their pictures — they are always putting in or taking out colors, or performing some operation of this sort; they seem as if they would never cease improving them, and that they were always becoming more and more beautiful and clear.

Cle. I know something about that from report, although I have never had much acquaintance with their art.

Ath. That is no matter; we may make use of the illustration notwithstanding: Suppose that some one had a mind to paint a figure in the most beautiful manner, in the hope that his work instead of losing would always improve as time went on — do you not see that being a mortal, unless he leaves some one to succeed him who will correct the flaws which time has intro-

fluced, and be able to add what is left imperfect through the defect of the artist, and who will brighten up and improve the picture, all his great labor will last but a short time?

Cle. True.

Ath. And is not the aim of the legislator similar? First, he desires that his laws should be written down with the requisite exactness; in the second place, as time goes on and he has made an actual trial of his decrees, will he not find omissions? Do you imagine that there ever was a legislator so foolish as not to know that many things are necessarily omitted, which some one coming after him must observe and correct, if the constitution and the order of government is not to deteriorate, but to improve in the state which he is establishing?

Cle. Certainly, that is the sort of thing which every one would desire.

Ath. And if any one possesses any means of accomplishing this by word or deed, or has any way great or small by which he can teach a person to understand how he can maintain and amend the laws, he should finish what he has to say, and not leave the work incomplete.

Cle. Certainly.

Ath. And is not this what you and I have to do at this present moment? 770

Cle. What have we to do?

Ath. As we are about to legislate and have chosen our guardians of the law, and are ourselves in the evening of life, and they as compared with us are young men, we ought not only to legislate for them, but to endeavor to make them both lawgivers and guardians of the law themselves as far as this is possible.

Cle. Certainly; if we can only accomplish this.

Ath. At any rate, we must do our best.

Cle. Certainly.

Ath. We will say to them, — O friends and saviors of our laws, in laying down any law, there are many particulars which we shall omit, and this cannot be helped; at the same time, we will do our utmost to describe what is important, and will give an outline of the general principle which you shall fill up. And I will explain to what you are to look in accomplishing this work. Megillus, and I, and Cleinias, have often spoken to one another touching these matters, and we are of opinion that we have spoken well. And we hope that you will be of the

same mind with us, and become our disciple, and keep in view the things which in our united opinion the legislator and guardian of the law ought to keep in view. There was one principle in particular about which we were agreed — that a man's whole energies throughout life should be devoted to the acquisition of the virtue proper to a man, whether this was to be gained by study, or habit, or some kind of possession, or desire, or opinion, or knowledge — and this applies equally to men and women, old and young — the aim of all should be such as I have described; anything which may be an impediment, the good man ought to show that he utterly disregards. And if at last necessity plainly compels him to be an outlaw from his native land, rather than bow his neck to the yoke and be ruled by inferiors, and he has to fly, he must be an exile and endure all these things rather than accept another form of government, which is likely to make men worse. These are our original principles; and do you now, fixing your eyes upon the standard of what a man and a citizen ought to be, praise and blame the laws, blame those which have not this power of making the
771 citizen better, but embrace those which have; and with gladness receive and live in them; bidding a long farewell to other institutions which aim at goods, as they are termed, of a different kind.

Let us proceed to another class of laws, beginning with their foundation in religion. And we must first return to the number 5040; the entire number had, or rather has, a great many convenient divisions, and the number of the tribe, which was a twelfth part of the whole, being correctly formed by 21×20, also has them. And not only is the whole number divisible by twelve, but also the number of each tribe is divisible by twelve. Now every portion should be regarded by us as a sacred gift of Heaven, corresponding to the months and to the movement of the universe. Every city has a guiding or sacred principle given by nature, but some are more right than others, and their division and distribution is more sacred and fortunate. In our opinion, nothing can be more right than the selection of the number 5040, which takes all the divisions from one to twelve with the single exception of eleven, and that admits of a very easy correction; for if two families be deducted from 5040, the division by eleven is restored. And the truth of this may be easily proved when we have leisure. But for the present trusting to the mere assertion of this principle, let us divide

the state; and assigning to each portion some god or son of a god, let us give them altars and sacred rites, and at the altars let us hold assemblies for sacrifice twice in the month — twelve assemblies for the tribes, and twelve for the city, according to their divisions; the first in honor of the gods and divine things, and the second to promote friendship and "better acquaintance," as the phrase is, and every sort of good fellowship with one another. For people must be acquainted with those into whose families and to whom they marry and are given in marriage; in such matters as far as possible to avoid mistakes is all important, and with this serious purpose let games be instituted in which youths and maidens shall dance together, seeing 772
and being seen naked, at a proper age, and on a suitable occasion, not transgressing the rules of modesty. The masters of choruses will be the superintendents and regulators of these games, and they, together with the guardians of the law, will legislate in any matters which we have omitted; for, as we were saying, where there are numerous and minute details, the legislator cannot but fail. And the annual officers who have experience, and know what is wanted, must make arrangements and improvements year by year, until such enactments and provisions are sufficiently determined. A ten years' experience of sacrifices and dances, if extending to all particulars, will be quite sufficient; and if the legislator be alive they shall communicate with him, but if he be dead then the several officers shall bring the omissions which come under their notice before the guardians of the law, until all is perfect; and from that time there shall be no more change, and they shall establish and use the new laws with the others which the legislator originally gave them, and of which they are never, if they can help, to change aught; or, if some necessity overtakes them, the magistrates must be called into counsel, and the whole people, and they must go to all the oracles of the gods; and if they are all agreed, in that case they may make the change, but in any other case he who objects according to law shall prevail.

Whenever any one of twenty-five years of age, in his own judgment and that of others, believes himself to have found a marriage connection which is to his mind, and suitable for the procreation of children, let him marry if he be under the age of five-and-thirty years; but let him first hear how he ought to seek after what is suitable and appropriate. For as Clein

ias says, every law, like a strain of music, should have a suitable prelude.

Cle. You recollect at the right moment, Stranger, and do not miss the opportunity of saying a word in season.

773 *Ath.* I thank you. We will say to him: O my son, he who is born of good parents ought to make such a marriage as wise men would approve. Now they would advise you neither to avoid a poor marriage, nor specially to desire a rich one; but if other things are equal, always to honor inferiors, and with them to form connections; this will be for the benefit of the city and of the families which are united; for the equable and symmetrical is ten thousand times better than the unmixed in respect of virtue. And he who is conscious of being too headstrong, and carried away more than is fitting in all his actions, ought to desire to become the relation of orderly parents; and he who is of the opposite temper ought to seek the opposite alliance. Let there be one word concerning all marriages: Every man shall follow, not after the marriage which is most pleasing to himself, but after that which is most beneficial to the state. For somehow every one is by nature prone to that which is likest to himself, and in this way the whole city becomes unequal in property and in disposition; and hence there arise in most states results which we least desire to happen. Now, to add to the law an express provision, not only that the rich man shall not marry into the rich family, nor the powerful into the family of the powerful, but that the slower natures shall be compelled to enter into marriage with the quicker, and the quicker with the slower, may awaken anger as well as laughter in the minds of many; for there is a difficulty in perceiving that the city ought to be well mingled like a cup, in which the raging draught overflows and spills, but when chastened by another god not drunk with wine, receives a fair admixture and becomes an excellent and temperate drink. Yet no one is able to see this in marriage. Wherefore also the law must leave such matters, and try to charm the spirits of men and persuade them that they should deem the equability of their children's disposition of more importance than equality in excessive fortune when they marry; and him who is too desirous of forming a rich marriage they should endeavor to turn aside by reproaches, not, however, by any compulsion of written law. Let this then be our exhortation concerning marriage, not forgetting what was said before — that man should cling

to immortality — and leave behind him posterity who shall be servants of the God in his place. All this and yet more may truly be said about the duty of marrying in the way of prelude. But if a man will not listen, and remains unsocial and alien among his fellow-citizens, and is still unmarried at thirty-five years of age, let him pay a yearly fine — he who is of the highest class shall pay a fine of 100 drachmae, and he who is of the second class a fine of seventy drachmae; the third class shall pay sixty drachmae, and the fourth thirty drachmae, and let the money be sacred to Herè: he who does not pay the fine in the year shall owe ten times the sum, and let the treasurer of the goddess exact the sum; and if he fails in doing this, let him be answerable and give an account of the money at his audit. He who refuses to marry shall be thus punished in money, and also be deprived of all honor which the younger show to the elder; let no young man voluntarily obey him, and, if he attempt to punish any one, let every one come to the rescue and defend the injured person, and he who is present and does not come to the rescue, shall be pronounced by the law to be a coward and a villain. Of the marriage portion I have already spoken; and again I say that poor men should be taught that he who neither gives nor receives a dowry on account of poverty, has a compensation; for the citizens of our state have the necessaries of life, and their wives will be less likely to be insolent, and husbands to be mean and subservient to them on account of property. And he who obeys this law will do a noble action; but he who will not obey, and gives or receives more than fifty drachmae as the price of the marriage garments if he be of the lowest, or more than a mina, or a mina and a half, if he be of the third or second classes; or two minae if he be of the highest class, shall owe to the public treasury a similar sum, and that which is given or received shall be sacred to Herè and Zeus; and let the treasurers of these gods exact the money; as was said before about the unmarried — that the treasurers of Herè were to exact the money, or pay the fine themselves. 774

The betrothal by a father shall be valid in the first degree, that by a grandfather in the second degree, and in the third degree, betrothal by brothers who have the same father; but if there are none of these alive, the betrothal by a mother shall be valid in like manner; in cases of unexampled fatality, the next of kin and the guardians shall have authority. What are

to be the rites before marriages, or any other sacred acts, relating either to the future, or the present, or the past, shall
775 be referred to the interpreters; and he who follows their advice may be satisfied. Touching the marriage festival they shall assemble not more than five male and five female friends of both families, and a like number of members of the family of either sex, and no man shall spend more than his means will allow; he who is of the richest class may spend a mina, he who is of the second, half a mina, and in the same proportion as the census of each decreases: all men shall praise him who is obedient to the law; but he who is disobedient, the guardians of the law shall punish as a man wanting in taste, and uninstructed in the true hymeneal strains of the Muses. Drunkenness is always improper, except at the festivals of the God who gave wine; and peculiarly dangerous, when a man is engaged in the business of marriage; for at such a crisis of their lives a bride and bridegroom ought to have all their wits about them, and they ought to take care that their offspring may be born of reasonable beings; you cannot tell on what day or night Heaven will give them increase. Moreover, they ought not to be begetting children when their bodies are dissipated by intoxication, but their offspring should be compact and solid, quiet and compounded properly; whereas the drunkard is all abroad in all his actions, and is beside himself both in body and soul. Wherefore, also, the drunken man is bad and unsteady in sowing the seed of increase, and is likely to beget offspring who are unstable and untrustworthy, and cannot be expected to walk straight either in body or mind. Hence during the whole year and all his life long, and especially while he is begetting children, he ought to take care and not intentionally to do what is injurious to health, or what involves insolence and wrong; for it needs must be that the souls and bodies of the children receive the impress which is stamped upon them at birth, and he begets children in every way inferior. And especially on the day and night of marriage should a man abstain from such things. For there is an original indwelling divinity in man which preserves all things, if used with proper respect by each
776 individual. He who marries is to consider, that one of the two houses in the lot is the nest and nursery of his young, and there he is to marry and make the home of himself and his children, going away from his father and mother For in friendships there must be some degree of desire, in

order to cement and bind together diversities of character; but excessive intercourse not having the desire which is created by time, insensibly dilutes friendships from a feeling of satiety; wherefore a man and his wife shall leave to his and her father and mother their own dwelling-places, and themselves go to a colony and dwell there, and visit and be visited by their parents and they shall beget and rear children, handing on the torch of life from one generation to another, and worshipping the gods always according to law.

In the next place, we have to consider what sort of property will be most convenient. There is no difficulty either in understanding or acquiring most kinds of property, but there is great difficulty in what relates to slaves. And the reason is, that we speak about them in a way which is right and which is not right; for what we say about our slaves is consistent and also inconsistent with our practice about them.

Meg. I do not understand, Stranger, what you mean when you say this.

Ath. I am far from wondering at that, Megillus, for the state of Helots among the Lacedaemonians is of all Hellenic forms of slavery the most controverted and disputed about, some approving and some condemning it; there is less dispute about the slavery which exists among the Heracleots, who have subjugated the Mariandynians, and about the Thessalian Penestae. Looking at these examples, what ought we to do concerning property in slaves? I made a remark, in passing, which naturally elicited a question about my meaning from you. I said that we should all agree as to the necessity of having the best and most attached slaves whom we can get. For many a man has found his slaves better in every way than brethren or sons, and many times they have saved the lives and property of their masters and their whole house — such tales are well known.

Meg. To be sure.

Ath. But may we not also say that the soul of the slave is utterly corrupt, and that no man of sense ought to trust them as a class? And the wisest of our poets, speaking of Zeus, says: —

"Far-seeing Zeus takes away half the understanding of men whom the day of slavery subdues." 777

Different persons have got these two different notions of slaves in their minds — some of them utterly distrust their

servants as a class, and, as if they were wild beasts, chastise them with goads and whips, and make their minds three times, or rather many times, as slavish as they were before; and others do just the opposite of this.

Meg. True.

Cle. Then what are we to do, Stranger, when, in our own country, there are such differences about the possession and treatment of slaves?

Ath. Well, Cleinias, there can be no doubt that man is a troublesome animal, and therefore is not, and is not likely to become very manageable when you attempt to introduce the necessary division of slave, and freeman, and master.

Cle. That is obvious.

Ath. He is a troublesome piece of goods, truly, as has been often shown in the frequent revolts of the Messenians, and the great mischiefs which happen in states having many slaves who speak the same language; and the various thefts and violences of the Italian banditti, as they are called. When a man looks at all this, he is perplexed as to what he should do in such matters. Two alternatives are open to us, — not to have the slaves of the same country, or if possible, speaking the same language; in this way they will more easily be held in subjection: secondly, we should tend them carefully, not only out of regard to them, but yet more out of respect to ourselves. And the right treatment of slaves is to behave properly to them, and to do to them, if possible, even more justice than to those who are our equals; for he who really and naturally reverences justice, and hates injustice, is discovered in his dealings with any class of men to whom he can easily be unjust. And he who in regard to the natures and actions of his slaves is undefiled by impiety and injustice, will best sow the seeds of virtue in others; and this a man may truly say alike of every master, and tyrant, and authority in relation to his inferiors. Slaves ought to be punished as they deserve, and not admonished as if they were freemen, which will only make them conceited. The language
778 used to a servant ought always to be that of command, and we ought not to jest with them, whether they are males or females — this is a foolish way which many people have of setting up their slaves, and making the life of servitude more disagreeable both for them and for those who command them.

Cle. True.

Ath. Now that each of the citizens is provided, as far as pos-

sible, with a sufficient number of suitable slaves, who can help him in what he has to do, we may next proceed to describe their dwellings.

Cle. Very good.

Ath. The city being new and hitherto uninhabited, care ought to be taken of all the buildings, and the manner of building each of them, and also of the temples and walls. These, Clinias, were matters which properly came before the marriages; now, as we are only talking, there is no objection to changing the order. If, however, our plan of legislation is ever carried out, then the house must precede the marriage by the favor of God, and afterwards we will come to the regulations about marriage; but at present we are only describing these matters in a general outline.

Cle. Quite true.

Ath. The temples are to be placed all round the agora, and the whole city built in a circle on the heights, for the sake of defense and for the sake of purity. Near the temples are to be placed the houses of the magistrates and the courts of law; in these plaintiff and defendant will receive their rights, and the places will be regarded as most holy, partly because they have to do with holy things, and partly because they are the dwelling-places of holy gods: and in them will be the courts in which cases of homicide and other trials of capital offenses may fitly take place. As to the walls, Megillus, I agree with Sparta in thinking that they should be allowed to sleep in the earth, and that we should not attempt to disinter them; there is a poetical saying, which is finely expressed, that "walls ought to be of steel and iron, and not of earth only;" besides, how ridiculous of us to be sending out our young men annually into the country to dig and to trench, and to keep off the enemy by fortifications, under the idea that they are not to be allowed to set foot in our territory, and then, that we should surround ourselves with a wall, which, in the first place, is by no means conducive to the health of cities, and is also apt to produce a certain effeminacy in the minds of the inhabitants: inviting men to run thither instead of repelling their enemies, and leading them to imagine that their safety is due not to their keeping guard day and night, but that when they are protected 779
by walls and gates, then they may sleep in safety; as if they were meant not to labor, and did not know that true repose comes from labor, and that disgraceful indolence and a careless temper

of mind is only the renewal of trouble. If men must have walls, the private houses ought to be so arranged from the first that the whole city may be one wall, having all the houses capable of defense by reason of their uniformity and equality towards the streets. The form of the city being that of a single dwelling will have an agreeable aspect, and being easily guarded will have great advantages of security. At the first building of the city these should be principal objects of the inhabitants; and the wardens of the city should see to them, and should further impose a fine on him who neglects them; and in all that relates to the city they should have a care of cleanliness, and no citizen should encroach upon any public property either by buildings or diggings. Further, they ought to take care that the rains from heaven flow off easily, and of any other matters which may have to be administered either within or without the city. The guardians of the law shall pass any further enactments which their experience may show to be necessary, and supply any other points in which the law may be deficient. And now that these matters, and the buildings about the agora, and the gymnasia, and places of instruction, and theatres, are all ready and waiting for scholars and spectators, let us proceed to the subjects which follow marriage in the order of legislation.

Cle. By all means.

Ath. Assuming that marriages exist already, Cleinias, the mode of life during the year after marriage, before children are born, will follow next in order. In what way bride and bridegroom ought to live in a city which is to be superior to other cities, is a matter not at all easy for us to determine. There have been many difficulties already, but this will be the greatest of them, and the most disagreeable to the many. Still I cannot but say what appears to me to be right and true, Cleinias.

780 *Cle.* Certainly.

Ath. He who imagines that he can give laws for the public conduct of states, while he leaves the private life of citizens wholly to take care of itself; who thinks that individuals may pass the day as they please, and that there is no necessity of order in all things; he, I say, who gives up the control of their private lives, and supposes that they will conform to law in their common and public life, is making a great mistake Why do I introduce this? Why, because I am going to enact that the bridegrooms should live at the common tables, just as

they did before marriage. This was a singularity when first enacted by the legislator in your parts of the world, Megillus and Cleinias, as I should suppose, on the occasion of some war or other similar danger, which caused the passing of the law, and which would be likely to occur in thinly-peopled places, and in times of pressure. And when men had once tried and been accustomed to a common table, experience showed that the institution greatly conduced to security; and something like this was the origin of common tables.

Cle. That is very likely.

Ath. I said that there may have been singularity and danger in imposing such a custom at first, but that now there is not the same difficulty. There is, however, another institution which is the natural sequel to this, and would be excellent, but nowhere exists at present. The institution of which I am about to speak is not easily described or executed; and would be like the legislator, as people say, setting the river on fire,[1] or performing any other impossible feat.

Cle. What is the cause, Stranger, of this extreme hesitation?

Ath. You shall hear without any further loss of time. That which has law and order in a state is the cause of every good, but that which is disordered or ill-ordered is often the ruin of that which is well-ordered; and at this point the argument is now waiting. For in your country, Cleinias and Megillus, the common tables of men are a providential and admirable institution, but you are mistaken in leaving the women 781
unregulated by law. They have no similar institution of public tables in the light of day, and just that part of the human race which is by nature prone to secrecy and stealth on account of their weakness — I mean the female sex — has been left without regulation by the legislator, which is a great mistake. And, in consequence of this neglect, many things have grown lax among you, which might have been far better, if they had been only regulated by law; for the neglect of regulations about women may not only be regarded as a neglect of half the entire matter, but in proportion as woman's nature is inferior to that of men in capacity of virtue, in that proportion is she more important than the two halves put together. Wherefore, with a view to the happiness of the state, we ought to reconsider, and order, and arrange all our institutions relating both to men and women. But at present, such is the

[1] Literally, carding the fire.

unfortunate condition of mankind, that no man of sense will even venture to speak of common tables in places and cities in which they have never been established at all; and how can any one avoid being utterly ridiculous, who attempts to compel women to show how much they eat and drink in public? There is nothing at which the sex is more likely to take offense. For women are accustomed to creep into dark places, and when dragged out into the light they will exert their utmost powers of resistance, and be far too much for the legislator. And therefore, as I said before, in most places they will not endure to have the truth spoken without raising an outcry, but in this state perhaps they may. And if we may assume that our whole discussion about the state has not been mere idle talk, I should like to prove to you, if you will consent to listen, that this institution is good and proper; but if you had rather not, I will refrain.

Cle. There is nothing which we should both of us like better, Stranger, than to hear what you have to say.

Ath. Very good: And you must not be surprised if I go back a little, for we have plenty of leisure, and there is nothing to prevent us from considering in every point of view the subject of law.

Cle. True.

Ath. Then let us return once more to our first beginning. Every man should understand that the human race either had no beginning at all, and will never have an end, but always will
782 be and has been; or had a beginning an immense time ago.

Cle. Certainly.

Ath. Well, and have there not been constitutions and destructions of states, and all sorts of pursuits both orderly and disorderly, and diverse desires of meats and drinks always, and in all the world, and all sorts of changes of the seasons in which animals may be expected to have undergone innumerable transformations?

Cle. Certainly.

Ath. And may we not suppose that vines appeared, which had previously no existence, and also olives, and the gifts of Demeter and her daughter, of which one Triptolemus was the minister, and that, before they existed, animals took to devouring each other as they do still?

Cle. True.

Ath. And the practice of men sacrificing one another still exists among many nations; and, on the other hand, we hear of other human beings who do not even venture to taste[1] the flesh of a cow and have no animal sacrifices, but only cakes and fruits soaked in honey, and similar pure offerings, but no flesh or animals; from these they abstain under the idea that they ought not to eat them, and may not stain the altars of the gods with blood. In those days men are said to have lived a sort of Orphic life, having the use of all lifeless things, but abstaining from all living things.

Cle. That has been very often said, and is very likely true.

Ath. Some one might say to me, what is the drift of all this which you have been saying?

Cle. That is a pertinent remark, Stranger.

Ath. And therefore I will endeavor, Cleinias, if I can, to state the natural inference.

Cle. Proceed.

Ath. I see that among men all things depend upon three wants and desires, of which the end is virtue, if they are rightly led by them, or the opposite if wrongly. Now these are eating and drinking, which begin at birth; of these every animal has a natural desire, and is violently excited, and rebels against him who says that he must not satisfy all his pleasures and desires, and get rid of the corresponding pains. And the third and greatest and sharpest want and desire breaks 783
out last, and is the fire of sexual lust, which kindles in men every species of wantonness and madness. And these three disorders we must endeavor to master by the three great principles of fear and law and right reason; turning them away from that which is called pleasantest to the best, using the muses and the gods who preside over contests to extinguish their increase and influx.

But to return: After marriage let us speak of the birth of children, and after their birth of their nurture and education. In the course of discussion the several laws will be perfected, and we shall at last arrive at the common tables. Whether these sort of associations are to be confined to men, or extended to women also, when we approach and take a nearer view of them we shall see them more in detail, and may then determine what previous institutions are required and will have to precede them. As I said before, we shall see them better, and

[1] Reading ἅπτεσθαι.

shall be better able to lay down the laws which are proper or suited to them.

Cle. Very true.

Ath. Let us keep in mind, then, the words which have now been spoken; for hereafter there may be need of them.

Cle. What do you bid us keep in mind?

Ath. That which we comprehended under the three words —first, eating; secondly, drinking; thirdly, the excitement of love.

Cle. I shall be sure to remember, Stranger.

Ath. Very good. Then let us now proceed to marriage, and teach persons in what way they shall beget children, threatening them, if they disobey, with the terrors of the law.

Cle. What do you mean?

Ath. The bride and bridegroom should consider that they are to produce for the state the best and fairest specimens of children which they can. Now all men who are associated in any action always succeed when they attend and give their mind to what they are doing, but when they do not give their mind or have no mind, they fail; wherefore let the bridegroom give his mind to the bride and to the begetting of children, and the bride in like manner give her mind to the bridegroom, and particularly at the time when their children are not yet born.
784 And let the women whom we have chosen to be the overseers of these matters, whether many or few, in whatever number and at whatever time the magistrates may command, assemble every day in the temple of Eileithyia during the third part of a day, and being there assembled, let them inform one another of any one whom they see, whether man or woman, of those who are begetting children, in any respect disregarding the provisions of the law as to nuptial rites and sacrifices; and let the begetting of children and the care of those who are begetting them continue ten years and no longer, during the time when marriage is fruitful. But if any continue without children up to this time, let them take counsel with their kindred and with the women holding office, and be divorced for their mutual benefit. If, however, any dispute arises about what is proper and for the interest of either party, they shall choose ten of the guardians of the law and abide by their permission and appointment. The women who preside over these matters shall enter into the houses of the young, and partly by admonitions and partly by threats make them give over their ignorance and

error; and if they rebel, let them go and tell the guardians of the law, and they shall prevent them; and if they cannot prevent them, they shall declare the matter to the public assembly; and let them write up their names and make oath that they cannot reform such and such a one; and let him who is thus written up, if he cannot in a court of law convict those who have inscribed his name, be deprived of the privileges of a citizen in the following respects: Let him not go to weddings nor to the birthday solemnities of children; and if he go, let any one who pleases strike him with impunity; and let the same regulations hold about women: let not a woman be allowed to appear abroad, or receive honor, or go to nuptial and birthday festivals, if she in like manner be written up as acting disorderly and cannot obtain a verdict. And if, when they have begotten children according to the law, a man or woman have connection with another man or woman who are still begetting children, let the same penalties be inflicted upon them as if they were still begetting children themselves, but after this let the man or woman who refrain in such matters be held in esteem, and let those who do not refrain be held in the contrary of esteem, that is to say — disesteem. Now, if the greater part of mankind behave modestly, the enactments of law may be left to slumber; but, if they are disorderly, the enactments having been passed, let them be carried into execution. To every man the first year is the beginning of life, and ought to be written down in the temples of their fathers as the beginning of existence both to boy and girl. And in every phratria let there be written down on a whited wall the list of the archons by whom the years are reckoned. And near to them let the living members of the phratria be inscribed, and when they depart life let them be erased. The limit of marriageable ages — for a woman shall be from sixteen to twenty years at the longest, — for a man, from thirty to thirty-five years; and let a woman hold office at forty, and a man at thirty years. Let a man go out to war from twenty to sixty years, and for a woman, if there appear any need to make use of her in military service, let the time of service be after she shall have brought forth children up to fifty years of age; and let regard be had to what is possible and suitable to each. 785

BOOK VII.

788 AND now, assuming that children of both sexes have been born, their nurture and education will properly follow next in order; this cannot be left altogether unnoticed, and yet may be thought to be rather a subject for precept and admonition than for law. In private life there are many little things, not always apparent, arising out of the pleasures and desires and pains of individuals, which are contrary to the intention of the legislator; these minutiæ alter and discompose the characters of the citizens, and cause great evil in states; for they are so small and of such frequent occurrence, that there would be an unseemliness and want of propriety in making them penal by law; and if made penal, they are the destruction of the written law, because mankind get the habit of frequently transgressing in small matters. The result is that you cannot legislate about them, and still less can you say nothing. I speak somewhat darkly, but I shall endeavor also to bring my wares into the light of day, for I acknowledge that at present there is a want of clearness in what I am saying.

Cle. Very true.

Ath. Am I not right in maintaining that a good education is that which tends most to the improvement of mind and body?

Cle. Undoubtedly.

Ath. And nothing can be plainer than that the fairest bodies ought to grow up from infancy in the best and straightest manner?

Cle. Very true.

Ath. And do we not further observe that the first shoot of every living thing is by far the greatest and fullest? Many will even contend that a man at twenty-five does not grow to twice the height which he attained at five.

Cle. True.

Ath. Well, and is not rapid growth without proper and abundant exercise the source of endless evils in the body?

Cle. Yes.

Ath. And the body should have the most exercise when growing most? 789

Cle. But, Stranger, are we to impose this great amount of exercise upon newly born infants?

Ath. Nay, rather on the bodies of infants still unborn.

Cle. What do you mean, my good sir? In the process of gestation?

Ath. Exactly. I am not at all surprised that you have never heard of this very peculiar sort of gymnastic applied to such little creatures, which, although strange, I will endeavor to explain to you.

Cle. By all means.

Ath. The practice is more easy for us to understand than for you, by reason of certain amusements which are carried to excess at Athens. Not only boys, but not unfrequently older persons, are in the habit of keeping quails and cocks, which they train to fight one another. And they are far from thinking that the contests in which they stir them up to fight with one another are sufficient exercise; for, in addition to this, they carry them about — each having a big bird tucked in under his arms, and the smaller in his hands, and go for a walk of a great many miles for the sake of health, that is to say, not their own health but the health of the birds; and this proves to any one who is capable of understanding, that all bodies are benefited by shakings and movements, when they are moved without weariness, whether the motion proceeds from themselves, or from a swing, or at sea, or on horseback, or is caused by other bodies in whatever way moving, and thus gaining the mastery over food and drink, and being able to impart beauty and health and strength: admitting all this, what follows? Shall we make a ridiculous law that the pregnant woman shall walk about and fashion the infant as a thing of wax which is still flexible, and when born is for two years to be put into swathing-clothes? Suppose that we compel nurses under penalty of a legal fine to be always carrying the children somewhere or other, either into the country, or to the temples, or to their relations' houses until they are well able to stand, and even then they should be careful that their limbs are not distorted by leaning on them when they are too young, — they

should continue to carry them until the infant has completed its third year; moreover, the nurses should be strong, and there should be more than one of them. Shall these be our rules, and shall we impose a penalty for the neglect of them? 790 No, no; penalty more than enough will fall upon our own heads.

Cle. What is that?

Ath. Ridicule, and the difficulty of getting the feminine, servant-like dispositions of the nurses to comply.

Cle. Then why was there any need to speak of the matter at all?

Ath. The reason is, that masters and freemen in states when they hear of it are very likely to arrive at a true conviction that without due regulation of private life in cities, stability in the laying down of laws is hardly to be expected; and he who makes this reflection may himself adopt the laws just now mentioned, and, adopting them, may order his house and state well and be happy.

Cle. That is very likely.

Ath. And, therefore, let us not desist from legislation of this kind until we have determined the exercises which are suited to the souls of young children in the same manner as we have begun to go through the rules which relate to their bodies.

Cle. By all means.

Ath. Let us assume, then, as a first principle in relation both to the body and soul of very young creatures, that nursing and moving about by day and night is good for them all, and that the younger they are, the more they will need this; infants should live, if that were possible, as if they were always rocking at sea. This is the lesson of experience, which we may learn from the practice of nurses, and from the use of the remedy of motion in the rites of the Corybantes; for when mothers want their restless children to go to sleep they do not employ rest, but, on the contrary, motion — rocking them in their arms; nor do they give them silence, but they sing to them and lap them in sweet strains; and the Bacchic women are cured of their frenzy in the same manner by the use of the lance and of music.

Cle. Well, Stranger, and what is the reason of this?

Ath. The reason is obvious.

Cle. What?

Ath. The affection both of the Corybantes and of the chil

dren is an emotion of fear; and fear springs out of an evil habit of the soul. And when some one applies external agitation to affections of this sort, the motion coming from without gets the better of the terrible and violent internal 791
one, and produces a peace and calm in the soul, and quiets the restless palpitation of the heart, which is a thing much to be desired, sending some to sleep, and making others who are awake to dance to the pipe with the help of the gods, to whom they offer acceptable sacrifices, and producing in them a sound mind, which takes the place of their former agitations. And in this, as I would shortly say, there is a considerable degree of sense.

Cle. Certainly.

Ath. But if fear has such a power we ought to consider further, that every soul which from youth upward has been subject to fear, will be rendered more timorous by being accustomed to fear, and every one will admit that this is the way to form a habit of cowardice rather than of courage.

Cle. Certainly.

Ath. And, on the other hand, the habit of overcoming, from our youth upwards, the fears and terrors which beset us, may be said to be an exercise of courage?

Cle. True.

Ath. And we may say that the use of exercise and motion in the earliest years of life has a great tendency to create a part of virtue in the soul?

Cle. Quite true.

Ath. Further, a cheerful temper, or the reverse, may be regarded as having much to do with high spirit on the one hand, or with cowardice on the other?

Cle. To be sure.

Ath. Then now we must endeavor to show how and to what extent we may, if we please, implant either character in the young.

Cle. Certainly.

Ath. There is a common opinion, that luxury makes the disposition of youth morose and irascible and vehemently excited by trifles; that on the other hand excessive and savage servitude makes men mean and abject, and haters of their kind, and therefore makes them undesirable associates.

Cle. But how can the state educate those who do not as yet understand the language of the country, and are therefore incapable of appreciating any sort of instruction?

Ath. This will be the way: Every animal when born is wont to utter some cry, and this is especially the case with man, and he, moreover, is affected with the inclination to cry more than any other animal.

Cle. Quite true.

Ath. Do not nurses, when they want to know what an infant
792 desires, judge by these signs? — when anything is brought to the infant and he is silent, then he is supposed to be pleased, but, when he weeps and cries out, then he is not pleased. For tears and cries are the inauspicious signs by which children show what they love and hate. Now the time which is thus spent is no less than three years, and is a very considerable portion of life to be passed ill or well.

Cle True.

Ath Does not the morose and ill-natured man appear to you to be full of lamentations and sorrows more than a good man ought to be?

Cle. Certainly, that is my opinion.

Ath. Well, but if during these three years every possible care were taken that our nursling should have as little of sorrow and fear, and in general of pain as was possible, might we not expect at this age to make his soul more gentle and cheerful?

Cle. That is evident, Stranger, and especially if one could procure him a variety of pleasures.

Ath. There I cannot agree with you, sweet Cleinias, for that would utterly ruin him, coming at the beginning of his education. Let us see whether I am right.

Cle. Proceed.

Ath. The point about which you and I differ is of great importance, and I hope that you, Megillus, will help to decide between us. For I maintain that the true life should neither seek for pleasures, nor, on the other hand, entirely avoid pains, but should embrace the middle state, which I just spoke of as gentle or propitious, and is a state which we by some divine presage and inspiration rightly ascribe to God. Now, I say, he among us who would be divine ought to pursue after this mean habit — he should not rush headlong into pleasures, for he will not be free from pains; nor should we allow any one, young or old, male or female, to be thus given any more than ourselves, and least of all the newly born infant, for in infancy more than at any other time the character is engrained by habit

Nay, more, if I were not afraid of appearing to be ridiculous, I would say that a woman great with child should of all women be most carefully tended during that year, and kept from violent or excessive pleasures and pains; let her preserve gentleness and benevolence and kindness at that time of her life.

Cle. You need not ask Megillus, Stranger, which of us 793
has most truly spoken; for I agree that men ought to avoid the life of unmingled pain or pleasure, and pursue always a middle course. And having spoken well, may I add that you have been well answered?

Ath. Very good, Cleinias; and now let us all three consider a further point.

Cle. What is that?

Ath. That all the matters which we are now describing are commonly called by the general name of unwritten customs, and what are termed the laws of our ancestors are all of similar nature. And the further observation is now added, that we ought not to call these things laws, nor yet to leave them unmentioned; for they are the bonds of the whole state, and come in the intervals of the written laws which are or are hereafter to be laid down; they are just ancient hereditary customs, which, if they are rightly ordered and made habitual, envelop and entirely preserve the previously existing written law; but if they depart from right and fall into disorder, then they are like the props of builders which give way in the centre and produce a common ruin in which one part drags another down, and the fair superstructure falls because the old foundations are undermined. Reflecting upon this, Cleinias, you ought to bind together the new state in every possible way, omitting nothing, whether great or small, of what are called laws or manners or pursuits, for by all such things a city is bound together, and all these things are only lasting when they depend upon one another; and, therefore, we must not wonder if we find that many apparently trifling customs or usages overflow their barriers and extend the domain of law.

Cle. Very true; and we are disposed to agree with you.

Ath. Up to the age of three years, whether of boy or girl, if a person strictly carries out our previous regulations and makes them a principal aim, he will do much for the advantage of the young creatures. But at three, four, five, and six years the childish nature will require sports, now is the time to get rid of self-will in him, punishing him, not so as to disgrace

him. As we were saying about slaves, that we ought neither to punish them in hot blood or so as to anger them, nor yet to
794 leave them unpunished lest they become self-willed, a like rule is to be observed in the case of the free-born. Children at that age have certain natural modes of amusement which they find out for themselves when they meet. And all the children who are between the ages of three and six ought to meet at the temples of the villages, the several families of a village uniting on one spot, and the nurses seeing to the children behaving properly and orderly, while they themselves and their whole company are all under the superintendence of one of the twelve women whom the magistrates annually appoint as aforesaid to inspect and order each company. Let the twelve be appointed by the women who have authority over marriage, one out of each tribe and all of the same age; and when appointed, let them hold office and go to the temples every day, punishing all offenders, male or female, who are slaves or strangers, by the help of some of the public servants; but if any citizen disputes the punishment, let her bring him before the wardens of the city; or, if there be no dispute, let her punish him herself. After the age of six years the time is arrived for the separation of the sexes, — let boys live with boys, and girls in like manner with girls. Now they must begin to learn — the boys going to teachers of horsemanship and the use of the bow, the javelin, and sling; and if they do not object, let women go too to learn if not to practice; above all, they ought to know the use of arms; for these are matters which are almost entirely misunderstood at present.

Cle. In what respect?

Ath. In this respect, that the right and left hand are supposed to differ by nature when we use them; whereas no difference is found in the use of the feet and the lower limbs; but in the use of the hands we are in a manner lame, by reason of the folly of nurses and mothers; for although our several limbs are by nature balanced, we create a difference in them by bad habit. In some cases this is of no consequence, as, for example, when we hold the lyre in the left hand, and the plectrum in the right, but it is downright folly to adopt a similar prac-
795 tice in other cases. The custom of the Scythians shows this; for they not only hold the bow from them with the left hand and draw the arrow to them with their right, but use either hand for both purposes. And there are many simi

lar examples in charioteering and other things, from which we may learn that those who make the left side weaker than the right act contrary to nature. In the case of the plectrum, which is of horn only, and similar instruments, this, as I was saying, is of no consequence, but makes a great difference, and may be of very great importance to the warrior who has to use iron weapons, bows, javelins, and the like; above all, when in heavy armor, he has to fight against heavy armor. And there is a very great difference between one who has learnt and one who has not, and between one who has been trained in gymnastic exercises and one who has not been. For as he who is perfectly skilled in the Pancratium or boxing or wrestling, is not unable to fight from his left side, and does not limp and draggle in confusion when his opponent makes him change his position, and compels him to exert himself on the other side: this, if I am not mistaken, holds good in heavy-armed fighting, and in all other things; and he who has these double powers of attack and defense ought not in any case to leave them either unused or untrained; and if a person had the nature of Geryon or Briareus he ought to be able with his hundred hands to throw a hundred darts. Now, the rulers, male and female, should see to all these things; the women superintending the nursing and amusements of the children, and the men superintending their education, that all of them, boys and girls alike, may be sound hand and foot, and may not spoil the gifts of nature by bad habits in so far as this can be avoided.

Education has two branches, — one of gymnastic, which is concerned with the body, and the other of music, which is designed for the improvement of the soul. And gymnastic has also two parts — dancing and wrestling; and one sort of dancing imitates musical recitation, and aims at preserving dignity and freedom; the other aims at producing health, agility, and beauty in the limbs and parts of the body, giving the proper flexion and extension to each of them, diffusing and accompanying the harmonious motion of the dance everywhere. As regards wrestling, the tricks which Antaeus and Cercyon 796
devised in their systems out of a vain spirit of competition, or the tricks of boxing which Epeius or Amycus invented are useless for war, and do not deserve to have much said about them; but the true stand-up wrestling and art of liberating the neck and hands and sides, working with energy and constancy, with a composed strength, and for the sake of health, these are always

useful, and are not to be neglected, but to be enjoined alike on masters and scholars, when we reach that part of legislation; and we will desire the one to give their instructions freely, and the others to receive them thankfully. Nor, again, must we omit suitable imitations of war in our dances; in Crete there are the armed sports of the Curetes, and in Lacedaemon of the Dioscori. And our virgin lady, delighting in the sports of the dance, thought it not fit to dance with empty hands; she must be clothed in a complete suit of armor, and in this attire go through the dance; and youths and maidens should in every respect imitate her example, honoring the Goddess both with a view to the actual necessities of war, and to festive amusements: it will be right also for the boys, until such time as they go out to war, to make processions and supplications to the gods, in goodly array, armed and on horseback, faster or slower in their dances and marches, offering up prayers to the gods and to the sons of gods; and also engaging in contests and preludes of contests, if at all, with these objects. For these sort of exercises, and no others, are useful both in peace and war, and are beneficial both to states and to private houses. But other labors and sports and excessive training of the body are unworthy of freemen, O Megillus and Cleinias.

I have described the kind of gymnastic which I said at first ought to be described; that is now completed, but if you know of any better, you may communicate your thoughts.

Cle. It is not easy, Stranger, to put these principles of gymnastic aside and to enunciate better ones.

Ath. Next in order follow the gifts of the Muses and of Apollo: before, we fancied that we had said all, and that gymnastic alone remained to be discussed; but now we see clearly what has been omitted, and should be first mentioned to all; let us, then, proceed to them in order.

797 *Cle.* By all means.

Ath. Hear me once more, although you have heard me say the same before — that there must be caution exercised, both by the speaker and by the hearer, about anything that is singular and unusual, in this and in every other case. For I have a tale to tell which might deter a man, and yet I have a sort of confidence which makes me go on.

Cle. What are you going to say, Stranger?

Ath. I say that in states generally no one has observed that plays of childhood have a great deal to do with the per

manence or want of permanence in legislation. For when plays are ordered with a view to children having the same plays, and amusing themselves after the same manner, and finding delight in the same playthings, the more solemn institutions of the state are allowed to remain undisturbed. Whereas, if sports are disturbed and innovations are made in them, and they constantly change, and the young never speak of their having the same likings, or the same established notions of good and bad taste, either in the bearing of their bodies or in their dress, but he who devises something new and out of the way in figures and colors and the like is held in special honor, we may truly say that this is the greatest injury which can happen in a state; for he who changes the sports is secretly changing the manners of the young, and making the old to be dishonored among them and the new to be honored. And I affirm that there is nothing which is a greater injury to all states than saying or thinking thus. Will you hear me tell how great I deem this evil?

Cle. You mean the evil of blaming antiquity in states?

Ath. Exactly.

Cle. If you are speaking of that, you will find in us hearers who are disposed to receive what you say not unfavorably but most favorably.

Ath. I should expect that.

Cle. Proceed.

Ath. Well, then, giving yet greater heed to the words spoken, let us address one another as follows: Any change but the change of the bad is the most dangerous of all things; this is true in the case of the seasons and of the winds, in the management of our bodies and the habits of our mind,—true of all things except, as I said before, of the bad. Any one who looks at the constitution of individuals who have been accustomed to all sorts of meats and drinks, and all sorts of toils, may see that they are at first disturbed by them. but afterwards, as time goes on, their fleshly frame grows habituated to them, and they learn to know and like, and be familiar with this sort of diet, and live in the best way both as regards pleasure and health; and if ever afterwards they are compelled to return to some superior sort of diet, at first they are troubled with disorders, and with difficulty become habituated to their new food. A similar principle we may imagine to hold good about the minds of men and the nature of their souls. For 798

when they have been brought up in certain laws, which by some Divine Providence have remained unchanged during long ages so that no one has any memory or tradition of their ever having been otherwise than they are, then every one is afraid and ashamed to change that which is established. The legislator must somehow find a way of implanting this reverence for antiquity, and I would propose the following way: People are apt to fancy, as I was saying before, that when the plays of children are altered they are merely plays, not seeing that the most serious and detrimental consequences arise out of the change; and they readily comply with the child's wishes instead of deterring him, not considering that these children who make innovations in their games, when they grow up to be men will be different from the last generation of children, and, being different, will desire a different sort of life, and under the influence of this desire will want other institutions and laws; and no one ever apprehends that upon this will follow that which I just now called the greatest of evils to states. Changes in bodily fashions are no such serious evils, but frequent changes in the praise and censure of characters are the greatest of evils, and require the utmost prevision.

Cle. To be sure.

Ath. And now do we still hold to our former assertion, that rhythms and music in general are imitations of good and evil characters in men? What say you?

Cle. That is the only doctrine which I can admit.

Ath. Must we not, then, try in every possible way to prevent our youth desiring imitations and novelties either in dance or song? nor must any one be allowed to offer them varieties of pleasures.

Cle. Most true.

799 *Ath.* Can any better mode of effecting this object be imagined by any of us than that of the Egyptians?

Cle. What is their method?

Ath. They consecrate every sort of dance or melody, first ordaining festivals, — calculating for the year what they ought to be, and at what time, and in honor of what gods, son of gods, and heroes they ought to be celebrated; and, in the next place, what hymns ought to be sung at the several sacrifices, and with what dances the particular festival is to be honored. This is to be ordained at first by particular individuals, and, when or dained, the whole assembly of the citizens shall offer sacrifices

and libations to the Fates and all the other gods, and shall consecrate the several odes to gods and heroes; and if any one offers any other hymns or dances to any one of the gods, the priests and priestesses, with the consent of the guardians of the law, shall religiously and lawfully exclude him, and he who is excluded, if he do not submit, shall be liable to have a suit of impiety brought against him all his life long by any one who likes.

Cle. Very good.

Ath. In a consideration of this subject, let us remember what is due to ourselves.

Cle. To what are you referring?

Ath. I mean that any young man, and much more any old one, when he sees or hears anything strange or unaccustomed, does not at once run to embrace the paradox, but he stands considering, like a person who is at a place at which three ways meet, and does not very well know his way — he may be alone or he may be walking with others, and he will say to himself and them, "Which is the way?" and will not move forward until he is satisfied that he is going right. Now, this is what we must do, for a strange discussion on the subject of law has arisen, which requires the utmost consideration, and we should not at our age be too ready to speak about such great matters or be confident that we can say anything certain all in a moment.

Cle. Most true.

Ath. Then we will allow time, and decide when we have given the subject sufficient consideration. But that we may not be hindered from completing the natural arrangement of our laws, let us proceed to the conclusion of them in due order for very possibly, if God will, the conclusion may throw light on our present perplexity.

Cle. Excellent, Stranger; let us do as you propose.

Ath. Let us then make the singular assertion that strains of music are our laws — this was the term which the ancients gave to lyric songs, so that probably they would not very much have disapproved of our proposed application of the word νόμοι. I suppose that some one of them, either asleep or awake, had a dreamy sort of intimation of their nature. Let our decree be as follows: No one in singing or dancing shall offend against public and consecrated models, and the general fashion among the youth, any more than he would offend

against any other law. And he who observes this law shall be blameless; but he who is disobedient, as I was saying, shall be punished by the guardians of the laws, and by priests and priestesses: suppose that we imagine this to be our law.

Cle. Very good.

Ath. Can any one who makes such laws escape ridicule? Let us see. I think that our only safety will be in first framing certain models for them. One of these models shall be as follows: If when a sacrifice is going on, and the victims are being burnt according to law,—if, I say, any one who may be a son or brother, standing by another at the altar and sacred rites, horribly blasphemes, will he not inspire despondency, and evil omens and forebodings, in the mind of his father and of his other kinsmen?

Cle. Certainly.

Ath. This has given rise to a custom which exists among us in almost all our cities. When a magistrate offers a public sacrifice, there come in not one but many choruses, who stand by themselves a little way from the altar, and from time to time pour forth all sorts of horrible blasphemies on the sacred rites, exciting the souls of the hearers with words and rhythms, and most sorrowful melodies, and he who can at the instant the city is sacrificing make the citizens weep most, carries away the palm of victory. Now, ought we not to forbid such strains as these? And if ever our citizens must hear such lamentations, then on some polluted and inauspicious day there ought to be choruses of foreign and hired minstrels, like those who accompany the departed at funerals for hire with barbarous Carian chants. That is the sort of thing which will be appropriate if we have such strains at all; and let the apparel of the singing mourners be not circlets and ornaments of gold, but the very reverse; that is all I have to say about them. And now I would again put the question, whether we would not have this as one of our types?

Cle. Have what?

801 *Ath.* Peace, and the song of peace. Let us have them by all means: I need hardly ask again, but shall assume that you agree in that?

Cle. By all means; that law is approved by the suffrage of all of us.

Ath. But what shall be our next musical law or type Ought not prayers to be offered up to the gods when we sacrifice?

Cle Certainly.

Ath. And our third law, if I am not mistaken, will be to the effect, that our poets understanding prayers to be requests which we make to the gods, will take especial heed that they do not by mistake ask for evil instead of good. To make such a prayer would surely be too ridiculous.

Cle Very true.

Ath. Were we not a little while ago quite determined that no silver or golden Plutus should dwell in our state?

Cle. To be sure.

Ath. And what did this illustration mean? Did we not imply that the poets are not always quite capable of knowing what is good or evil? And thus if a poet utters a mistaken prayer in song or words, he will make our citizens pray for the opposite of what is good in matters of the highest import; than which, as I was saying, there can be few greater mistakes. Shall we then propose as one of our laws and models relating to the Muses —

Cle. What? will you explain the law more precisely?

Ath. Shall we make a law that the poet shall compose nothing contrary to the ideas of the lawful, or just, or beautiful, or good, which are allowed in the state? nor shall he be permitted to show his compositions to any private individuals, until he shall have shown them to the appointed judges, and the guardians of the law, and they are satisfied with them. As to the persons whom we appoint to be our legislators about music and directors of education, they have been already indicated. Once more then, as I have asked more than once, shall this be our third law, and type, and model — what do you say?

Cle. Yes, by all means.

Ath. Next there should be some hymns and praises of the gods, intermingled with prayers; and after the gods, prayers and praises should be offered in like manner to demons and heroes, suitable to their respective characters.

Cle. Certainly.

Ath. After this there will be no objection to the law, that citizens who are departed and have done good and energetic deeds, either with their souls or with their bodies, and have been obedient to the laws, should receive eulogies; this will be very fitting.

Cle. Quite true.

Ath. But to honor with hymns and panegyrics those 802

who are still alive is not safe; a man having run out his whole life, should make a fair ending, and then we will praise him; and let all that we have to say apply equally to men and women who have been distinguished in virtue. This shall be the order of songs and dances: There are many ancient musical compositions and dances which are excellent, and from these the government may freely select what is proper and suitable; and they shall choose judges of not less than fifty years of age, who shall make the selection, and any of the old poems which they deem sufficient they shall include; any that is deficient or altogether unsuitable, they shall either utterly throw aside, or examine and amend, taking into their counsel poets and musicians, and making use of their poetical genius; but explaining to them the wishes of the legislator in order that they may regulate dancing, music, and all choral strains, according to his mind; and not allowing them to indulge, except in some minor matters, their individual pleasures and fancies. Now, the irregular strain of music is always made ten thousand times better by attaining to law and order; and when there is no infusion of the honeyed Muse — not however that we mean wholly to exclude pleasure, for that is common to all music. And if a man be brought up from childhood, to the age of discretion and maturity, in the use of the orderly and severe music, when he hears the opposite he detests it, and calls it illiberal; but if trained in the sweet and vulgar music, he deems the opposite sort cold and displeasing. So that, as I was saying before, while he who hears them gains no more pleasure from the one than from the other, the one has the advantage of making those who are trained in it better men, whereas the other makes them worse.

Cle. Very true.

Ath. Again, we must distinguish and determine on some general principle what songs are suitable to women, and what to men, and must assign to them their proper melodies and rhythms. It is shocking for a whole harmony to be inharmonical, or for a rhythm to be unrhythmical, and this will happen when the melody is inappropriate to them. And, therefore, the legislator must assign to them also their forms. Now, there are certain melodies and rhythms which we are of necessity compelled to ascribe to our sex rather than to the other; and those of women may be also clearly enough indicated by their natural difference. The grand, and that which tends to courage,

may be fairly called manly; but that which inclines to moderation and temperance, may be declared both in law and in ordinary speech to be the more womanly quality: This, then, will be the general order of them. 803

Let us now speak of the manner of teaching and imparting them, and the persons to whom, and the time when, they are severally to be imparted. As the shipwright first lays down the lines of the keel, and draws the design in outline, so do I seek to distinguish the patterns of life, and lay down their keels according to the nature of different men's souls; seeking truly to consider by what means, and in what ways, we may go through the voyage of life best. Now, human affairs are hardly worth considering in earnest, and yet we must be in earnest, this is not agreeable but a necessity. And having got thus far, there will be a fitness in our completing the matter, if we can only find some suitable means of doing so. But what am I saying? and yet I dare say that there may be truth in these very words.

Cle. Certainly.

Ath. I say that about serious matters a man should be serious, and about a matter which is not serious he should not be serious; and that God is the natural and worthy object of a man's most serious and blessed endeavors; and that man, as I said before, is made to be the plaything of God, and that this, truly considered, is the best of him; wherefore every man and woman should follow in this way, and pass life in the noblest of pastimes, and be of another mind from what they now are.

Cle. In what respect?

Ath. Now they think that their serious pursuits should be for the sake of their sports, for they deem war a serious pursuit, which must be managed well for the sake of peace; but the truth is, that there neither is, nor has been, nor ever will be, either amusement or instruction in any degree worth speaking of in war, which is nevertheless deemed by us to be the most serious of our pursuits. And therefore, as we say, every man of us should live the life of peace as long and as well as he can. And what is the right way of living? Are we to live in sports always? If so, in what kind of sports? We ought to live sacrificing, and singing, and dancing, and then a man will be able to propitiate the gods, and to defend himself against his enemies and conquer them in battle. The type of song or dance has been described, and the paths along which

he is to proceed have been cut for him. He will find his own
804 thought expressed in the words of the poet: —

"Telemachus, some things thou wilt thyself find in thy heart, but other things God will suggest; for I deem that thou wast not born or brought up without the will of the gods."

And this ought to be the view of our alumni; they ought to think that what has been said is enough for them, and that any other things some god or a demi-god will suggest to them — he will tell them to whom and when, and to what gods severally they are to sacrifice and perform dances, and how they may propitiate the deities, and live according to the appointment of nature; being for the most part puppets, but having some little share of reality.

Meg. You have a low opinion of mankind, Stranger.

Ath. Do not wonder at that, Megillus, but pardon me when I tell you that I was comparing them with the gods; under that feeling I spoke. And let us grant, if you wish, that the human race is not to be despised, but is worthy of some consideration.

Next follow the buildings for gymnasia and schools open to all; these are to be in three places in the midst of the city; and outside the city and in the surrounding country there shall be schools for horse exercise, and open spaces also in three places, arranged with a view to archery and the throwing of missiles, at which young men may learn and practice. Of these mention has already been made; and if the mention be not sufficiently explicit, let us speak further of them and embody them in laws. In these several schools let there be dwellings for teachers, who shall be brought from foreign parts by pay, and let them teach the frequenters of the school the art of war and the art of music, and they shall come, not only if their parents please, but if they do not please; and if their education is neglected, there shall be compulsory education of all and sundry, as the saying is, as far as this is possible; and the pupils shall be regarded as belonging to the state rather than to their parents. My law would apply to females as well as males; they shall both go through the same exercises. I have no sort of fear of saying that gymnastic and horsemanship are as suitable to women as to men. Of the truth of this I am persuaded from ancient tradition, and at the present day I may say that there are myriads of women in the neighborhood of

the Black Sea, whom they call Sauromatides, who not 805
only ride on horseback like men, but have enjoined upon
them the use of bows and other weapons equally with the
men. And I further affirm, that if these things are possible,
nothing can be more absurd than the practice which prevails in
our own country of men and women not following the same
pursuits with all their strength and with one mind, for thus the
state, instead of being a whole and as much again, is reduced to
a half, and yet has the same imposts to pay and the same toils
to undergo; and this is a wonderful mistake for any legislator
to make.

Cle. Very true; and much of what has been asserted by us,
Stranger, is contrary to the custom of states; still, in saying
that the discourse should be allowed to proceed, and that when
the discussion is completed, we should choose what seems best,
you have spoken very properly, and have made me feel com-
punction for what I said. Tell me, then, what you would next
wish to say.

Ath. I should wish to say, Cleinias, as I said before, that if
the possibility of these things were not sufficiently proven in
fact, then there might be an objection to the argument, but as
the matter stands, he who rejects the law must find some other
ground of objection; and, failing this, our exhortation will still
hold good, nor will any one deny that women ought to share as
far as possible in education and in other ways with men; for
consider, if women do not share in their whole life with men,
then they must have some other order of life.

Cle. Certainly.

Ath. And what arrangement of life to be found anywhere is
preferable to this community which we are now assigning to
them? Shall we prefer that which is adopted by the Thracians
and many other races who use their women to till the ground
and to be shepherds of their herds and flocks, and to minister
to them like slaves? Or shall we do as we and people in this
part of the world do? getting together, as the phrase is, all our
goods and chattels into one dwelling — these we intrust to our
women, who are the stewards of them; and who also preside
over the shuttles and the whole art of spinning. Or shall we
take a middle course, as in Lacedaemon, Megillus, letting 806
the girls share in gymnastic and music, while the grown-up
women, no longer employed in spinning wool, are actively en-
gaged in weaving the web of life, which will be no cheap or

mean employment, and in the duty of serving and taking care of the household and bringing up children — in these they will observe a sort of mean, not participating in the toils of war, and if there were any necessity that they should fight for their city and families, unlike the Amazons, they would be unable to take part in archery or any other skilled use of missiles; nor could they, after the example of the Goddess, carry shield or spear, or stand up nobly for their country when it was being destroyed, and strike terror into their enemies, if only because they were seen in regular order? Living as they do, they would never dare at all to imitate the Sauromatides, whose women, when compared with ordinary women, would appear to be like men. Let him who will praise your legislators, but I must say what I think. The legislator ought to be whole and perfect, and not half a man only; he ought not to let the female sex live softly and waste money and have no order of life, while he takes the utmost care of the male sex, and leaves half of life only blest with happiness, when he might have made the whole state happy.

Meg. What shall we do, Cleinias? Shall we allow a stranger to run down Sparta in this fashion?

Cle. Yes; for as we have given him liberty of speech we must let him go on until we have made our laws altogether perfect and complete.

Meg. Very true.

Ath. Then my business will be to unfold what follows?

Cle. Certainly.

Ath. What will be the manner of life among men who may be supposed to have their food and clothing provided for them in moderation, and who have intrusted the practice of the arts to others, and whose husbandry committed to slaves paying a part of the produce, brings them a return sufficient for men living temperately; who, moreover, have common tables in which the men are placed apart, and near them are the common tables of their families, of their daughters and mothers, which day by day the rulers, male and female, are to dismiss,
807 when they have inspected them and seen their mode of life; after which the magistrate and his attendants shall honor with libations those gods to whom that day and night are dedicated, and then go home? To men whose lives are thus ordered, is there no work to be done which is necessary and fitting, but shall each one of them live fattening like a beast

That, we say, is neither just nor honorable, nor can he who lives in that way fail of meeting his due, and the due reward of the idle fatted beast is that he should be torn in pieces by some other valiant beast whose fatness is worn down by labors and toils. These regulations, if we duly consider them, will never perfectly take effect under present circumstances, nor as long as women and children and houses and all other things are the private property of individuals: but if we can attain the second-best form of polity, with that we may be satisfied. And to men living under this second polity, there remains a work to be accomplished which is far from being small or mean, and is, in truth, the greatest of all works, ordained by the appointment of righteous law. For the life which is wholly concerned with the virtue of body and soul may truly be said to be twice, or more than twice, as full of toil and trouble as the pursuit after Pythian and Olympic victories, which debars a man from every employment of life. For there ought to be no by-work which interferes with the due exercise and nourishment of the body, or the attainments and habits of the soul. Night and day are not long enough for the accomplishment of their perfection and consummation; and to this end all freemen ought to arrange the time of their employments during the whole course of the twenty-four hours, from morning to evening and from evening to the morning of the next sunrise. There may seem to be some impropriety in the legislator determining minutely the little details of the management of the house, including such particulars as the duty of wakefulness in those who are to be perpetual watchmen of the whole city; for that any citizen should continue during the whole night in sleep, and not be seen by all his servants, always the first to awake and the first to rise — this, we say, should be 808
deemed base and unworthy of a freeman, whether the regulation is to be called a law or only a practice; also that the mistress of the house should be awakened by some of her handmaidens instead of herself first awakening them, is what her slaves, male and female, and her children, and, if that were possible, everything in the house should regard as base. If they rise early, they may all of them do much of their public and of their household business, as magistrates in the city, and masters and mistresses in their private houses, before the dawn. Much sleep is not required by nature, either for our souls or bodies, or for the actions in which they are concerned. For

no one who is asleep is good for anything, any more than if he were dead; but he of us who has the most regard for life and reason keeps awake as long as he can, reserving only so much time for sleep as is expedient for health; and much sleep is not required, if the habit of not sleeping be once formed. Magistrates in states who keep awake at night are terrible to the bad, whether enemies or citizens, and are honored and reverenced by the just and temperate, and are useful to themselves and to the whole state.

A night thus spent, in addition to all the above-mentioned advantages, infuses a sort of courage into the minds of the citizens. When the day breaks, the time has arrived for youth to go to their schoolmasters. Now, neither sheep nor any other animals can live without a shepherd, nor can children be left without tutors, or slaves without masters. And of all animals, the boy is the most unmanageable, inasmuch as he has the fountain of reason in him not yet regulated; he is the most insidious, sharp-witted, and insubordinate of animals. Wherefore he must be bound with many bridles: in the first place, when he gets away from mothers and nurses, he must be under the control of tutors on account of his childishness and foolishness; then, again, being a freeman, he must have teachers and be educated by them in anything which they teach, and must learn what he has to learn; but he is also a slave, and in that regard any freeman who comes in his way may punish him and his tutor and his instructor, if any of them does anything
809 wrong; and he who comes across him and does not inflict upon him the punishment which he deserves, shall incur the greatest disgrace; and let the guardian of the law, who is the guardian of education, see to him who, coming in the way of the offenses which we have mentioned, does not chastise them when he ought, or chastises them in a way which he ought not; let him keep a sharp lookout, and take especial care of the training of our children, directing their natures, and always turning them to good according to the law.

And how can our law sufficiently train the director of education himself; for as yet all has been imperfect, and nothing has been said either clear or satisfactory? Now, as far as possible, the law ought to leave nothing to him, but to explain everything, that he may be the interpreter and tutor of others About dances and music and choral strains, I have already poken, both as to the character and the selection of them,

and the manner in which they are to be improved and consecrated. But we have not yet spoken, O illustrious guardian of education, of the manner in which your pupils are to use those strains which are written in prose, although you have been informed what martial strains they are to learn and practice; what relates, in the first place, to the learning of letters, and secondly, to the lyre, and also to calculation, which, as we were saying, is needful for them all to learn, and any other things which are required with a view to war and the management of house and city, and, looking to the same object, what is useful in the revolutions of the heavenly bodies — the stars and sun and moon, and the various regulations about these matters which are necessary for the whole state — I am speaking of the arrangements of days in periods of months, and of months in years, which are to be observed, in order that times and sacrifices and festivals may proceed in regular and natural order, and keep the city alive and awake, and pay to the gods the honors due to them, and cause men to have a better understanding about them: all these things, O my friend, have not yet been sufficiently declared by the legislator. Attend, then, to what I am now going to say: We were telling you, in the first place, that you were not sufficiently informed about letters, and the objection made was to this effect, — "That you were never told whether he who was meant to be a respectable citizen should apply himself in detail to that sort of learning, or not apply himself at all;" and the same remark was made about the lyre. But now we say that he ought to attend to them. A fair time for a boy of ten years old to spend in letters is three years; at thirteen years he should begin to handle 810
the lyre, and he may continue at this for another three years, neither more nor less, and whether his father or himself like or dislike the study, he is not to be allowed to spend more or less time in learning music than the law allows. And let him who disobeys the law be deprived of those youthful honors of which we shall hereafter speak. Hear, however, first of all, what the young ought to learn in the early years of life, and what their instructors ought to teach them. They ought to be occupied with their letters until they are able to read and write; but the acquisition of perfect beauty or quickness in writing, nature has not stimulated them to acquire these accomplishments in the given number of years, they should let alone. And as to the learning of compositions committed to writing,

which are unaccompanied by song, whether metrical or without rhythmical divisions, compositions in prose, as they are termed, having no rhythm or harmony — seeing how dangerous are the writings handed down to us by many writers of this class — what will you do with them, O most excellent guardians of the law? or, how can the lawgiver rightly direct you about them? I believe that he will be in great difficulty.

Cle. What is the nature of this perplexity, Stranger, under which you seem to be laboring?

Ath. That is a fair question, Cleinias, and to you, who are my partners in the work of education, I must state the difficulties of the case.

Cle. To what do you refer in this instance?

Ath. I will tell you. There is a difficulty in opposing many myriads of mouths.

Cle. Well, and have we not already opposed the popular voice in many important enactments?

Ath. That is quite true; and you mean to imply that the road which we are taking may be disagreeable to some but is agreeable to as many others, or if not to as many, at any rate to persons not inferior to the others, and in company with them you bid me, at whatever risk, proceed along the path of legislation which has opened out of our present discourse, and to be of good cheer, and not to faint.

Cle. Certainly.

Ath. And I do not faint; I say, indeed, that we have a great many poets writing in hexameter, trimeter, and all sorts of measures; some who are serious, others who aim only at raising a laugh, in which the aforesaid myriads declare that the youth who are rightly educated should be brought up and saturated; they should be constantly hearing them read at recitations, and
811 learning them, getting off whole poets by heart; while others select choice passages and long speeches, and make compendiums of them, saying that these shall be committed to memory, and that in this way a man is to be made good and wise by varied experience and learning. And you want me to say plainly in what they are right and in what they are wrong.

Cle. Yes, I do.

Ath. But how can I in one word rightly comprehend all of them? I am of opinion, and, if I am not mistaken, there is a general agreement, that every one of these poets has said many things well and many things the reverse of well; and if this be true, then I do affirm that much learning brings danger to youth.

Cle. Then how would you advise the guardian of the law to act?

Ath. In what respect?

Cle. I mean to what pattern should he look as his guide in permitting the young to learn some things and forbidding them to learn others. Do not shrink from answering.

Ath. My good Cleinias, I rather think that I am fortunate.

Cle. In what?

Ath. I think that I am not wholly in want of a pattern, for when I consider the words which we have spoken from early dawn until now, and which, as I believe, have been inspired by Heaven, they appear to me to be quite like a poem. When I reflected upon all these words of ours, I naturally felt pleasure, for of all the discourses which I have ever learnt or heard, either in poetry or prose, this seems to me to be the justest, and most suitable for young men to hear; I cannot imagine any better pattern than this which the guardian of the law and the educator can have. They cannot do better than advise the teachers to teach the young these and the like words, and if they should happen to find writings, either in poetry or prose, or even unwritten discourses like these of ours, and of the same family, they should certainly retain them, and commit them to writing. And, first of all, the teachers themselves should be constrained to learn and approve them, and any of them who will not, shall not be employed by them as colleagues, but those whom they find agreeing in their approval, they shall make use of and shall commit to them the instruction and education of youth. And here and on this wise let my fanciful tale about letters and teachers of letters come to an end. 812

Cle. I do not think, Stranger, that we have wandered out of the proposed limits of the argument; but whether we are right or not in the whole design, I cannot be very certain.

Ath. That, Cleinias, may be expected to become clearer when, as we have often said, we arrive at the end of the whole discussion about laws.

Cle. True.

Ath. And now that we have done with the teacher of letters, the teacher of the lyre has to receive orders from us.

Cle. Certainly.

Ath. I think that we have only to recollect our previous discussions, and we shall be able to give suitable regulations touch-

ing all this part of instruction and education to the teachers of the lyre.

Cle. To what do you refer?

Ath. We were saying, if I remember rightly, that the sixty years' old choristers of Dionysus were to be specially quick in their perceptions of rhythm and musical composition, that they might be able to distinguish good and bad imitation, that is to say, the imitation of the good or bad soul when under the influence of passion, rejecting the one and exhibiting the other in hymns and songs, charming the souls of youth, and inviting them to follow and attain virtue by the way of imitation.

Cle. Very true.

Ath. And with this view the teacher and the learner ought to use the sounds of the lyre for the sake of the purity of the notes, the player who teaches and his pupil giving note for note in unison; but diversity of notes, and variations on the lyre, when the strings give one sound and the poet or composer of the melody gives another; also when they make concords and harmonies in which lesser and greater intervals, slow and quick, or high and low notes, are combined; or, again, when they make complex variations of rhythms, adapting them to the sounds of the lyre,—all that sort of thing is not suited to those who have to acquire a speedy and useful knowledge of music in three years; for opposite principles are confusing, and create a difficulty in learning, and our young men ought to be quick to learn,—moreover, the acquirements which are demanded of them are not few or trifling; this will be shown hereafter as we proceed. Let our educator attend to those principles concerning music, but as to the songs and words themselves which the masters of choruses are to teach and the
813 character of them, they have been already described by us, and are the same which we said are to be consecrated and adapted to the several feasts, and to furnish an innocent and useful amusement to cities.

Cle. That, again, is true.

Ath. Then let the musical president who has been elected receive these rules from us as the very truth, and may fortune attend him! And let us proceed to lay down other rules about dancing and gymnastic exercise in general. Having said what remained to be said about the teaching of music, let us speak in like manner about gymnastic. For boys and girls ought to learn to dance and practice gymnastic exercises—ought they not?

Cle. Yes.

Ath. Then the boys ought to have dancing-masters, and the girls dancing-mistresses to exercise them.

Cle. Very good.

Ath. Then once more let us call him who will have the chief trouble, the superintendent of youth; he will have plenty to do, if he is to have the charge of music and gymnastic.

Cle. But how will an old man be able to attend to such great charges?

Ath. O, my friend, there will be no difficulty, for the law has already given and will give him permission to select as his assistants in this charge any citizens, male or female, whom he desires; and he will know whom he ought to choose, and will be anxious not to do wrong in these matters, from a sense of responsibility, and from a consciousness of the importance of his office, and also because he will consider that if young men have been and are well brought up, then all things go swimmingly, but if not, it is not meet to say, nor do we say, what will follow, lest the regarders of omens should take alarm about our infant state. Many things have been said by us about dancing and about gymnastic movements in general; for we include under gymnastics all military exercises, such as archery, and all hurling of weapons, and the use of the light shield, and all fighting with heavy arms, and military evolutions, and movements of armies, and encampments, and all that relates to horsemanship. Of all these things there ought to be public teachers, receiving pay from the state, and their pupils should be the men and boys in the state, and also the girls and women, who are to know all these things. While they are yet girls they should have practiced dancing in arms and the art of fighting — when they are grown-up women, applying themselves to evolutions and tactics, and the mode of grounding and taking up arms; if for no other reason, yet in case the whole people should 814
have to leave the city and carry on operations of war outside, that the young who are left to guard and the rest of the city may be equal to the task; and, on the other hand (what is far from being an impossibility), when enemies, whether barbarian or Hellenic, come from without with mighty force and make a violent assault upon them, and thus compel them to fight for the possession of the city, great would be the disgrace to the state, if the women had been so miserably trained that they could not like birds fight for their young against some

fierce animal, and die or undergo any danger, but must instantly rush to the temples and crowd at the altars and shrines, and pour upon human nature the reproach, that of all animals man is the most cowardly.

Cle. That, Stranger, is certainly an unseemly thing to happen in a state, and also a great misfortune.

Ath. Suppose that we carry our law to the extent of saying that women ought not to neglect military matters, but that all citizens, male and female alike, shall attend to them?

Cle. I quite assent to that.

Ath. Of wrestling we have spoken in part, but of what I should call the most important part we have not spoken, and cannot easily speak without showing at the same time by gesture as well as in word what we mean; that we shall be enabled to determine when word and action combine, and then we may explain clearly what has been said, pointing out that of all movements wrestling is most akin to the military art, and is to be pursued for the sake of this, and not this for the sake of wrestling.

Cle. That is excellent.

Ath. Thus far we have spoken of the palaestra, and we will now proceed to speak of other movements of the body. Such motion may be called dancing, which is a general term, and includes two kinds: one of nobler figures, imitating the honorable, the other of the more ignoble figures, imitating the mean; and of the serious, and also of the mean, there are two further divisions. Of the serious, one kind is of those engaged in war and vehement action, and is the exercise of a noble person and a manly heart; the other exhibits a temperate soul in the enjoyment of prosperity and modest pleasures, and may be truly called and is, the dance of peace. The warrior dance
815 is different from the peaceful one, and may be rightly termed Pyrrhic; this imitates the modes of avoiding blows and darts, by dropping or giving way, or springing aside, or rising up or falling down; also the opposite postures which are those of action, as, for example, the imitation of archery and the hurling of javelins, and of all sorts of blows. And when the imitation is of brave bodies and souls, and the action is direct and muscular, giving for the most part a straight movement to the limbs of the body — that, I say, is the true sort but that which allows the opposite is not right. The dance of peace is always to be considered in this point of view: Does a man, or does he not, bear himself seemly in the dance, and

after the manner of well-conditioned men? But before proceeding I must distinguish the dancing about which there is any doubt from that about which there is no doubt. How shall we distinguish them? There are dances of the Bacchic sort, in which they imitate, as they say, the Nymphs, and Pan, and drunken Silenuses, and Satyrs, after whom they name them, making purifications and celebrating mysteries, — all this sort of dancing cannot be distinguished as having either a peaceful or a warlike character, or indeed as having any meaning whatever, and may, I think, be most truly described as distinct from the warlike dance, and distinct from the peaceful, and not suited for a city at all. Having left this behind us, we will now proceed to the dances of war and peace, about which there can be no doubt in our state. Now the unwarlike muse, which honors in dance the gods and the sons of the gods, may be classed under a single head, as that which is celebrated in the consciousness of prosperity; and this may be again divided into classes, one in which there is an escape from toils and dangers to good, and this has greater pleasures; the other which is celebrated on account of preservation and increase of former good, and in which the pleasure is less exciting; in all these cases, every man when the pleasure is greater, moves his body more, and when the pleasure is less moves his body less; and, again, if he be more orderly and disciplined in courage he moves less; but if he be a coward, and has no training or self-control, he
816 makes greater and more violent movements, and in general when he is speaking or singing he is not altogether able to control his body; and in this manner the imitation of words in gestures has created the entire art of dancing. And in these various kinds of imitation one man moves in an orderly, another in a disorderly manner; and as the ancients may be observed to have given many names which are according to nature, and deserving of praise, so there is an excellent one which they have given to those dances of men in their times of prosperity, who are moderate in their pleasures — whoever he was gave them a very true, and poetical, and rational name, when he called them Emmeleiai, or dances of order; thus establishing two kinds of dances of the nobler sort, the dance of war which he called the Pyrrhic, and the dance of peace which he called Emmeleia, or the dance of order; giving to each their appropriate and becoming name. These things the legislator should indicate in general outline, and the guardian of the law should

inquire into them and search them out, combining dancing with music, and assigning to the several sacrificial feasts that which is suitable to them; and when he has consecrated them all in due order, he shall for the future change nothing, whether of dance or song. Thenceforward the city and the citizens shall continue to have the same pleasures, themselves being as far as possible alike, and shall live well and happily.

I have described the dances which are appropriate to noble bodies and generous souls. But it is necessary also to consider and know uncomely persons and thoughts, and those which are intended to produce laughter in comedy, and have a comic character both in respect to style, and song, and dance, or any other mode of imitation. For serious things cannot be understood without laughable things, nor opposites at all without opposites, if a man is really to have intelligence of either; but he cannot carry out both in action, if he is to have ever so small a share of virtue. And for this very reason he should learn them both, in order that he may not in ignorance do or say anything which is ridiculous and out of place — he should command slaves and hired strangers to imitate such things, and should never take any serious interest in them himself, nor should any free person of either sex be discovered learning them; and there should always appear to be some element of novelty in the imitation. Let these then be laid down, both in law and in our narrative, as the regulations of laughable amusements
817 which are generally called comedy. And, if any of the serious or tragic poets, as they are termed, come to us and say, — 'O strangers, may we go to your city and country or may we not, and shall we bring or carry with us our poetry — what is your will about these matters?" How shall we answer the divine men? I think that our answer should be as follows: Best of strangers, we will say to them, we also are poets according to our ability of the best and noblest tragedy; for our whole state is an imitation of the best and noblest life, which we affirm to be indeed the very truth of tragedy. You are poets and we are poets, your rivals and antagonists in the noblest of dramas, which true law and that only can carry out in act, as our hope is. Do not then suppose that we shall all in a moment allow you to erect your stage in the agora, or introduce the fair voice of your actors, speaking above our own, and permit you to harangue our women and children, and the mass of mankind, about our institutions, in language other than our

own, and very often the opposite of our own. For we or any other state would be quite mad which permitted you to do this, until the magistrates had determined whether your poetry might be recited, and was fit for publication or not. Wherefore, O ye sons and scions of the tender Muses, first of all show your songs to the magistrates, and let them compare them with our own, and if they are the same or better we will give you a chorus; but if not, then, my friends, we cannot. Let these, then, be the customs ordained by law about all dances and the teaching of them, and let matters relating to slaves be separated from those relating to masters, if you do not object.

Cle. We can have no hesitation in assenting when you put the matter thus.

Ath. There still remain three studies suitable for freemen. Calculation in arithmetic is one of them; the measurement of length, surface, and depth is the second; and the third has to do with the revolutions of the stars in relation to one another. Not every one has need to toil through all these things in a strictly scientific manner, but only a few, and 818
who they are to be, we will hereafter indicate — that will be a better way; not to know what is necessary for mankind in general, and what is the truth, is disgraceful to every one: and yet to enter into these matters minutely is neither easy, nor at all possible for every one; but there is something in them which is necessary and cannot be set aside, and probably he who made the proverb about God originally had this in view when he said, "that not even God himself can fight against necessity;" he meant, if I am not mistaken, divine necessity; for as to the human necessities of which men often speak when they talk in this manner, nothing can be more ridiculous than such an application of the words.

Cle. And what necessities of knowledge are there, Stranger, which are divine and not human?

Ath. I conceive them to be those of which he who has no use nor any knowledge at all cannot be a god, or demi-god, or hero to mankind, or able to take any serious thought or charge of them. And very unlike a divine man would he be, who is unable to count one, two, three, or to distinguish odd and even numbers; or is unable to count at all, or reckon night and day, and who is totally unacquainted with the revolution of the sun and moon, and the other stars. There would be great folly in supposing that all these are not necessary parts of knowledge

to him who intends to know anything about the highest kinds of knowledge; but which these are, and how many there are of them, and when they are to be learned, and what is to be learned together and what apart, and the whole correlation of them, — this is what we have to ascertain; and in proceeding to the other parts of knowledge these studies must be rightly apprehended first and take the lead. That is the necessary order of nature, against which we say that no god contends, or ever will contend.

Cle. I think, Stranger, that what you have now said is very true and agreeable to nature.

Ath. Yes, Cleinias, I quite agree with you. But it is difficult for the legislator to consider these studies first; at some other time we may pursue them further.

Cle. You seem, Stranger, to be afraid of the habitual ignorance of your hearers in such matters. There is no reason
819 for your fears; and therefore speak out, concealing nothing.

Ath. I certainly am afraid of the difficulties to which you allude, but I am still more afraid of those who apply themselves to this sort of knowledge, and apply themselves badly. For entire ignorance is not so terrible or extreme an evil, and is far from being the greatest of all; too much cleverness and too much learning, accompanied with ill bringing up, are far more fatal.

Cle. True.

Ath. All freemen, I conceive, should learn as much of these various disciplines as every child in Egypt is taught when he learns his alphabet. In that country, systems of calculation have been actually invented for the use of children, which they learn as a pleasure and amusement. They have to distribute apples and garlands, adapting the same number either to a larger or less number of persons; and they distribute pugilists and wrestlers as they follow one another, or pair together by lot. Another mode of amusing them is by taking vessels of gold, and brass, and silver, and the like, and mingling them or distributing them without mingling; as I was saying, they adapt to their amusement the numbers in common use, and in this way make more intelligible to their pupils the arrangements and movements of armies and expeditions, and in the management of a household they make people more useful to themselves, and more wide awake; and again in measurements of

things which have length, and breadth, and depth, they free us from that ridicrous and disgraceful ignorance of all these things which is natural to man.

Cle. What kind of ignorance do you mean?

Ath. O my dear Cleinias, I, like yourself, have late in life heard with amazement of our ignorance in these matters; to me we appear to be more like pigs than men, and I was ashamed not only on my own behalf, but on that of all Hellenes.

Cle. About what? Say, Stranger, what you mean.

Ath. I will; or rather I will show you my meaning by a question, and do you please to answer me: You know, I suppose, what length is?

Cle. Certainly.

Ath. And what breadth is?

Cle. To be sure.

Ath. And you know that these are two distinct things, and that there is a third thing called depth?

Cle. Of course.

Ath. And do not all these seem to you to be commensurable with one another?

Cle. Yes.

Ath. You mean to say that length is naturally commensurable with length, and breadth with breadth, and depth in like manner with depth?

Cle. Undoubtedly. 820

Ath. But if some things are commensurable and others wholly incommensurable, and you think that all things are commensurable, how do you imagine that you stand?

Cle. Not very well; I see that plainly.

Ath. As regards length and breadth when compared with depth, or breadth and length when compared with one another, are not all the Hellenes agreed that these are commensurable with one another in some way?

Cle. Quite true.

Ath. But if they are absolutely incommensurable, and yet all of us regard them as commensurable, have we not reason to be ashamed of our compatriots; and might we not say to them: O ye best of Hellenes, is not this one of the things of which we were saying that not to know them is disgraceful, and of which to know only what is necessary is no great distinction?

Cle. Certainly.

Ath. And there are other things akin to these, in which there spring up other errors of the same family.

Cle. What are they?

Ath. The natures of commensurable and incommensurable quantities in their relation to one another. A man who is good for anything ought to be able, when he reflects, to distinguish them; this is a game at which the old should love to contend; and different persons should put forth problems to one another, passing their time in an amusement far more agreeable and worthy of age than the old man's game of draughts.

Cle. I dare say; and I certainly think that these studies are not wholly unlike a game of draughts.

Ath. These, then, as I maintain, Cleinias, are the studies which our youth ought to learn, for they are innocent and not difficult, and if they be learnt as an amusement, they will do good and no harm at all to our state. If any one is of another mind, let us hear what he says.

Cle. To be sure.

Ath. Then if these studies are such as we say, we will certainly include them, or if they are not, they shall be excluded.

Cle. That is plain and absolute; and may we not now, Stranger, prescribe these studies as necessary, and so fill up the lacunae of our laws?

Ath. They shall be regarded as pledges which may be refused hereafter by the rest of the state, if they do not please either us who impose them or you upon whom they are imposed.

Cle. That is a fair condition.

Ath. Next let us see whether we are willing that the study of astronomy shall or shall not be proposed for our youth.

Cle. Proceed.

Ath. But here occurs a strange phenomenon, which certainly cannot in any point of view be tolerated.

821 *Cle.* What is that?

Ath. They say that we ought not to inquire into the supreme God and the nature of the universe, nor busy ourselves in searching out the causes of things, and that this is impious; whereas the very contrary of this is the truth.

Cle. What do you mean?

Ath. Perhaps what I am saying may seem paradoxical and at variance with the usual language of age. But when any one has any good and true notion which is for the advantage of the state and in every way acceptable to God, he cannot abstain from expressing it.

Cle. That is reasonable enough; but shall we find any notion of this sort which has to do with the stars?

Ath. My good friends, at this day all of us Hellenes speak falsely, if I may use such an expression, of those great gods, the Sun and the Moon.

Cle. What is the falsehood?

Ath. We say that they and divers other stars, which we call planets or wanderers, do not keep the same path.

Cle. Yes, Stranger, that is certainly true; and in the course of my life I have often myself seen the morning-star and the evening-star and divers others not proceeding in their own path, but wandering out of their path in all manner of ways and I have seen the sun and moon doing as they always do.

Ath. That is what I mean, Megillus and Cleinias, and I maintain that our citizens and our youth ought to learn about the nature of the gods in heaven, so far as to be able to offer sacrifices and pray to them in pious language, and not to blaspheme about them.

Cle. In that you are right, if such a knowledge be only attainable; and if we are wrong in our mode of speaking now, and can be better instructed and learn to use better language, then I quite agree with you that such a degree of knowledge as will enable us to speak rightly, should, if attainable, be acquired by us. We admit this, and do you try to explain to us your whole meaning, and we, on our part, will endeavor to understand you.

Ath. There is some difficulty in understanding my meaning, but not a very great one, nor will any great length of time be required; and of this I am myself a proof; for I did not know these things long ago, nor in the days of my youth; and yet I can explain them to you in a brief space of time, whereas if they had been difficult I could certainly never have explained them all, old as I am, to old men like yourselves.

Cle. True; but what is this study which you describe as wonderful and fitting for youth to learn, but of which we are ignorant? Try and explain this to us as clearly as you can. 822

Ath. I will. For, O my good friends, this doctrine about the wandering of the sun and the moon and the other stars is not the truth, but the very reverse of the truth. Each of them moves in the same path — not in many paths, but in one only which is circular, and the varieties are only apparent. Nor are we right in supposing that the swiftest of them is the slowest,

nor, conversely, that the slowest is the quickest. And if what I say is true, only just imagine that we had a similar notion about horses running at Olympia, or about men who ran in the long course, and that we addressed the swiftest as the slowest and the slowest as the swiftest, and sang the praises of the vanquished as though he were the victor, — in that case our praises would not be true, nor very agreeable to the runners, though they be but men; and now, to commit the same error about the gods, which would have been ludicrous and erroneous in the case of men, — is not that ludicrous and erroneous?

Cle. Worse than ludicrous, I should say.

Ath. At all events, the gods cannot like that we should be spreading a false report of them.

Cle. Most true, if such is the fact.

Ath. And if we show that such is really the fact, then all these matters ought to be learned up to a certain point; but if we cannot show this, they may be let alone, and let this be our decision.

Cle. Very good.

Ath. And now we may say that our laws touching education and learning are complete. And the same may be said of hunting and the like; for the legislator appears to have a duty imposed upon him which goes beyond mere legislation. There is something over and above law which lies in a region between admonition and law, and has several times occurred to us in the course of discussion; for example, in the education of very young children there were things, as we maintain, which are not to be defined, and to regard them as matters of positive law is a great absurdity. Now, our laws and the whole constitution of our state having been thus delineated, the praise of the virtuous citizen is not complete when he is described as the person who serves the laws best and obeys them most, but the highest form of praise is that which describes him as the good
§23 citizen who goes through life undefiled and is obedient to the words of the legislator, both when he is giving laws and when he assigns praise and blame. This is the truest word that can be spoken in praise of a citizen, and the true legislator ought not only to write his laws, but also to interweave with them all such things as seem to him honorable and dishonorable. And the perfect citizen ought to seek to corroborate these no less than the principles of law which are sanctioned by punishments. I will adduce an example which will clear

up my meaning. Hunting is of wide extent, and has a name under which many things are included: for there is a hunting of creatures in the water, and of creatures in the air; and there is a great deal of hunting of land animals of all sorts and not of wild beasts only; the hunting after man is also worthy of consideration; there is the hunting after him in war and there is often a hunting after him in the way of friendship which is praised and also blamed; and there is thieving, and the hunting which is practiced by robbers, and of armies against armies. Now the legislator, in laying down laws about hunting, can neither abstain from noting these things, nor can he make threatening ordinances which will assign rules and penalties about all of them. What is he to do? He will have to praise and blame hunting with a view to the discipline and exercise of youth. And, on the other hand, the young man must listen obediently; neither pleasure nor pain should hinder him, and he should regard as his standard of action the praises and injunctions of the legislator rather than that which he threatens under a penalty as a matter of law. Which being premised, there will follow next in order moderate praise and censure of hunting; the praise being assigned to that which will make the souls of young men better, and the censure to that which has the opposite effect. And now let us address young men in the form of a pious wish for their welfare: O, my friends, we will say to them, may no desire or love of hunting in the sea, or of angling or of catching the creatures in the sea, ever take possession of you, either when you are awake or when you are asleep, by hook or with creels, which latter is a very lazy contrivance; and let not any desire of catching men and of piracy by sea enter into your souls and make you cruel and lawless hunters. And as to the desire of thieving in town or country, may that never enter into your most passing thoughts; nor let the insidious practice of catching birds, which is hardly worthy of freemen, come into the head of any youth. There remains therefore for our athletes only the hunting and catching of land animals, of which the one sort is called hunting by night, in which the hunters sleep in turn and are lazy; this is not to be commended any more than that which has intervals of rest, in which the wild strength of beasts is subdued by nets and snares, and not by the victory of a laborious spirit. Thus, only the best kind of hunting is allowed at all — that of quadrupeds, which is carried on with horses and dogs and men's own per-

sons, and they get the victory over the animals by running them down and striking them and hurling at them, those who have a care of godlike manhood hunting them with their own hands. The praise and blame which is to be assigned to all these things has now been declared; and let the law be as follows: Let no one hinder our sacred hunters from following the chase wherever and whithersoever they will; but the nightly hunter, who trusts to his nets and springs, shall not be allowed to hunt anywhere. The fowler in the mountains and in waste places shall be permitted, but on cultivated ground and on consecrated wilds he shall not be permitted; and any one who meets him may stop him. As to the hunter in waters, he may hunt anywhere except in harbors or sacred streams or marshes or pools, provided only that he do not trouble the water with poisonous mixtures. And now we may say that all our enactments about education are complete.

Cle. That is well.

BOOK VIII.

Ath. Str. NEXT, with the help of the Delphian Oracle, we have to institute festivals and make 828
laws about them; and to determine what sacrifices will be for the good of the city, and to what gods they shall be offered; but when they shall be offered, and how often, may be partly regulated by us.

Cleinias. The number — yes.

Ath. Then we will first determine the number; and let the whole number be 365 — one for every day, — so that one magistrate at least will sacrifice daily to some god or demi-god on behalf of the city, and the citizens, and their possessions. And the interpreters, and priests, and priestesses, and prophets shall meet, and, in company with the guardians of the law, ordain those things which the legislator of necessity omits; and I may remark that they are the very persons who ought to take note of what is omitted. The law will say that there are twelve feasts dedicated to the twelve gods, after whom the several tribes are named; and they shall sacrifice to each of them every month, and appoint choruses, and musical and gymnastic contests, appropriating them suitably to the several gods and seasons of the year. And they shall have festivals of women, distinguishing those which ought to be separated from the men's festivals, and those which ought not. Further, they shall not confuse the infernal deities and their rites with the gods who are termed heavenly, and their rites, but shall separate them, giving to Pluto his own in the twelfth month, which is sacred to him, according to the law. To such a deity warlike men should entertain no aversion, but they should honor him as being always the best friend of man. For the connection of soul and body is no way better than the dissolution of them, as I am ready to maintain quite seriously. Moreover, those who would regulate

these matters rightly, should consider, that our city among existing cities has indeed no fellow, either in respect of leisure or
829 command of the necessaries of life, but also like an individual ought to live happily. And those who would live happily should in the first place do no wrong to one another, and ought not themselves to be wronged by others; to attain the first is not difficult, but there is great difficulty in acquiring the power of not being wronged. No man can be perfectly secure against wrong, unless he has become perfectly good and cities are like individuals in this: For a city if good has a life of peace, but if evil, a life of war within and without. Wherefore the citizens ought to practice war — not in time of war, but rather while they are at peace. And every city which has any sense, should go out to war at least for one day in every month, and for more if the magistrates think fit, taking no thought about winter cold or summer heat; and they should go out in one body, including their wives and their children, when the magistrates determine to lead forth the whole people, or again in portions only when they are summoned; and they should always provide that there should be games and sacrificial feasts, and they should have tournaments, imitating, in as lively a manner as they can, real battles. And they should distribute prizes of victory and valor to the competitors, passing censures and encomiums on one another according to the characters which they bear in the contests and in their whole life; honoring him who seems to be the best, and blaming him who is the opposite. And let poets celebrate them, — not however every poet, but only one who in the first place is not less than fifty years of age; nor should he be one who, although he may have musical and poetical gifts, has never in his life done any noble or illustrious action; but those who are good and honorable in the state, poets of noble actions — let their poems be sung, even though they be not musical. And let the judgment of them rest with the instructor of youth, and the other guardians of the laws, who shall give them this privilege, and they alone shall be free to sing; but the rest of the world shall not have this liberty. Nor shall any one dare to sing a song which has not been approved by the judgment of the guardians of the laws, not even if his strain be sweeter than the songs of Thamyras and Orpheus; but only such poems as have been judged sacred and dedicated to the gods, and such as are the works of good men, works of praise or blame, which have been deemed to fulfill their design fairly.

The regulations about war, and about liberty of speech in poetry, ought to apply equally to men and women. The legislator may be imagined to memorialize himself in the following terms: With what object did I bring up my citizens and order the whole city? Were they not to be competitors in the greatest of all contests, and have they not innumerable rivals? To be sure, would be the natural reply. Well, but if we were training boxers, or pancratiasts, or any other sort of athletes, would they never meet until the hour of contest arrived; and should we do nothing to prepare ourselves previously? Surely, if we were boxers, we should have been learning to fight for many days before, and exercising ourselves by imitating all those blows and wards which we were intending to execute in the hour of conflict; and in order that we might come as near to reality as possible, instead of cestuses we should have our arms bound round with boxing-gloves, that the blows and the wards might be practiced by us to the utmost of our power? And if there should be a deficiency of competitors, without fearing the laughter of fools, should we not have ventured to hang up a lifeless image and practice at that? Or if we had no adversary at all, animate or inanimate, should we not venture in the dearth of antagonists to spar with ourselves? In what other manner would any one suppose that we could study the art of self-defense?

Cle. The way which you mention, Stranger, would be the only way.

Ath. And shall the warriors of our city, who are destined when occasion calls to enter the greatest of all contests, and to fight for their lives, and their children, and their property, and the whole city, be worse prepared than combatants of this sort? And will the legislator, out of fear that their practicing with one another may appear ridiculous, not command them to go out to practice war, and ordain that every day the soldiers shall perform lesser exercises without arms, making dancing and all gymnastic tend to this end; will he not require that they shall practice some gymnastic exercises, great or small, as often as every month; and that they shall have contests one with another in every part of the country, seizing upon posts and lying in ambush, and imitating in every respect the reality of war; fighting with boxing-gloves and hurling javelins, and using weapons somewhat dangerous, and as nearly as possible like the true ones in order that the sport may not be altogether

831 without fear, but may have terrors, and to a certain degree show the man who has courage and the man who has not· and that the honor and dishonor which are assigned to them respectively, may prepare the whole city for the true conflict of life? If any one dies in these mimic contests, the homicide is involuntary, and we will make the slayer, when he has been purified according to law, to be pure of blood, considering that if a few men should die, others as good as they will be born; but that if fear is dead, then that the citizens will never find a test of superior and inferior in desert, which is a far greater evil to the state than the other.

Cle. We are quite agreed, Stranger, that we should legislate about such things, and that the whole state should practice them.

Ath. And what is the reason why dances and contests of this sort hardly ever exist in states, at least not to any extent worth speaking of? Is this due to the ignorance of mankind and their legislators?

Cle. Perhaps.

Ath. Certainly not, sweet Cleinias; there are two causes, which are quite enough to account for the deficiency.

Cle. What are they?

Ath. One cause is the love of wealth, which wholly absorbs men, and never for a moment allows them to think of anything but their own private possessions; on this the soul of every citizen hangs suspended, and can attend to nothing but his daily gain; and every man is ready to learn any branch of knowledge, and to follow any pursuit which tends to this end, and he laughs at every other: that is one reason why a city will not be in earnest about any good and honorable pursuit. From an insatiable love of gold and silver, every man is willing to endure the practice of any art or contrivance, seemly or unseemly, in the hope of becoming rich; and will make no objection to performing any action, holy or unholy, and utterly base, if only like a beast he have the power of eating and drinking all sorts of things, and procuring for himself in every sort of way the gratification of his lusts.

Cle. True.

Ath. Let this, then, be deemed one of the causes which prevents states from pursuing in an efficient manner the art of war or any other noble aim, but makes the orderly and temperate part of mankind into merchants and captains of ships, and ser

vants, and converts the valiant sort into thieves and burglars, and robbers of temples, and violent, tyrannical persons; many of whom are not without ability, but they are unfortunate. 832

Cle. What do you mean?

Ath. Must not they be utterly unfortunate whose souls are compelled to pass through life always hungering?

Cle. Then that is one cause, Stranger; but you implied that there was another.

Ath. Thank you for reminding me.

Cle. The insatiable life-long love of wealth, as you were saying, is one cause which absorbs mankind, and prevents them from rightly practicing the arts of war; I admit that, and now tell me, what is the other?

Ath. Do you imagine that I delay because I am in a perplexity?

Cle. No, we do not think that; but we think that you are too severe upon this sort of temper, of which you seem in the present discussion to have a peculiar dislike.

Ath. That is a very fair rebuke, Stranger; and I will now proceed to the second cause.

Cle. Proceed.

Ath. I say that governments are a cause — democracy, oligarchy, tyranny, concerning which I have often spoken in the previous discourse — in reality, they are not governments, for none of them exercises a voluntary rule over voluntary subjects; they may be truly called states of discord, in which the government is voluntary, and the subjects always obey against their will, and have to be coerced; and the ruler fears the subject, and will not, if he can help, allow him to become either noble, or rich, or strong, or valiant, or warlike at all. These two are the causes of almost all evils, and of the evils of which I have been speaking they are the special causes. But the state for which we are legislating has escaped them both; for her citizens have the greatest leisure, and they are not subject to one another, and will, I think, be made by these laws the reverse of lovers of money. Such a constitution may be reasonably supposed to be the only one existing which will accept the education which we have described, and the martial pastimes which have been perfected according to our idea.

Cle. Good.

Ath. Then next we must remember, about all gymnastic con-

tests, that only the warlike sort of them are to be practiced and to have prizes of victory; and those which are not military are to be given up. The military sort had better be completely described and established by law; and first, we will lay down what relates to running and swiftness.

Cle. That we will.

Ath. Certainly the most military of all qualities is general activity of body, whether of foot or hand. For running away and taking an enemy, quickness of foot is required; but
833 hand-to-hand conflict and combat need vigor and strength.

Cle. Certainly.

Ath. Neither of them can attain their greatest efficiency without arms.

Cle. How can they?

Ath. Then our herald, in accordance with the prevailing practice, will first summon the runner; he will appear armed, for to an unarmed competitor we will not give a prize. And he shall enter first who is to run the single course in armor; next, he who is to run the double course; third, he who is to run the horse course: and fourthly, he who is to run the long course; the fifth class whom we start, shall be the first who goes forth in complete armor, — and he shall run a course of sixty stadia to some temple of Ares — him we will call the heavy-armed runner; he shall run over smooth ground, and his competitor shall be an archer, and carry the equipments of an archer, and he shall run a distance of a hundred stadia over the mountains, and across every sort of country, to the temple of Apollo and Artemis; this shall be the order of the contest, and we will wait for them until they return, and will give a prize to the conqueror in each.

Cle. Very good.

Ath. Let us suppose that there are three sorts of contests, — one of boys, another of beardless youths, and a third of men. For the youths we will fix the length of the contest at two thirds, and for the boys at half of the entire course, whether they contend as archers or as heavy-armed. Touching the women: let the girls who are not grown up compete naked in the stadium and the double course, and the horse course and the long course, and let them run on the race-ground itself those who are thirteen years of age and upwards until their marriage shall continue to share in contests if they are not more than twenty, and shall be compelled to run up to eight

sea; and they shall descend into the arena in suitable dresses. Let these be the regulations about contests in running both for men and women.

Respecting contests of strength, instead of wrestling and similar contests of the heavier sort, we will institute conflicts in armor of one against one, and two against two, and so on up to ten against ten. As to what a man ought not to suffer or do, and to what extent, in order to gain the victory, as in wrestling, the masters of the art have laid down what is fair and what is not fair, so in fighting in armor, we ought to call in skillful persons, who shall determine for us and be our assessors in the work of legislation; they shall say who deserves to be victor in this sort of combats, and what he is not to do or suffer, and in like manner what rule determines who is defeated; and let the same ordinances apply to women until they are married as well as to men. The combat with light shields shall be instead of the pancratium; they shall contend with bows and light shields and javelins and slings and throwing of stones by hand; and they shall make laws about them and give rewards and prizes to him who best fulfills the ordinances of the law about them. 834

Next in order we shall have to legislate about the horse contests. Now, we do not need many horses, for they cannot be of much use in a country like Crete, and hence we naturally do not take much pains about the rearing of them or about their races. There is no one who keeps a chariot among us, and any rivalry in such matters would be altogether out of place; there would be no sense nor any semblance of sense in instituting contests which are not after the manner of our country. And, therefore, we give our prizes for single horses and for colts who have not cast their teeth, and for those who are intermediate between the full-grown and the colts, and also for the full-grown horses themselves; and thus our equestrian games will accord with the nature of the country. Let them have conflict and rivalry in these matters in accordance with the law, and let the colonels and generals of horse have given to them in common the decision about all courses and about the armed competitors in them. But for the unarmed we ought not to legislate either in gymnastic exercises or in these contests. On the other hand, the Cretan bowman or javelin-man who fights in armor on horseback is useful, and therefore we may as well place a competition of this sort among our amusements. Women are not to be

forced to compete by laws and ordinances; but if the previous instructions have grown into a habit with them, and their nature does not refuse to share in the contest, maidens and boys alike, let them be allowed, and no blame to them.

Thus the competition and the mode of learning gymnastic have been described; and we have spoken also of the toils of the contest, and of daily exercise in the house of the teacher. Likewise, what relates to music has been, for the most part, completed. But what relates to the rhapsodes and their vocation, and the contests of choruses which are to perform at feasts, shall be arranged when the months and days and years have been appointed for gods and demi-gods, whether every third
835 year, or again every fifth year, or in whatever way or manner the gods may put into men's minds the distribution and order of them. At the same time, we may expect that the musical contests will be celebrated in turn by the command of the judges, and the instructor of youth and the guardians of the law meeting together for this very purpose, and themselves becoming legislators of the times and nature and conditions of the choral contests and of dancing in general. What they ought severally to be in language and song, and in the admixture of harmony with rhythm and the dance, has been often declared by the original legislator; and his successors ought to follow him, making the games and sacrifices duly to correspond at fitting times, and appointing public festivals. It is not difficult to determine how these and the like matters may have a regular order; nor, again, does any transposition of them involve any great gain or loss to the state. There is, however, another matter which is of great importance, and of which men are hard to be persuaded; to legislate about this should be the work of God, if there were any possibility of obtaining from him an ordinance. But seeing that divine aid is not to be had, there appears to be a need of some bold man who specially honors plainness of speech, and will say outright what is best for the city and citizens, — ordaining what is good and convenient for the whole state amid the corruptions of human souls, opposing the mightiest lusts, and having no man his helper but himself, standing alone and following reason only.

Cle. What is this, Stranger, that you are saying? For thus far we do not understand your meaning.

Ath. I dare say; and I will endeavor to explain myself more clearly. When I came to the subject of education, I beheld

young men and maidens holding friendly intercourse with one another. And there naturally arose in my mind a sort of apprehension — I could not help thinking how one is to deal with a city in which youths and maidens are well nurtured, and have nothing to do, and are not undergoing the excessive and servile toils which extinguish wantonness, and whose only cares during their whole life are sacrifices and festivals and dances. How, in such a state as this, will they abstain from desires which thrust many a man and woman into perdition; and from which reason, assuming the functions of law, commands them to abstain? 836
The ordinances already made may possibly get the better of most of these desires; the prohibition of excessive wealth is a very considerable gain in the direction of temperance, and the whole education of our youth imposes a law of moderation on them; moreover, the eye of the rulers is required always to watch over the young, and never to lose sight of them; and these provisions do, as far as human means can effect anything, exercise a regulating influence upon the desires in general. But how can we take precautions against the loves of boys and girls, and of men and women, from which innumerable evils have come upon individuals and cities? How shall we devise a remedy which will be a way of escape out of so great a danger? Truly, Cleinias, there is a difficulty about that. In many ways the island of Crete and Lacedaemon furnish a great help to those who make peculiar laws; but in the matter of love, as we are alone, I must confess that they are quite against us. For if any one following nature should lay down the law which existed before the days of Laius, and declare that nature deprecated unnatural lusts, adducing the animals as a proof that such unions were monstrous, he might prove his point, but he would be wholly at variance with the custom of your states. Further, this practice is repugnant to a principle which we say that a legislator should always observe, for we are always inquiring which of our enactments tends to virtue and which not. And suppose we grant that this love is accounted by law to be honorable, or at least not disgraceful, how about virtue? Will such passions implant in the soul of him who is seduced the habit of courage, or in the soul of the seducer the principle of temperance? Who will ever believe this? or rather, who will not blame the effeminacy of him who yields to pleasures and is unable to hold out against them? Will not all men censure as womanly him who imitates the woman? And what human be-

ing will establish by law such a practice? Certainly no one who
837 has in his mind the image of true law. How can we prove that what I am saying is true? He who would rightly consider these matters must see the nature of friendship and desire, and of these so-called loves, for they are of two kinds, and out of the two arises a third kind, having the same name; and this similarity of name causes all the difficulty and obscurity.

Cle. How is that?

Ath. Likeness in virtue and equality is a principle of friendship; and that which is in want is the friend of that which has abundance, though they are different in kind. And when either of these friendships becomes excessive, we term the excess love.

Cle. Very true.

Ath. The friendship which arises from contraries is horrible and coarse, and has often no tie of communion; but that which arises from likeness is gentle, and has a tie of communion, which lasts through life. As to the mixed sort, which is made up of them both, there is, first of all, a difficulty in determining what he who is possessed by this third love desires; moreover, he is drawn different ways, and is in doubt between the two principles; the one exhorting him to enjoy the beauty of youth, and the other forbidding him. For the one is a lover of the body, and hungers after beauty, like some fruit of autumn, and would feign satisfy himself without any regard to the character of the beloved; the other holds the desire of the body to be a secondary matter, and looking rather than loving with his soul, and desiring the soul of the other in a becoming manner, regards the satisfaction of the bodily love as wantonness; he reverences and respects temperance and courage and magnanimity and wisdom, and wishes to live chastely with the chaste object of his affection. Now the sort of love which is made up of the other two is that which we have described as the third. Seeing then that there are these three sorts of love, ought the law to prohibit and forbid them all to exist among us? Is it not rather clear that we should wish to have in the state the love which is of virtue and which desires the beloved youth to be the best possible; and the other two, if possible, we should hinder? What do you say, friend Megillus?

Meg. I think, Stranger, you are altogether right in what you have been saying.

Ath. I knew well, my friend, that I should obtain your as

sent; and, without further analyzing the intentions of your law in reference to these matters, I will accept your assent to the argument. I will endeavor to pacify Cleinias, and gain his assent at some other time. I am satisfied with your admissions, and now let us go through the laws.

Meg. Very right.

838 *Ath.* At this very moment I see a way of imposing this law, which, in one respect, is easy, but in another is of the utmost difficulty.

Meg. What do you mean?

Ath. We are all aware that most men, in spite of their lawless natures, are very strictly and precisely restrained from intercourse with the fair, and this not at all against their will, but entirely with their will.

Meg. When is that?

Ath. When any one has a brother or sister who is fair; and about a son or daughter the same unwritten law holds, and is a most perfect safeguard, so that no open or secret connection ever takes place between them. Nor does the thought of such a thing ever enter at all into the minds of most of them.

Meg. Very true.

Ath. Does not a little word extinguish all pleasures of that sort?

Meg. What is that word?

Ath. The declaration that they are unholy, hated of God, and most infamous; and is not the reason of this that no one has ever said the opposite, but every one from his earliest days has heard men saying the same about them always and every where, whether in comedy or in the graver language of tragedy? When the poet introduces on the stage a Thyestes or an Oedipus, or a Macareus having secret intercourse with his sister, he, when he is found out, is ready to kill himself as the penalty of his sin.

Meg. You are very right in saying that rumor, which no breath of opposition ever assails, has a marvelous power.

Ath. Am I not also right in saying that the legislator who wants to master any of the passions which master man may easily know how to subdue them? He will consecrate the evil report of them among all, slaves and freemen, women and children, throughout the city. That will be the surest foundation of the law which he can make.

Meg Yes; but how will he ever succeed in making all mankind willing to use the same language about these things?

Ath. A good objection; but I was saying just now that I had a way to make men use natural love and abstain from unnatural, not intentionally destroying the seeds of human increase, or sowing them in stony places, in which they will take no root; and that I would command them to abstain too from any female field of increase in which that which is sown is notlikely to grow. Now, if a law to this effect could only be made perpetual, and gain an authority such as already prevents intercourse of parents and children — such a law extending to other sensual desires, and conquering them, would be the source of ten thousand blessings. For, in the first place, moderation is the appointment of nature, and deters men from all frenzy and madness of love, and from all adulteries and immoderate use of meats and drinks, and makes them good friends to their own wives. And innumerable other benefits would result if such a law could only be enforced. I can imagine some lusty youth who is standing by, and who, on hearing this enactment, declares in scurrilous terms, that we are making foolish and impossible laws, and fills the world with his outcry. That was what induced me to say that I knew a way of enacting and perpetuating such a law, which was very easy in one respect, but in another most difficult. There is no difficulty in seeing that such a law is possible, and in what way; for, as I was saying, the ordinance once consecrated would master the soul of every man, and terrify him into obedience. But matters have now come to such a pass that the enactment of the law seems to be impossible, and not likely to take place even in our modest state, just as the continuance of an entire state in the practice of common meals is also deemed impossible. And although this latter is partly disproven by the fact of their existence among you, still even in your cities the common meals of women would be regarded as unnatural and impossible. I was thinking of the rebelliousness of mankind when I said that the permanent establishment of these things is very difficult.

839

Meg. Very true.

Ath. Shall I try and find some sort of persuasive argumen which will prove to you that such enactments are possible, and not beyond human nature?

Cle. By all means.

Ath. Is a man more likely to abstain from the pleasures of

love and to do what he is bidden about them, when his body is in a good condition, or when he is in an ill condition, and out of training?

Cle. He will be far more temperate when he is in training?

Ath. And have we not heard of Iccus of Tarentum, who, with a view to the Olympic and other contests, in his zeal for his art, and also because he was of a manly and temperate constitution, never had any connection with a woman or a youth during the whole time of his training? And the same is said of Crison and Astylus and Diopompus and many others, and yet, Cleinias, they were far worse educated in their minds than yours and my fellow-citizens, and in their bodies far more lusty.

Cle. It is quite true that this is often affirmed as a matter of fact by the ancients about these athletes.

Ath. And shall they be willing to abstain from what is ordinarily deemed a pleasure for the sake of a victory in wrestling, running, and the like; and our young men be incapable of a similar endurance for the sake of a much nobler victory, which is the noblest of all, as from their youth upwards we will tell them, charming them, as we hope, into the belief of this, by tales in prose and verse?

Cle. Of what victory are you speaking?

Ath. Of the victory over pleasure, in winning which they will live happily, or if conquered the reverse of happily. And, further, will not the fear of impiety enable them to master that which other inferior people have mastered?

Cle. That may be certainly expected of them.

Ath. And since we have reached this point in our legislation, and have fallen into a difficulty by reason of the vices of mankind, I affirm that our ordinance should simply run in the following terms: Our citizens ought not to fall below the nature of birds and beasts in general, who are born in great crowds, and remain until the age for procreation virgin and unmarried: when arriving at the proper time of life they are coupled, male and female, and graciously pair together, and live the rest of their lives in holiness and innocence, abiding firmly in their original compact: surely they ought to be better than the animals. But if they are corrupted by the other Hellenes and the common practice of barbarians, and they see with their eyes and hear with their ears of the so-called illicit love everywhere prevailing among them, and they themselves are not able to get

the better of the temptation, the guardians of the law, exercising the functions of lawgivers, shall devise a second law against them.

841 *Cle.* And what law would you advise them to pass if this one failed?

Ath. Clearly, Cleinias, the one which would naturally follow.

Cle. What is that?

Ath. Our citizens should not allow pleasures to strengthen with indulgence, but should by toil divert the aliment and exuberance of them into other parts of the body; and this will happen if no immodesty be allowed in the practice of love. Then they will be ashamed of frequent intercourse, and they will find pleasure, if seldom enjoyed, to be a less imperious mistress. They should not be found out doing anything of the sort. Concealment shall be honorable, and sanctioned both by custom and unwritten law; on the other hand, to be detected shall be esteemed dishonorable; but not to abstain wholly. In this way there will be a second legal standard of honorable and dishonorable, having a second notion of right. Three principles will comprehend all those corrupt natures, whom we call inferior to themselves, which is their common class, and will compel them not to transgress.

Cle. What are they?

Ath. The principle of piety, the love of honor, and the desire of beauty, not in the body but in the soul. These are, perhaps, romantic aspirations; but they are the noblest of aspirations, if they could only be realized in any state, and, God willing, in the matter of love we may be able to enforce one of two things — either that no one shall venture to touch any person of the freeborn or noble class except his wedded wife, or sow the unconsecrated and bastard seed among harlots, or in barren and unnatural lusts; or at least we may abolish altogether the connection of men with men; and as to women, if any man has to do with any but those who come into his house duly married by sacred rites, whether they be bought or acquired in any other way, and he offends publicly in the face of all mankind, we shall be right in enacting that he be deprived of civic honors and privileges, and be deemed to be, as he truly is, a stranger. Let this law, then, whether it is one, or ought rather to be called two, be laid down respecting love in general, and the intercourse of the sexes which arises out of the desires, whether rightly or wrongly indulged.

Meg. I, for my part, Stranger, would gladly receive this law. Cleinias shall speak for himself, and tell you what is his opinion. 842

Cle. That I will, Megillus, when an opportunity offers; at present, I think that we had better allow the Stranger to proceed with his laws.

Meg. Very good.

Ath. We had got about as far as the establishment of the common tables, which in other places would be difficult, but in Crete no one would think of introducing any other custom. There might arise a question about the manner of them — whether they shall be such as they are here in Crete, or such as they are in Lacedaemon, — or is there a third kind which may be better than either of them? The answer to this question might be easily discovered, but the discovery would do no good, for at present they are very well ordered.

Leaving the common tables, we may therefore proceed to the means of providing life. Now, in cities the means of life are gained in many ways and from divers sources, and in general from two sources, whereas our city has only one. For most of the Hellenes obtain their food from sea and land, but our citizens from land only. And this makes the task of the legislator less difficult — half as many laws will be enough, and much less than half; and they will be of a kind better suited to free men. For he has nothing to do with laws about ship-owners and merchants and retailers and innkeepers and tax-collectors and mines and money-lending and compound interest and innumerable other things — bidding good-by to these, he gives laws to husbandmen and shepherds and bee-keepers, and the guardians and superintendents of their implements; and he has already legislated for greater matters, as, for example, what relates to marriage and the procreation and nurture of children, and education, and the establishment of offices — and now he must direct his enactments to those who labor in providing food.

Let us first of all, then, have a class of laws which shall be called the laws of husbandmen. And let the first of them be the law of Zeus, the god of boundaries. Let no one shift the boundary line either of a fellow-citizen who is a neighbor, or, if he dwells at the extremity of the land, of any stranger who is contiguous to him, considering that this is truly "to move the immovable," and every one should be more will- 843

ing to move the largest rock, which is not a landmark, than the least stone which is the sworn arbiter of friendship and hatred between neighbors; for Zeus, the god of kindred, and Zeus, the god of strangers, are the witnesses to them, and when aroused, terrible are their wars. He who obeys the law will never know the fatal consequences of disobedience, but he who despises the law shall be liable to a double penalty, the first coming from the gods, and the second from the law. For let no one voluntarily remove the boundaries of his neighbor's land, and if any one does, let him who will, inform the landowners, and let them bring him into court, and if he be convicted of redividing the land by stealth or by force, let the court determine what he ought to suffer or pay. In the next place, many small injuries done by neighbors to one another through their multiplication, may cause a weight of enmity, and make neighborhood a very disagreeable and bitter thing. Wherefore a man ought to be very careful of committing any offense against his neighbor, and especially of encroaching on his neighbor's land; for any man may easily do harm, but not every man can do good to another. He who encroaches on his neighbor's land, and transgresses his boundaries, shall make good the damage, and, to cure him of his impudence and also of his meanness, he shall pay a double penalty to the injured party. Of these and the like matters the wardens of the country shall take cognizance, and be the judges of them and assessors of the damage; in the more important cases, as has been already said, the whole military force belonging to any one of the twelve divisions shall decide, and in the lesser cases the officers: or, again, if any one pastures his cattle on his neighbor's land, they shall see the injury, and adjudge the penalty. And if any one, by decoying the bees, gets possession of another's swarms and draws them to himself by making noises, he shall pay the damage; or if any one sets fire to his own wood and takes no care of his neighbor's property, he shall be fined at the discretion of the magistrates. And if in planting he does not leave a fair distance between his own and his neighbor's land, he shall be punished, in accordance with the enactments of many lawgivers, which we may use, not deeming it necessary that the great
844 legislator of our state should determine all the trifles which might be decided by any legislator; for example, husbandmen have of old had excellent laws about waters, and there is no reason why we should let the stream of our dis-

course diverge from them: he who likes may draw water from the fountain-head of the common stream on to his own land, if he do not cut off the spring which clearly belongs to some other owner; and he may take the water in any direction which he pleases, except through a house or temple or sepulchre, but he must be careful to do no harm beyond the channel. And if there be in any place a natural dryness of the earth, which absorbs the rain from heaven, and there is a deficiency in the supply of water, let him dig down on his own land as far as the brick clay, and if at this depth he finds no water, let him carry water from his neighbors, as much as is required for his servants' drinking, and if his neighbors, too, are limited in their supply, let him have a fixed measure, which shall be determined by the wardens of the country. This he shall receive each day, and on these terms have a share of his neighbor's water. If there be heavy rain, and one of those on the lower ground injures some tiller of the upper ground, or some one who has a common wall, by refusing to give them an outlet; or, again, if some one living on the higher ground recklessly lets off the water on his lower neighbor, and they cannot come to terms with one another, let him, if he will, summon the other in the city before the warden of the city, or in the country before the warden of the country, and let him obtain a decision determining what each of them is to do. And he who will not abide by the decision shall suffer for his malignant and morose temper, and pay a fine equivalent to double the damage to the injured party, because he was unwilling to submit to the magistrates.

Now, the participation of fruits shall be ordered on this wise. The goddess of Autumn has two gracious gifts: one the joy[1] of Dionysus which is not treasured up; the other, which nature intends to be stored. Let this be the law, then, concerning the fruits of autumn: He who tastes the common or storing fruits of autumn, whether grapes or figs, before the season of vintage which coincides with Arcturus, either on his own land or on that of others, — let him pay fifty drachmae, which shall be sacred to Dionysus, if he pluck them from his own land; and if from his neighbor's land a mina, and if from any others two thirds of a mina. And he who would reap the fresh grapes, or the fresh figs as they are now termed, if he take them off his own land, let him pluck them how and when he likes; but if he takes them from the ground of others without their leave,

[1] Reading *παιδίαν*.

let him in that case be always punished in accordance with the law which ordains that he should not move what he has not laid down. And if a slave touches any fruit of this sort, without the consent of the owner of the land, he shall be beaten with as many blows as there are grapes on the bunch, or figs on the fig-tree. Let a metic, if he pleases, purchase and gather the fresh autumnal fruit; and if a stranger is passing along the road, and desires to eat the autumnal fruit, let him, if he will, take of the fresh grape for himself and a single follower without price, as a tribute of hospitality; but the law forbids strangers from sharing in the sort which is not used for eating; and if any one, whether he be master or slave, takes of them in ignorance, let the slave be beaten, and the master be dismissed with admonitions, and instructed to take of the other autumnal fruits which are unfit for making raisins and wine, or for laying by as dried figs. As to pears, and apples, and pomegranates, and similar fruits, there shall be no disgrace in taking them secretly; but he who is found out, if he be of less than thirty years of age, shall be struck and beaten off, but not wounded; and no freeman shall have any right of satisfaction for such blows. Of these fruits the stranger may partake just as he may of the fruits of autumn. And if an elder who is more than thirty years of age, take of them and eat them on the spot and carry away nothing, let him partake, like the stranger, of all such fruits. If, however, he will not obey the law, let him run the risk of failing in the competition of virtue, in case any one takes notice of his actions before the judges.

845

Water is the greatest element of nutrition in gardens, but is easily polluted. You cannot poison the soil, or the sun, or the air, which are the other elements of nutrition in plants, or divert them, or steal them; but all these things may very likely happen in regard to water, which must therefore be protected by law; and let this be the law: If any one intentionally pollutes the water of another, whether the water of a spring, or collected in reservoirs, either by poisonous substances, or by digging, or by theft, let the injured party bring the cause before the wardens of the city, and claim in writing the value of the loss; and if he be found guilty of injuring the water by deleterious substances, let him not only pay damages, but purify the stream or the vessel which contains the water, in such manner as the laws of the interpreters order the purification to be made by the parties in each case.

With respect to the gathering in of the fruits of the soil, let a man, if he pleases, carry his own fruits through any place in which he either does no harm to any one, or himself gains three times as much as his neighbor loses. Now of 846 these things the archons should be made cognizant, as of all other things in which a man intentionally does injury to another, or to the property of another, by fraud or force, in the use which he makes of his own property. All these matters a man should lay before the magistrates, and receive damages, supposing the injury to be under three minae; or if he have a charge against another which involves a larger amount, let him bring the suits into the public courts and have the evil-doer punished. But if any of the magistrates appears to give unjust punishments in the penalties which he imposes, let him be adjudged to pay double to the injured party. Any one may bring the offenses of magistrates, in any particular case, before the public courts. There are innumerable little matters relating to the modes of punishment, and writs of action, and the summonses and witnesses to summons; for example, whether two witnesses should be required for a summons, or how many, and all such details which cannot be omitted in legislation, and are beneath the wisdom of an aged legislator. These lesser matters, as they indeed are, in comparison with the greater ones, let a younger generation regulate by law, after the patterns which have preceded, and according to their own experience of the usefulness and necessity of them; and when they are duly regulated let there be no alteration, and let the citizens live in the observance of them.

Now of artisans, let the regulations be as follows: In the first place, let no native or servant of a native be occupied in handicraft arts; for a citizen who is to make and preserve the public order of the state has an art which requires much study and many kinds of knowledge, and does not admit of being made a secondary occupation; and hardly any human being is capable of pursuing two professions or two arts rightly, or of practicing one art himself, and superintending some one else who is practicing another. Let this, then, be our first principle in the state: No one who is a smith shall also be a carpenter, and if he be a carpenter he shall not superintend the smith's art rather than his own, under the pretext that in superintending many servants who are working for him, he is likely to superintend them better, because more revenue will accrue to

847 him from them than from his own art; but let every man in the state have one art, and get his living by that. Let the wardens of the city labor to maintain this law, and if any citizen inclines to any other art rather than the study of virtue, let them punish him with disgrace and infamy, until they bring him back into his own right course; and if any stranger profess two arts, let them chastise him with bonds and money penalties, and expulsion from the state, until they compel him to be one only and not many.

But as touching payments for hire, and contracts of work, or in case any one does wrong to any of the citizens, or they do wrong to any other, up to fifty drachmae, let the wardens of the city decide the case; but if a greater amount is involved, then let the public courts decide according to law. Let no one pay any duty either on the importation or exportation of goods; and as to frankincense and similar perfumes, used in the service of the gods, which come from foreign parts, and purple and other dyes which are not produced in the country, or the materials of any art which have to be imported, and which are not necessary — no one should import them; nor, again, should any one export anything which is wanted in the country. Of all these things let there be inspectors and superintendents, taken from the guardians of the law; and they shall be the twelve next in order to the five seniors. Concerning arms, and all military implements, if there be need of introducing any art, or plant, or metal, either for the purpose of making chains, or bridles and reins for animals, let the commanders of the horse and the generals have authority over their importation and exportation; the city shall give and receive them, and the guardians of the law shall make fit and proper laws about them. But let there be no retail trade for the sake of money making, either in this or any other article, in the city or country at all.

With respect to food and the distribution of the produce of the country, the right and proper way seems to be nearly that which is the custom of Crete; for there all are required to distribute the fruits of the soil into twelve parts, and in this way

848 consume them. Let the twelfth portion of each (as for instance, of wheat and barley, which the rest of the fruits of the earth shall follow, as well as the animals which are sold in each of the twelve divisions) be further divided into three parts; one part for freemen, another for their servants, and a

third part for craftsmen, and in general for the strangers, and any sojourners who may be dwelling in the city, and must live like other men; and there may be those who come on some business which they have with the state, or with any individual Let only a third part of all necessaries be required to be sold; out of the other two thirds no one shall be compelled to sell. And how will they be best distributed? In the first place, we see clearly that the distribution will be of equals in one point of view, and in another point of view of unequals.

Cle. What do you mean?

Ath. I mean that the earth of necessity produces and nourishes the various articles of food, sometimes better and sometimes worse.

Cle. Of course.

Ath. Such being the case, let no one of the three portions be greater than either of the other two; neither that which is assigned to masters and slaves, nor again that of the stranger; but let the distribution to all be alike, and let every one of the citizens who gets his two portions have power to determine how much, and of what quality, he will distribute to slaves and freemen. And what remains he shall distribute by measure and number among the animals who have to be sustained from the earth, taking the whole number of them.

In the second place, our citizens should have separate houses duly ordered; and this shall be the order of them. There shall be twelve hamlets, one in the middle of each twelfth lot, and in each hamlet they shall first separate off a market-place, and the temples of the gods, under their attendant demi-gods, and if there be any local deities of the Magnetes, or holy seats of other ancient deities, whose memory has been preserved — to these let them pay their ancient honors. But Hestia, and Zeus, and Athenę, and whatever other god may preside in each of the twelve portions, shall have temples everywhere. And the first erection of houses shall be around these temples, where the ground is highest, in order to provide the safest and most defensible place of retreat for the guards. All the rest of the country they shall settle in the following manner: They shall make thirteen divisions of the craftsmen; one of them shall dwell in the city, and this, again, they shall subdivide into twelve lesser divisions, among the twelve districts of the city, distributed in the outskirts all around; and in each village they shall settle various classes of craftsmen, with a view to the con

849 venience of the husbandmen. And the chief officers of the wardens of the country shall watch over all these matters, and see how many of them, and which class of them, each place requires; and fix them where they are likely to give the least inconvenience, and to be most useful to the husbandman. And the officers of the wardens of the city shall see to similar matters in the city.

Now the wardens of the agora ought to see to the details of the agora. Their first care, after the temples have been cared for, should be to prevent any one from doing any wrong in dealings between man and man; in the second place, as being inspectors of temperance and violence, they should chastise him who requires chastisement. Touching articles of sale, they should first see, whether the articles which the citizens are under regulations to sell to strangers are sold to them, as the law ordains. And let the law be as follows: On the first day of the month, the persons in charge, whoever they are, whether strangers or slaves, who have the charge, shall produce to the strangers the portion which falls to them, in the first place, a twelfth portion of the corn; the stranger shall purchase corn for the whole month, and other food, on the first market day, and on the tenth day of the month the one party shall sell, and the other buy, liquids sufficient to last during the whole month; and on the twenty-third day, there shall be a sale of animals and of utensils, and of other things which husbandmen require, such as skins and all kinds of clothing, either woven or made of felt, and other goods of the same sort; and strangers shall be compelled to buy and purchase them from others. As to the retail trade in these things, whether of barley or wheat, made into flour, or any other kind of food, no one shall sell them to citizens or their slaves, nor shall any one buy of any such persons; but let the stranger sell them in the market of strangers, to artisans and their slaves, making an exchange of wine and food, which is commonly called retail trade. And butchers shall likewise offer for sale dismembered animals to the strangers, and artisans, and their servants. Let any stranger who likes buy fuel from day to day wholesale, from those who have the care of it in the country, and let him sell to the strangers as much as he pleases and when he pleases. As to other goods and implements which are likely to be wanted, they shall sell them in the common market, at any place which the guardians of the law and the wardens of the market and city, choosing according

to their judgments, shall determine; at such places they shall exchange money for goods, and goods for money, neither party giving credit to the other; and he who gives credit, whether he obtain his money or not, must be satisfied, for in such exchanges he will not be protected by law. But whenever property has been bought or sold, greater in quantity or value than is allowed by the law, which has determined within what limits a man may increase and diminish his possessions, let the excess be registered in the books of the guardians of the law; or in case of diminution, let there be an erasure made. And let the same rule be observed about the registration of the property of the metics. Any one who likes may come and be a metic on certain conditions; a foreigner, if he likes, and is able to settle, may dwell in the land, but he must practice an art, and not abide more than twenty years from the time at which he has registered himself; and he shall pay no sojourner's tax, however small, except good conduct, nor any other tax for buying and selling. But when the twenty years have expired, he shall take his property with him and depart. And if in the course of these years he should chance to distinguish himself by any considerable benefit which he confers on the state, and he thinks that he can persuade the council and assembly, either to grant him delay in leaving the country, or to allow him to remain for the whole of his life, let him go and persuade the city, and whatever they assent to at his instance shall take effect. For the children of the metics being artisans, and of fifteen years of age, let the time of their sojourn commence after their fifteenth year; and let them remain for twenty years, and then go where they like; but any of them who wishes to remain, may remain, if he can persuade the council and assembly. And if he do not remain, let him erase all the entries which have been made by him in the registry kept by the archons.

BOOK IX.

853 NEXT in the natural order of legislation, after the actions of which I have spoken, will come suits of law. Those which relate to agriculture have been already described, but the more important have not been described. Having mentioned them severally under their usual names, we will proceed to say what punishments are to be inflicted for each offense, and who are to be the judges of them.

Cle. Very good.

Ath. There is a sense of disgrace in legislating, as we are about to do, for all the details of crime in a state which, as we say, is to be well regulated and will be perfectly adapted to the practice of virtue. To assume that in such a state there will arise some accomplice in crimes as great as any which are ever perpetrated in other states, and that we must legislate for him by anticipation, and threaten and make laws against him if he should arise; in order to deter him, and punish his acts, under the idea that he will arise — this, as I was saying, is in a manner disgraceful. But seeing that we are not like the ancient legislators, who gave laws to demi-gods and sons of gods, being themselves, according to the popular belief, the offspring of the gods, and legislating for others, who were also the children of divine parents, whereas we are only men who are legislating for the sons of men, there is no uncharitableness in apprehending that some one of our citizens may be like a seed hardened by the ox's horn, and have a heart which cannot be softened any more than those seeds can be softened by fire. Among our citizens there may be those who cannot be subdued by all the strength of the laws; and for their sake, though an ungracious task, I will proclaim my first law about the robbing of temples, in case such a crime should ever be committed. I do not expect or imagine that any well-brought-up citizen will ever take

the disorder, but their servants, and strangers, and strangers' servants, may attempt many crimes of this sort. And with a view to them especially, and yet not without a provident eye to the weakness of human nature generally, I will proclaim the law about robbers of temples and similar incurable, or almost incurable criminals. Having already agreed that such enactments ought always to have a short prelude, we may speak to the criminal whom some tormenting desire by night and by day tempts to go and rob a temple, in words of admonition and exhortation: O sir, we will say to him, the impulse which moves you to rob temples is not a malady of man, nor yet from Heaven, but a sort of madness which is begotten in men from ancient and unexpiated crimes, the curse of which revolves in a cycle; against this you must guard as well as you can, and how you are to guard I will explain to you. When any such thought comes into your mind, go and perform expiations, go as a suppliant to the temples of the gods who avert evils, go to the society of those who are called good men among you; hear them tell, and yourself try to repeat after them, that every man should honor the noble and the just. Fly from the company of the wicked — fly, and turn not back; and if thy disorder is lightened sensibly by the use of these remedies, well and good, but if not, then acknowledge death to be nobler than life, and depart hence. 854

These are the preludes which we sing to all those who have thoughts of unholy and treasonable actions, and to him who obeys them the law has nothing more to say. But to him who is disobedient when the prelude is over, cry with a loud voice, — He who is taken in the act of robbing temples, if he be a slave or stranger, shall have his evil deed engraven on his face and hands, and shall be beaten with as many stripes as may seem good to the judges, and be cast naked beyond the borders of the land. And if he suffers this punishment he will probably be corrected and improved; for no penalty which is inflicted according to law is designed for evil, but always makes him who suffers either better or not so bad. And if any citizen be found doing anything of this sort, I mean to say, if he be guilty of any great and unmentionable wrong, either in relation to the gods, or his parents, or the state, let the judge deem him to be incurable, remembering what an education and training he has had from youth upward, and yet has not abstained from the greatest of crimes. The penalty of death is to him the least

855 of evils; and others will be benefited by his example, if he be dishonored and dispatched beyond the borders of the land. But let his children and family, if they avoid the ways of their father, have glory, and let honorable mention be made of them, as having nobly and manfully escaped out of evil into good. None of them should have their goods confiscated to the state, in which the lots ought always to continue the same and equal. Touching the exaction of penalties, when a man appears to have done anything which deserves a fine, he shall pay the fine, if he have anything in excess of the lot which is assigned to him; but more than that he shall not pay. And with a view to exactness, let the guardians of the law refer to the registers, and inform the judges of the precise truth, in order that none of the lots may go uncultivated for want of money. And if any one seems to deserve a greater penalty, unless some of his friends are willing to be surety for him, and liberate him by becoming partners in the fine, let him be imprisoned for a time and otherwise dishonored. And let no one be outlawed for any offense whatever, nor be banished beyond the frontier, but let him receive punishment — death, or bonds, or blows, or uncomfortable positions, standing or posted at a temple on the borders of the land, or let him pay money penalties, as we said before. In cases of death, let the judges be the guardians of the law, and a court selected according to merit from last years' magistrates. But how the causes are to be introduced, and the summonses, and manner of proceeding and the like, may be left to the younger generation of legislators to determine; the manner of voting we must determine ourselves.

Let the vote be given openly; but before they come to the vote, let the judges sit in order of seniority over against plaintiff and defendant, and let all the citizens who can spare time hear and take a serious interest in listening to such causes. First of all the plaintiff shall make one speech, and then the defendant shall make another; and after the speeches have been made the eldest judge shall begin to examine the parties, and proceed to make a satisfactory inquiry into what has been said; and after the oldest has spoken, every one shall proceed in order to investigate what he would desire to have stated or not stated by either party; he who has nothing more to ask shall pass over the examination to another. And on so much of what has been said as is to the purpose, they shall put the seals of all the judges with their signatures in writing, and place the writings

on the altar of Hestia. On the next day they shall meet again, and in like manner put their questions and go through the cause, and again set their seals upon the evidence; and when they have three times done this, and have had witnesses and evidence enough, they shall each of them give a holy vote, after promising by Hestia that they will decide justly and truly to the utmost of their power; and so they shall put an end to the suit. 856

Next, after what relates to the gods, follows what relates to the dissolution of the state: Whoever by promoting a man to power enslaves the laws, and subjects the city to factions, using violence and stirring up sedition contrary to law, him we will deem the greatest enemy of the whole state. But he who takes no part in such proceedings, and yet being the chief magistrate of the state, knowing of them or not knowing of them, by reason of cowardice does not interfere on behalf of his country, such a one we must consider nearly as bad. Every man who is worth anything will inform the magistrates, and bring the conspirator to trial for making a violent and illegal attempt to change the government. The judges of the traitor shall be the same as of the robbers of temples; and let the whole proceeding be carried on in the same way, and the vote of the majority condemn to death. But let there be a general rule, that the disgrace and punishment of the father is not to be visited on the children, except in the case of some one whose father, grandfather, and great-grandfather have successively undergone the penalty of death. Such persons the city shall send away, with all their possessions, reserving only and wholly their appointed lot to their original city and country. And out of the citizens who have more than one son of not less than ten years of age, they shall select ten whom their father or grandfather by the mother's or father's side shall appoint, and let them send to Delphi the names of those who obtain the lot, and him whom the God appoints they shall establish as heir of the house which has failed; and may he have better fortune than his predecessors!

Cle. Very good.

Ath. Once more let there be a third general law respecting the judges who are to give judgment, and the manner of conducting suits against those who are tried on an accusation of treason; and as concerning the remaining or departure of their descendants, — there shall be one law for all three. 857

for the traitor, and the robber of temples, and the subverter by violence of the laws of the state. For a thief, whether he steal much or little, let there be one law, and one punishment for all alike; in the first place, let him pay double the amount of the theft if he be convicted, and if he has so much over and above the allotment. If he have not, he shall be bound until he pay the penalty, or persuade him who has got the sentence against him to forgive him. But if a person is convicted of a theft against the state, then if he can persuade the city, or if he will pay back twice the amount of the theft, he shall be set free from his bonds.

Cle. What makes you say, Stranger, that the theft is all one, whether the thief has taken much or little, and whether from sacred or secular places; and these are not the only differences in thefts: seeing, then, that they are of many kinds, ought not the legislator to adapt himself to them, and impose upon them entirely different penalties?

Ath. Excellent. I was running on too fast, Cleinias, and you impinged upon me, and brought me to my senses, reminding me of what, indeed, had occurred to my mind already, that legislation was never yet rightly worked out, as I may say in passing: To what am I referring? That was not a bad image in which I likened the men for whom laws are now made to slaves who are doctored by slaves. For of this you may be very sure, that if one of those empirical physicians, who practice medicine without science, were to come upon the gentleman physician talking to his gentle patient, and using the language almost of philosophy — beginning at the beginning of the disease, and discoursing about the whole nature of the body, he would burst into a hearty laugh — he would say what most of those who are called doctors always have at their tongue's end: Foolish fellow, he would say, you are not healing the sick man, but you are educating him; and he does not want to be made a doctor, but to get well.

Cle. And would he not be right in saying that?

Ath. Perhaps he would; and he might remark upon us, that he who discourses about laws, as we are now doing, is giving the citizens education and not laws; that would be rather a telling observation.

Cle. Very true.

858 *Ath.* But we are fortunate.

Cle. In what way?

Ath. Inasmuch as we are not compelled to give laws, but we may take into consideration every form of government, and ascertain what is best and what is most needful, and how they may both be carried into execution; and we may also, if we please, choose what is best, or, if we prefer, what is most necessary — which shall we do?

Cle. There is something ridiculous, Stranger, in our proposing such an alternative, as if we were legislators, simply bound under some great necessity which cannot be deferred to the morrow. But we, as I may by the grace of Heaven affirm, like gatherers of stones or beginners of some composite work, may collect a heap of materials, and afterwards, at our leisure, select what is suitable for our intended construction. Let us then suppose ourselves to be at leisure, not of necessity building, but rather like men who are partly providing materials, and partly putting them together. And we may truly say that some of our laws, like stones, are already fixed in their places; and others lie about provisionally, and are put by.

Ath. Certainly, in that case, Cleinias, our view of law will be more in accordance with nature. For there is another matter affecting legislators, which I must earnestly entreat you to consider.

Cle. What is that?

Ath. Divers other persons, and not legislators only, have composed writings and speeches.

Cle. To be sure.

Ath. Shall we give heed rather to the writings of those others, — poets and the like, who either in metre or out of metre have recorded their own notes of life, and not to the writings of legislators, or shall we give heed to them above all?

Cle. Yes; to them above all others.

Ath. And of those who write about the beautiful, the good, and the just, ought any one but the legislator to advise concerning them, and to teach what they are, and how they are to be pursued by those who intend to be happy?

Cle. Certainly not.

Ath. And is it more disgraceful for Homer and Tyrtaeus and other poets to lay down evil precepts in their writings respecting life and the pursuits of men, but not so disgraceful for Lycurgus and Solon and others who were legislators as well as writers? Of all the writings which there are in cities, are not those which relate to laws, when you unfold them, found to be

859 by far the noblest and the best, and do not other writings either agree with them, or if they disagree, are they not ridiculous? We should consider whether the laws of states ought to appear in the character of loving and wise parents, or of tyrants and masters, who command and threaten, and, after writing their decrees on walls, go their ways; and whether, in discoursing of laws, we shall regard them as parents, a view which may or may not be attainable, but to which we, at any rate, will show our readiness to give effect, and be prepared to undergo whatever may be the result. And may the result be good, and by the favor of Heaven it shall be good!

Cle. Excellent; and let us do as you say.

Ath. Then we will now consider accurately, as we proposed, what relates to robbers of temples, and all kinds of thefts and offenses in general; and we must not be annoyed if, in the course of legislation, we have enacted some things, and have not made up our minds about some others: for as yet we are not legislators, but are only preparing to be legislators, in which attempt we hope to succeed. Let us, then, as I propose, consider these matters, if you do not object.

Cle. By all means.

Ath. Concerning all principles of honor and justice, let us endeavor to ascertain how far we are consistent with ourselves, and how far we are inconsistent, acknowledging indeed that our aim is to contradict the majority — and we may note how far the many are inconsistent with one another.

Cle. What are the inconsistencies which you observe in us?

Ath. I will endeavor to explain. If I am not mistaken, we are agreed that justice and just men and things and actions are all fair, so that, if a person were to maintain that just men even when they are deformed in body, are still perfectly beautiful in respect of the excellent justice of their minds, no one would say that there was any inconsistency in this.

Cle. They would be quite right.

Ath. Perhaps; but let us consider further, that even if all things which are just are fair and honorable, there are always passive states deemed by us to be equivalent to the active ones.

Cle. And what is the inference from that?

Ath. The inference is, that a just action in partaking of the just partakes also in the same degree of the fair and honorable.

Cle. Certainly.

Ath. And must not a suffering which partakes of the just principle be admitted to be in the same degree fair and honorable, if the argument is consistently carried out? 860

Cle. True.

Ath. But if we admit suffering to be just and yet dishonorable, and the term "dishonorable" is applied to justice, then the just and the honorable will disagree?

Cle. What do you mean?

Ath. A thing not difficult to understand; the laws which have been already enacted would seem to announce principles directly opposed to what we are saying.

Cle. To what?

Ath. We were saying, if I am not mistaken, that the robber of temples, and he who was the enemy of law and order, might justly be put to death, and we were proceeding to make divers other enactments of a similar nature. But we refrained, because we saw that these inflictions of sufferings are infinite in number and degree, and are, at once, the most just and also the most dishonorable of all sufferings. And if this is true, are not the just and the honorable at one time all the same, and at another time in the most diametrical opposition?

Cle. That appears to be the case.

Ath In this discordant and inconsistent fashion does the language of the many rend asunder the honorable and just.

Cle. That, Stranger, appears to be true.

Ath. Then now, Cleinias, let us see how far we are consistent about these matters.

Cle. Consistent in what?

Ath. I think that I have clearly stated in the former part of the discussion, but if I did not, let me now state —

Cle. What?

Ath. That all bad men are always involuntarily bad; and if s is true, then I must proceed to make a further inference.

Cle. What is that?

Ath. That the unjust man may be bad, but that he is bad against his will. Now that an action which is done involuntarily, should be voluntary, is a contradiction; wherefore he who maintains that injustice is involuntary will deem that the evil-doer does evil involuntarily. That I, too, must now admit, for I say that all men do evil involuntarily, and if any one from motives of strife or party says that there are men who are evil-doers against their will, and yet that many do evil willingly, I

certainly cannot agree with him. But, then, how can I avoid being inconsistent with myself, if you, Cleinias, and you, Megillus, say to me, — Well, Stranger, and how about legislating for the city of the Magnetes — shall we legislate or not — what do you advise? Certainly we will, I should reply. Then will you determine for them what are voluntary and what are involuntary crimes, and shall we make the punishments greater of voluntary errors and crimes and less for the involuntary; or
861 shall we make the punishment of all to be alike, under the idea that there is no such thing as voluntary crime?

Cle. Very good, Stranger; and what shall we say in answer to these objections?

Ath. That is a very fair question. In the first place let us —

Cle. Do what?

Ath. Let us remember, what has been well said by us already, that our ideas of justice were in the highest degree confused and inconsistent. Bearing this in mind, let us proceed to ask ourselves once more whether we have discovered a way out of the difficulty. Have we ever determined in what respect these two classes of actions differ from one another? For in all states and by all legislators whatsoever two kinds of actions have been distinguished — the one, voluntary, the other, involuntary; and they have legislated about them accordingly. But shall this new word of ours, like an oracle of God, be only spoken, and have no explanation or verification? How can a word not understood be the basis of legislation? That is impossible. Before proceeding to legislate, then, we must prove that they are two, and what is the difference between them, that when we impose the penalty upon either, every one may understand our proposal, and be able in some way to judge whether the penalty is fitly or unfitly enacted.

Cle. I agree with you, Stranger, for one of two things is certain: either we must not say that all crimes are involuntary, or we must show the meaning and truth of this statement.

Ath. Of these two alternatives, the one is quite intolerable, — not to speak what I know to be the truth would be to me unlawful and unholy. But if they do not differ as voluntary and involuntary, I must endeavor to find some other distinction in them.

Cle. Very true, Stranger, that is the only way in which the matter can be considered by us.

Ath. Reflect, then; there are hurts of various kinds done by

the citizens to one another in the intercourse of life, affording plentiful examples both of the voluntary and involuntary.

Cle. Certainly.

Ath. I would not have any one suppose that all these hurts are injuries, and that injuries are of two kinds, — one voluntary, and the other, involuntary; for the involuntary hurts are quite as many and as great as the voluntary. And please to consider whether I am right or not in what I am going to say; for I deny, Cleinias and Megillus, that he who harms another involuntarily does him an injury involuntarily, nor should I legislate about such an act under the idea that I am legislating for an involuntary injury. But I should rather say that such a hurt, whether great or small, is not an injury at all; and, on the other hand, if I am right, when a benefit is wrongly conferred, the author of the benefit may often be said to injure. For I maintain, O my friends, that the mere giving or taking away of anything is not to be described either as just or unjust; but the legislator has to consider whether any one does good or harm to another out of a just principle and intention. On the distinction between injustice and hurt he must fix his eye; and when there is hurt, he must, as far as he can, make the hurt good by law, and save that which is ruined, and raise up that which is fallen, and make that which is dead or wounded whole. And when compensation is given, the law must always seek to win over the doers and sufferers of the several hurts from feelings of enmity to those of friendship. 862

Cle. That is good.

Ath. Then as to unjust hurts or gains, supposing that some one by doing wrong causes a gain to another, — of these we may heal as many as are capable of being healed, regarding them as diseases of the soul, and the cure of injustice will take the following direction —

Cle. What direction?

Ath. When any one commits any injustice, small or great, the law will admonish and compel him either never at all to do the like again, or never voluntarily, or at any rate in a far less degree; and he must in addition pay for the hurt. Whether the end is to be attained by word or action, with pleasure or pain, by giving or taking away privileges, by means of penalties or gifts, or in whatsoever way the law shall make a man hate injustice, and love or not hate the nature of the just, this is the noblest work of law. But if the legislator sees any one who

is incurable, for him he will make a law and fix a penalty. He knows quite well that to such men themselves there is no profit in the continuance of their lives, and that they would do a double good to the rest of mankind if they would take their de-
863 parture, inasmuch as they would be an example to other men not to offend, and they would relieve the city of bad citizens. In such cases, and in such cases only, the legislator ought to inflict death as the punishment of offenses.

Cle. What you have said appears to me to be very reasonable, but will you favor me by stating a little more clearly the difference between hurt and injustice, and the various complications of the involuntary and voluntary which arise in these cases?

Ath. I will endeavor to comply with your request: Concerning the soul, thus much would be generally said and allowed, that one element in her nature is passion; which may be described either as a state or a part of the soul, and is hard to be striven against and contended with, and by irrational force overturns many things.

Cle. Very true.

Ath. And pleasure is not the same with passion, but has an opposite power, working by persuasion and by the force of deceit in all things.

Cle. Quite true.

Ath. A man may truly say that ignorance is a third cause of crimes. Ignorance, however, may be conveniently divided by the legislator into two sorts: There is simple ignorance, which is the source of lighter offenses, and double ignorance, which is accompanied by conceit of wisdom; and he who is under the influence of the latter, fancies that he knows all about matters of which he knows nothing. This second kind of ignorance, when possessed of power and strength, will be held by the legislator to be the source of great and monstrous crimes, but when attended with weakness will only result in the errors of children and old men; and these he will treat as errors, and will make laws accordingly for those who commit them, which will be the mildest and most merciful of all laws.

Cle. That is reasonable.

Ath. We all of us remark of one man that he is superior to pleasure and passion, and of another that he is inferior to them and this is true.

Cle. Quite true.

Ath. But no one was ever yet heard to say that one of us is superior and the other inferior to ignorance?

Cle. Very true.

Ath. All these are motives of which we say that they incite men to the fulfillment of their will; although they may often contend one with another and draw an individual in opposite directions at the same time.

Cle. That is very often the case.

Ath. And now I can define to you clearly, and without ambiguity, what I mean by the just and unjust, according to my notion of them: When anger and fear, and pleasure and pain, and jealousies and desires, tyrannize over the soul, whether they do any harm or not — I call them all injustice. But when 864
the opinion of the best, whatever may be the supposed relation of the best to them in states or individuals, gets the upper hand, and orders the souls of individuals, even though sometimes in error, yet what is done in accordance therewith, and the principle in individuals which obeys this rule, and is best for the whole life of man, is to be called just; although the action, done in error, is thought by the multitude to be involuntary injustice. Leaving the question of names, about which we are not going to quarrel, and having already delineated three sorts of errors, we may begin by recalling them somewhat more vividly to our memory: One kind was of the painful sort, which we denominate anger and fear?

Cle. Quite right.

Ath. There was a second class of pleasures and desires, and a third class of hopes, which aimed at true opinion about the best. This latter being further subdivided into three, there arise five kinds of actions, and for these five kinds we will make laws of two kinds.

Cle. What are the five kinds of which you are speaking?

Ath. There is the kind of actions done by violence and in the light of day, and another kind of actions which are done in darkness and with secret deceit, or sometimes both with violence and deceit; the laws concerning these last ought to have a character of severity.

Cle. Naturally.

Ath. And now let us return from this digression and complete the work of legislation. Laws have been already enacted by us concerning the robbers of the gods, and concerning traitors; and also concerning those who corrupt the laws for the

purpose of subverting the government. A man may very likely commit some of these crimes, either in a state of madness or when affected by disease, or under the influence of extreme old age, or in a fit of childish wantonness, himself no better than a child. And if this be made evident to one of the judges elected to try the cause, on the appeal of the criminal or his advocate, and he be judged to have been in this state when he committed the offense, he shall simply pay for the hurt which he may have done to another; but he shall be exempt from other penalties, unless he have slain some one, and have on his hands the stain of blood. And in that case he shall go to another land and country, and there dwell for a year; and if he return before the expiration of the time which the law appoints, or even set his foot at all on his native land, he shall be bound by the guardians of the law as a public prisoner for two years, and then go free.

Having begun to speak of homicide, let us endeavor to lay down laws concerning every different kind of homicide; and, first of all, concerning violent and involuntary homicides. If any one in an athletic contest, and at the public games, involuntarily kills a friend, and he dies either at the time or afterwards of the blows which he has received; or if the like misfortune happen to any one in war or military exercises, or mimic contests of which the rulers enjoin the practice, whether with or without arms, when he has been purified according to the law brought from Delphi relating to these matters, he shall be innocent. And so in the case of physicians, if their patient die against their will, they shall be held guiltless by the law. And if one slay another with his own hand, but unintentionally, whether he be unarmed or have some instrument or dart in his hand; or if he kill him by giving him food or drink, or by the application of fire or cold, or by suffocating him, whether he do the deed by his own hand, or by the agency of others, he shall be regarded as the agent, and shall suffer the following penalties: If he kill a slave thinking that he is his own, he shall bear the master of the dead man harmless from loss, or shall pay a penalty of twice the value of the dead man, and the judges shall assess the value of the slave; but they must use purifications greater and more than in the case of those who committed homicide at the games; what they are to be, the interpreters whom the God appoints shall be authorized to declare. And if a man kills his own slave, when he has been

purified according to law, he shall be quit of the homicide. And if a man kills a freeman unintentionally, he shall undergo the same purification as he did who killed the slave. But let him not forget also a tale of the olden time, which is to this effect: He who has suffered a violent end, if he has had the soul of a freeman in life, is, when newly dead, angry with the author of his death; and being himself full of fear and panic by reason of his violent death, when he sees his murderer walking about in his own accustomed haunts, he is said to become disordered, which disorder of his, aided by the guilty recollection of the other, is communicated by him with overwhelming force, to the murderer and his deeds. Wherefore he must get out of the way of the sufferer for the entire period of a year, and must not be found in any of the places that belong to him in the whole country. And if the dead man be a stranger, he shall abstain from the whole country of the stranger during a like period. If any one voluntarily obey this law, the 866
next of kin to the deceased, seeing all that has happened, shall take pity on him, and make peace with him, and deal with him as he ought. But if any one is disobedient, and either ventures to go to any of the temples and sacrifice unpurified, or will not continue in exile during the appointed time, the next of kin to the deceased shall proceed against him for murder; and if he be convicted every part of his punishment shall be doubled. And if the next of kin do not proceed against the perpetrator of the crime, then the pollution shall be deemed to fall upon his own head; the sufferer shall call for vengeance upon him, and he who has a mind to proceed against him may compel him to be absent from his country during five years, according to law. If a stranger involuntarily kill a stranger who is dwelling in the city, he who likes shall prosecute the cause according to the same rules. If he be a metic, let him be absent for a year, or if he be an entire stranger, in addition to the purification, whether he slay a stranger, or a metic, or a citizen, he shall be banished for life from the country which is under the dominion of our laws. And if he return contrary to law, let the guardians of the law punish him with death; and let them hand over his property, if he have any, to him who is next of kin to the sufferer. And if he be wrecked, and driven on the coast against his will, he shall take up his abode on the sea-shore, wetting his feet in the sea, and watching for an opportunity of sailing; but if he be brought by land and is not his

own master, let the magistrate whom he first comes across in the city release him, and send him unharmed over the border.

If any one slays a freeman with his own hand, and the deed be done in passion, in the case of such actions we must begin by making a distinction. For a deed is done from passion either when men suddenly, and without intention to kill, cause the death of another by blows and the like on a momentary impulse, and are sorry for the deed immediately afterwards; or again, when, after having been insulted in deed or word, men pursue revenge, and kill a person intentionally, and are not sorry for their deed. And, therefore, we must assume that there are two kinds of homicide, both of them arising from passion,
867 which may be justly said to be in a mean between the voluntary and involuntary; at the same time, they are neither of them anything more than a likeness or shadow of either: He who treasures up his anger, and avenges himself, not immediately and at the moment, but with insidious design and after an interval, is like the voluntary; but he who does not treasure up his anger, and takes vengeance on the instant, and without malice prepense, approaches to the involuntary; and yet even he is not altogether involuntary, but is only the image or shadow of the involuntary; wherefore about homicides committed in hot blood, there is a difficulty in determining whether in legislating we shall reckon them as voluntary or as partly involuntary. The best and truest view is to regard either as a likeness only of the voluntary or involuntary. We may, however, divide them accordingly as they are done with or without premeditation. And we may make the penalties heavier for those who commit homicide with angry premeditation, and lighter for those who do not premeditate, but smite upon the instant; for that which is like a greater evil should be punished more severely, and that which is like a less evil should be punished less severely: this shall be the rule of our laws.

Cle. Certainly.

Ath. Let us proceed: If any one slays a freeman with his own hand, and the deed be done in a moment of anger, and without premeditation, let the offender suffer in other respects as the involuntary homicide would have suffered, undergoing an exile of two years, that he may learn to school his passions. But he who slays another from passion, yet with premeditation, shall undergo the same penalty as the former; and to this shall be added an exile of three instead of two years,—his punish-

ment is to be longer because his passion is greater. The manner of their return shall be on this wise (and here the law has difficulty in determining exactly; for in some cases the murder which is judged by the law to be worse may really be the less cruel, and he who is judged the less cruel may be really the worse, and may have executed the murder in a more savage manner, whereas the other may have been gentler. But in general the degrees of guilt will be such as we have described them. Of all these things the guardians of the law must take cognizance); when either of them has completed his term of exile, they shall send twelve judges to the borders of the land; these in the interval shall have been informed of the actions of the criminals, and they shall judge respecting their pardon and reception; and the homicides shall abide by their judgment. But if after they have returned home, either 868
of them in a moment of anger repeats the deed, let him be an exile, and return no more; or if he return, let him suffer as the stranger was to suffer in a similar case. He who kills his own slave shall undergo a purification, but if he kills the slave of another in anger, he shall pay twice the amount of the loss to his owner. And if a homicide is disobedient to the law, and without purification pollutes the agora, or the games, or the temples, he who pleases may bring to trial the next of kin to the dead man for permitting him, and the murderer with him, and may compel the one to exact and the other to suffer a double portion of fines and purifications; and the accuser may himself receive the fine which is imposed by law. If a slave in a fit of passion kills his master, the kindred of the deceased man may do with the murderer (provided only they do not spare his life) whatever they please, and they will be pure; or if he kills a freeman, who is not his master, the owners shall give up the slave to the relatives of the deceased, and they shall be under an obligation to put him to death, but this may be done in any manner which they please. And if (which is a rare occurrence, but does sometimes happen) a father or a mother in a moment of passion slay a son or daughter by blows, or some other violence, they shall undergo the same purification as in other cases, and be exiled during three years; but when they return from exile the wife shall separate from the husband, and the husband from the wife, and they shall never afterwards beget children together, or live under the same roof, or partake of the same sacred rites with those whom

they have deprived of a child or of a brother. And he who is impious and disobedient in such a case shall be brought to trial for impiety by any one who pleases. If in a fit of anger a husband kills his wife, or the wife her husband, they shall undergo the same purification, and their term of exile shall be three years. And when he who has committed any such crime returns, let him have no communion in sacred rites with his children, neither let him sit at the same table with them, and the father or son who disobeys shall be liable to be brought to trial for impiety by any one who pleases. If a brother or sister in a fit of passion kills a brother or a sister, they shall undergo a purification and a year's exile, as was the case with parents who kill their offspring: they shall not come under the same roof, or share in the sacred rites of those whom they have deprived of their brethren, or of their children. 869 And he who is disobedient shall be justly liable to the law concerning impiety, which relates to these matters. If any one is so violent in his passion against his parents, that in the madness of his anger he dares to kill one of them, if the dead man, when dying, of his own accord acquits the murderer, let him undergo the purification which is assigned to those who have been guilty of involuntary homicide, and do as they do, and he shall be pure. But if he be not acquitted, the perpetrator of such a deed shall be amenable to many laws, for he shall be amenable to the extreme punishments for assault, and impiety, and robbing of temples, in that he has robbed his parent of life; and if a man could be slain more than once, most justly would he who in a fit of passion has slain father or mother, undergo many deaths. How can he, whom, even in defense of his life, and when about to suffer death at the hands of his parents, no law will allow to kill his father or his mother who are the authors of his being, and whom the legislator will command to endure any extremity rather than this — how can he, I say, lawfully receive any other punishment? Let death then be the appointed punishment of him who in a fit of passion slays his father or his mother. But if brother kill brother in a civil broil, or under other like circumstances, if the other have begun, and he only defend himself, let him be free from guilt, as he would be if he had slain an enemy. And if a citizen kill a citizen, or a stranger a stranger; or if a stranger kill a citizen, or a citizen a stranger, let him be free from guilt in like manner and so in the case of a slave who has killed a slave; but if

slave have killed a freeman in self-defense, let him be subject to the same law as he who has killed a father; and let the law about the remission of penalties in the case of parricide apply equally to every other remission. Whenever any sufferer of his own accord remits the guilt of homicide to another, and declares his act to have been involuntary, let the perpetrator of the deed undergo a purification and remain in exile for a year, according to law.

Enough has been said of murders violent and involuntary, and committed in passion: we have now to speak of voluntary crimes done with every sort of injustice and premeditation, through the influence of pleasures, and desires, and jealousies.

Cle. Very good.

Ath. Let us first speak, as far as we are able, of the number and nature of these causes of them. The greatest is lust, 870
which gets the mastery of the soul maddened by desire; and this is most commonly found to exist where the passion reigns, which is strongest and most prevalent among the mass of mankind: I mean where the power of wealth breeds endless desires of never to be satisfied acquisition, originating in natural disposition, and a miserable want of education. Of this want of education, the false admiration of wealth which is bruited about among Hellenes and barbarians is the cause; they deem that to be the first of goods which in reality is only the third. And in this way they wrong both posterity and themselves, for nothing can be nobler and better than that the truth about wealth should be spoken in all states — namely, that riches are for the sake of the body as the body is for the sake of the soul. They are good, and wealth is intended by nature to be for the sake of them, and is therefore inferior to them both, and third in order of excellence. This argument would seem to show that he who would be happy ought not to seek to be rich, or rather he should seek to be rich justly and temperately, and then there would be no murders in states, which require to be purged away by other murders. But now, as I said at first, avarice is the chiefest cause and source of voluntary homicide, and hence the worst trials arise. A second cause is the habit of ambition: this creates jealousies, which are troublesome companions, above all to the jealous man himself, and in a less degree to the chiefs of the state. And a third cause is cowardly and unjust fear: this has been the occasion of many murders. When a man is doing or has done something which he desires

that no one should know him to be doing or to have done, he will take the life of those who are likely to inform of such things, if he have no other means of getting rid of them. Let this be said as a prelude concerning all these matters; and I must not omit to mention a tradition which is believed by many, and has been received from those who are learned in the mysteries; they say that such crimes will be punished in the world below, and that when the perpetrators return to this world they will suffer what they did by a compensation of nature, and end their lives in like manner by the hand of another. If he who is about to commit a crime believes this, and is induced by the prelude to fear such a penalty, there is no need to proceed with the proclamation of the law. But if he be unbelieving, let the following law be declared and registered against him:
871 Whoever shall wrongfully and of design slay with his own hand any of his kinsmen, shall in the first place be deprived of legal privileges; he shall not pollute the temples, or the agora, or the harbors, or any other place of meeting, whether he is forbidden of men or not; for the law, which represents the whole state, forbids him, and always is and will be in the attitude of forbidding him. And he who, being of the kindred of the deceased, whether on the male or female side, does not prosecute the homicide when he ought, and proclaim him an outlaw, shall in the first place be involved in the pollution, and incur the hatred of the gods, even as the curse of the law stirs up the voices of men against him; and in the second place he shall be in the power of any one who is willing to inflict retribution on behalf of the dead. And he who wishes to punish him shall observe all the precautionary ceremonies of lavation, and any others which the gods command in cases of this kind. Let him make proclamation, and then go forth and compel the perpetrator to suffer the execution of justice according to the law. Now the legislator may easily show that these things must be accompanied with prayers and sacrifices to certain gods, who are concerned with the prevention of murders in states. But who these gods are, and what should be the true manner of bringing such trials before the God, the guardians of the law, aided by the interpreters, and the prophets, and the God, shall determine, and when they have determined let them carry on the prosecution at law. The cause shall have the same judges who were appointed to decide finally in the case of those who plunder temples. Let him who is convicted be punished with

death, and let him not be buried in the country of the murdered man, for this would be shameless as well as impious. But if he fly and will not stand his trial, let him fly forever; or, if he set foot anywhere on any part of the murdered man's country, let any relation of the deceased, or any other citizen who may first happen to meet with him, kill him with impunity, or bind and deliver him to the archons who determine suits, that they may put him to death; and let the prosecutor demand surety of him whom he prosecutes; three sureties sufficient in the opinion of the magistrates who try the cause, shall be provided by him, and they shall promise to produce him at the trial. But if he is unwilling or unable to appoint sureties, then the magistrates shall take him and keep him in bonds, and produce him at the day of trial. If a man do not commit the murder with his own hand, but has contrived the death of another, and is the author of the deed in intention and design, having his soul not pure of the guilt of murder, and he is dwelling in the city, let him be tried in the same way, except in what relates to the sureties; and also, if he be found guilty, he shall have burial in his native land, but in all other respects this case shall be as the former; and whether a stranger shall kill a citizen, or a citizen a stranger, or a slave a slave, there shall be no difference as touching the mere intention and the actual performance, except in the matter of sureties; and these, as has been said, shall be required of the actual murderer only, and he who proclaims the crime shall bind them over at the time. If a slave slay a freeman voluntarily, either with his own hand or in intention, and he be convicted, let the public executioner take him either to the sepulchre, or to a place at which he can see the sepulchre of the dead, and inflict upon him as many stripes as the person who took him orders, and if he survives, let him put him to death. And if any one kills a slave who has done no wrong because he is afraid that he may inform of some base and evil deeds of his own, or for some similar reason, in such a case let him pay the penalty of murder, as he would have done if he had slain a citizen. There are things about which it is terrible and unpleasant to legislate, but impossible not to legislate. If, for example, there should be murders of kinsmen, either perpetrated by the hands of kinsmen, or by their contrivance, and out of malice prepense, which may often happen in ill-regulated states, and perhaps even in a country where a man would not expect to find them, we must repeat once more the 872

tale, which we narrated a little while ago, in the hope that he who hears us will be the more disposed to abstain voluntarily on these grounds from murders, which are utterly abominable. For the tale or tradition, whether under this or some other name, has been plainly set forth by priests of old; they have pronounced that the justice which inspects and avenges the blood of kindred, follows the law of retaliation, and ordains that he who has done any murderous act should of necessity suffer that which he has done. He who has slain a father shall himself be slain at some time or other by his children, and if he have slain his mother he shall of necessity take a woman's nature, and lose his life at the hands of his offspring in after ages; for where a family is polluted with blood there is no other purification, nor can the pollution be washed out until
873 the homicidal soul which did the deed has given life for life, and has propitiated and laid to sleep the wrath of the whole family. These are the retributions of Heaven, and, by such punishments men should be deterred. But if they are not deterred, and any one should be incited by some fatal misery to deprive his father, or mother, or brethren, or children of life voluntarily and of purpose, for him the earthly lawgiver legislates as follows: There shall be the same proclamations about outlawry, and there shall be the same sureties which have been enacted in the former cases. But in his case, if he be convicted, the servants of the judges and the magistrates shall slay him at an appointed place where three ways meet, and cast him naked out of the city, and all the magistrates on behalf of the whole city shall carry stones, and each of them shall cast a stone upon the head of the dead man, and deliver the city from pollution; and after that, they shall bear him to the borders of the land, and throw him out unburied, according to law. And what shall he suffer who slays him who of all men is said to be nearest and dearest to him? I mean the suicide, who deprives himself by violence of his appointed share of life, not because the law of the state compels him, nor yet under the compulsion of some painful and inevitable fortune which has come upon him, nor because he has had to suffer from irremediable and intolerable shame, but who from indolence or cowardice imposes upon himself an unjust penalty. For him, what ceremonies there are to be of purification and burial God knows, and about these the next of kin should inquire of the interpreters and of the laws, and do according to their injunctions. Those who

meet their death in this way shall be buried alone. and none shall be laid by their side; they shall be buried ingloriously in the borders of the twelve portions of the land, in such places as are uncultivated and nameless, and no column or name shall mark the place of their interment. And if a beast of burden or other animal cause the death of any one, except in the case of anything of that kind happening in the public contests, the kinsmen of the deceased shall prosecute the slayer for murder, and the wardens of the country, such, and so many as the kinsmen appoint, shall try the cause, and let the beast when condemned be slain by them, and cast beyond the borders. And if any lifeless thing deprive a man of life, except in the case of a thunderbolt or other fatal dart sent from the gods — whether a man is killed by lifeless objects falling upon him, or his falling upon them, the nearest of kin shall appoint the nearest neighbor to be a judge, and thereby acquit himself and 874
the whole family of guilt. And he shall cast forth the guilty thing beyond the border, as has been said about the animals.

If a man is found dead, and his murderer be unknown, and after a diligent search cannot be detected, there shall be the same proclamation as in the previous cases, and the same interdict on the murderer; and they shall proceed against him, and announce in the agora, that he who has slain such and such a person, and has been convicted of murder, shall not set his foot in the temples, nor at all in the country of the murdered man, and if he appears and is discovered he shall die, and be cast forth unburied beyond the border. Let us enact this, which shall be one of our laws about murder.

Enough of murder: and now let the cases in and for which the murderer may be rightly deemed pure be recited: If a man catch a thief coming into his house by night to steal, and he take him and kill him, or if he slay a footpad in self-defense, he shall be guiltless. And any one who does violence to a free woman or a youth, shall be slain with impunity by the injured person, or by his or her father or brothers or sons. If a man find his wife suffering violence, he may kill the violator, and be guiltless in the eye of the law; or if a person, in warding off death from his father, who is doing no wrong, or from his mother or children or brethren or wife, kill another, he shall assuredly be guiltless.

Thus much as to the nurture and education of the living soul of man, with which he can live, and without which, if he

unfortunately be without them, he cannot live; and also concerning the punishments which are to be inflicted for violent deaths, let thus much be enacted. Of the nurture and education of the body we have spoken before, and now we have to speak of deeds of violence, voluntary and involuntary, which men do to one another; these we will distinguish according to their nature and number, and determine what will be the suitable penalties of each; this appears to be their proper place in the series of our enactments. The poorest legislator will have no difficulty in determining that wounds and mutilations arising out of wounds should follow next in order after deaths. Let wounds be divided as homicides were divided — into those which are involuntary, and which are given in passion or from fear, and those which are voluntary and premeditated acts. Concerning all this, we must make some such proclamation as the following: Mankind must have laws, and conform to them, or
875 their life would be as bad as that of the most savage beast. And the reason of this is, that no man's nature is able to know what is best for the social state of man; or knowing, always able to do what is best. In the first place, there is a difficulty in apprehending that the true art of politics is concerned, not with private but with public good; for public good binds together states, but private only distracts them, — nor do men always see that the gain is greater both to the individual and the state, when the state and not the individual is first considered. In the second place, even if a person know as a matter of science that this is the truth, but is possessed of absolute and irresponsible power, he will never be able to abide in this principle or to persist in regarding the public good as primary in the state, and the private good as secondary. Human nature will be always drawing him into avarice and selfishness, avoiding pain and pursuing pleasure without any reason, and will bring these to the front, observing the juster and better; and so working darkness in his soul will at last fill with evils both him and the whole city. For if in the order of nature and by divine destiny a man were able to apprehend the truth about these things, he would have no need of laws to rule over him; for there is no law or order which is above knowledge, nor can mind, without impiety, be deemed the subject or slave of any man, but rather the lord of all. I speak of mind, true and free and in harmony with nature. But then there is no such mind anywhere, or at least not much; and therefore we must choose the

second best, which is law and order. Yet these look at things as they exist for the most part only, and are unable to survey the whole of them. I have told you my reason for saying this.

And now we will determine what penalty he ought to pay or suffer who has hurt or wounded another. Any one may easily imagine the questions which ought to be asked: What did he wound, or whom, or how, or when? for there are innumerable particulars of this sort which greatly vary from one another. And to allow courts of law to determine all these things, or not to determine any of them, is alike impossible. There is one particular which they must determine in all cases — the question of fact. And then, again, that the legislator should not permit them to determine what punishment is to be inflicted in any of these cases, but should himself decide about all of them, small or great, is next to impossible. 876

Cle. Then what is to be the inference?

Ath. The inference is, that some things should be left to courts of law, and the others the legislator must decide for himself.

Cle. And what ought the legislator to decide, and what ought he to leave to the courts of law to decide?

Ath. I may reply, that in a state in which the courts are bad and mute, and decide causes secretly and clandestinely; or what is worse, when they are disorderly and noisy, as in a theatre, clapping or hooting in turn this or that orator — I say that where this is the case there arises a very serious evil, which affects the whole state. Unfortunate is the necessity of having to legislate for such courts, but where the necessity exists, the legislator should only allow them to ordain the penalties for the smallest offenses; if the state for which he is legislating be of this character, he must take most matters into his own hands and speak distinctly. But when a state has good courts, and the judges are well trained and scrupulously tested, the determination of the penalties or punishments which shall be inflicted on the guilty may fairly and with advantage be left to them. And we are not to be blamed for not legislating concerning all that large class of matters which judges far worse educated than they are in our state would be able to determine, assigning to each offense the due proportion of wrong done and suffered. They are skillful judges for whom we are legislating, and therefore to them the greater part may be left. At the same time, as I have often said, we should exhibit to the judges, as we

have done, the outline and form of the punishments to be inflicted, and then they will not transgress the just rule. That was an excellent practice, which we observed before, and now that we are resuming the work of legislation, may with advantage be repeated by us.

Let the enactment about wounding be in the following terms: If any one has a purpose and intention to slay another who is not his enemy, and whom the law does not permit him to slay, and he wounds him, but is unable to kill him, he who had the
877 intent and has wounded him is not to be pitied — as a murderer he is to be regarded, and indicted for the crime of murder and nothing else. Still, having respect to the fortune which has in a manner favored him, and to the providence who in pity to him and to the wounded man saved the one from a fatal blow, and the other from an accursed fate and calamity — as a thank-offering to this deity, and in order not to oppose his will; in such a case the law will remit the punishment of death, and only compel the offender to emigrate to a neighboring city during his life; where he shall remain in the enjoyment of all his possessions. But if he have injured the wounded man, he shall make such compensation for the injury, as the court deciding the cause shall assess, and the same judges shall decide who would have decided if the man had died of his wounds. And if a child intentionally wound his parents, or a servant his master, death shall be the penalty. And if a brother or a sister intentionally wound a brother or a sister, and is found guilty, death shall be the penalty. And if a husband wound a wife, or a wife a husband, with intent to kill, let him or her undergo perpetual exile; if they have sons or daughters who are still young, the guardians shall take care of their property, and have charge of the children as orphans. If their sons are grown up, they shall be under no obligation to support the exiled parent, but they shall possess the property themselves. And if he who meets with such a misfortune has no children, his kindred to the degree of sons of cousins of the exiled man, both on the male and female side shall meet together, and after consulting with the guardians and the priests, shall appoint a 5040th citizen to be the heir of the house, considering and reasoning that no house of all the 5040 belongs to the inhabitant or to the whole family, in the same sense as it is the public and private property of the state. Now, the state should seek to have its houses as holy and happy

as possible. And if any one of the houses be unfortunate, and stained with impiety, and the heir leave no posterity, and dies unmarried or married and childless, having suffered death as the penalty of murder or some other crime committed against the gods or against his fellow-citizens, of which death is the penalty distinctly laid down in the law; or if any of the citizens be in perpetual exile, and also childless, that house shall first of all be purified and undergo expiation according to law; and then let the kinsmen of the house, as we were just now saying, and the guardians of the law, meet and consider what family 878
there is in the state which is of the highest repute for virtue and also for good fortune, in which there are a number of sons; and let them adopt one of them, and introduce him to the father and forefathers of the dead man, and call him their son, for the sake of the omen, that he may be the continuer of their family, the keeper of their hearth, and the minister of their property and sacred rites with better fortune than his father had; and when they have made this supplication, they shall make him heir according to law, and the offending person they shall leave nameless and childless and portionless when calamities such as these overtake him.

Now, there is not in all things a limit which touches limit; many things have a common boundary which is betwixt and between them; and we were saying that what is done from passion is of this nature, and is in a mean between the voluntary and involuntary. If a person be convicted of having inflicted wounds in a passion, in the first place he shall pay twice the amount of the injury, if the wound be curable, or, if incurable, four times the amount of the injury; or if the wound be curable, and at the same time cause great and notable disgrace to the wounded person, he shall pay fourfold. And in case any one in wounding another injures not only the sufferer, but also the city, and makes him incapable of defending his country against the enemy, he, besides the other penalties, shall pay a penalty for the loss which the state has incurred. And the penalty shall be, that in addition to his own times of service, he shall serve on behalf of the disabled person, and shall take his place in war; or, if he refuse, he shall be liable to be convicted by law of deserting his duty. The amount of the injury, whether to be paid twofold or threefold or fourfold, shall be fixed by the judges who convict him. And if, in like manner, a brother wounds a brother, the parents and kindred of either sex, includ-

ing the children of cousins, whether on the male or female side, shall meet, and when they have judged the cause, they shall intrust the assessment of damages to the parents, who are the natural persons, to determine; and if the estimate be disputed, then the arbitrators on the male side shall make the estimate, or if they cannot, they shall commit the matter to the guardians of the law. And when similar charges of wounding are brought by children against their parents, those who are more than sixty years of age, having children of their own, and not adopted, shall be required to decide; and if any one is convicted, they shall determine whether he ought to die, or suffer some other punishment either greater than this, or, at any rate, not much
879 less. None of the kinsmen of the offender shall be allowed to judge the cause, not even if he be of the age permitted by the law. If a slave in a fit of anger wound a freeman, the owner of the slave shall give him up to the wounded man, who may do as he pleases with him, and if he do not give him up, he shall make good the injury. And if any one says that the slave and the wounded man are conspiring together, let him argue the point, and if he is cast, he shall pay the injury three times over, but if he convict the other two, the freeman who conspired with the slave shall be liable to be made a slave. And if any one unintentionally wounds another he shall simply pay for the harm, for no legislator is able to control chance. In his case the judges shall be the same as those who are appointed in the case of children and their parents, and they shall estimate the amount of the injury.

All the preceding injuries and every kind of assault are deeds of violence; and every man, woman, or child ought to consider that the elder has the precedence of the younger in honor, both among the gods and also among men who would live happily. Wherefore it is a foul thing, and hateful to the gods to see an elder man assaulted by a younger in the city; and it is reasonable that a young man when struck by an elder, should lightly endure his anger, laying up in store for himself a like honor when he is old. Let this be the law: Every one shall reverence his elder in word and deed; he shall respect any one who is twenty years older than himself, whether male or female, regarding him or her as his father or mother; and he shall abstain from laying hands on any one who is of an age to have been his father or his mother, as a tribute to the gods who preside over birth; and in like manner he shall abstain from a

stranger, whether he be an old inhabitant or newly arrived; he shall not venture to correct such a one by blows, either as the aggressor or in self-defense. If he thinks that some stranger has struck him out of wantonness or insolence, and ought to be punished, he shall take him to the wardens of the city, but let him not strike him, that he may be kept far away from the possibility of lifting up his hand against a citizen, and let the wardens of the city take the offender and examine him, not forgetting their duty to the God of strangers, and in case the stranger appear to have struck the citizen unjustly, let them inflict upon him as many blows as he has himself inflicted, and quell his insolence. But if he have done no wrong, then they shall threaten and rebuke the accuser, and let them both go. If a person strike another of the same age or somewhat older than himself, who has no children, whether he be an old man who strikes an old man, or a young man who strikes a young man, let him defend himself in the natural way without a weapon and with his hands only. He who, being more than forty years of age, dares to fight with another, whether he be the aggressor or in self-defense, shall be regarded as rude and ill-mannered and slavish; this will be a disgraceful punishment, and therefore suitable to him. The obedient nature will readily yield to such exhortations, but the disobedient, who heeds not the prelude, shall have the law ready for him. If any man smites another who is older than himself, either by twenty or by more years, in the first place, he who meets him, not being younger than the combatants, or their equal in age, shall separate them, or be disgraced according to law; but if he be the equal in age of the person who is struck, or younger, he shall defend the pesson injured as he would a brother or father or still older relative. Further, let him who dares to smite an elder be tried for assault, as I have said, and if he be found guilty, let him be imprisoned for a period of not less than a year, or for a longer period at the pleasure of the judges. But if a stranger or metic smite one who is older by twenty years or more, the same law shall hold about the bystanders assisting, and he who is found guilty in such a suit, if he be a stranger and not a sojourner, shall be imprisoned during a period of two years; and let him who is a metic and disobeys the laws be imprisoned for three years, unless the court assign him a longer time of punishment. And let him who was present in any of these cases and did not assist according to law be punished, if

880

he be of the highest class, by paying a fine of a mina; or if he be of the second class, of fifty drachmas; or if of the third class, by a fine of thirty drachmas; or if he be of the fourth class, by a fine of twenty drachmas; and the generals and taxiarchs and phylarchs and hipparchs shall form the court in such cases.

Laws are partly framed for the sake of good men, in order to instruct them how they may live on friendly terms with one another, and partly for the sake of those who refuse to be instructed, whose spirit cannot be subdued, or softened, or hindered from going to all evil. These are the persons who cause the word to be spoken which I am about to utter; for them the legislator legislates of necessity, and in the hope that there may be no need of his laws. He who shall dare to lay violent hands upon his father or mother, or any still older relative, having no fear either of the wrath of the gods above, or of the punishments
881 that are spoken of in the world below, but transgresses in contempt of ancient and universal tradition as though he knew what he does not know, requires some extreme measure of prevention. Now death is not the worst that can happen to men; far worse are the punishments which are said to pursue them in the world below. But although they are most true tales, they work on such souls no prevention; for if they had any effect there would be no slayers of mothers, or impious hands lifted up against parents, and therefore the punishments of this world which are inflicted during life ought not in such cases to fall short, if possible, of the terrors of the world below. Let our enactment then be as follows: If a man dare to strike his father or his mother, or their fathers or mothers, he being at the time of sound mind, in the first place any chance person, as has been already said, shall be required to come to the rescue, and the metic or stranger who comes to the rescue shall be called to the first place in the games; and if he do not come to the rescue he shall suffer the punishment of perpetual exile. He who is not a metic, if he comes to the rescue shall have praise, and if he do not come blame. And if a slave come to the rescue let him be made free; but if he do not come to the rescue let him receive 100 strokes of the whip, by order of the wardens of the agora, if the occurrence take place in the agora, or if in any place in the city the wardens of the city who are present shall punish him; or if in the country then the chief officers of the wardens of the country. And if the person present be a native of the land, whether he be a youth, or man, or

woman, let him come to the rescue and call upon the impious offender by name, and he who does not come to the rescue shall fall under the curse of Zeus, the god of kindred and of ancestry, according to law. And if any one is found guilty of assaulting a parent, let him in the first place be forever banished from the city into the country, and let him abstain from all sacred rites; and if he do not abstain, the wardens of the country shall punish him with blows, or in any way which they please, and if he return he shall be put to death. And if any freeman eat or drink, or have any other sort of intercourse with him, or only meeting him has voluntarily touched him, he shall not enter into any temple, nor into the agora, nor into the city, until he be purified: for he should consider that he has become a partaker of a fatal crime. And if he disobey the law, and pollute the city and the temples contrary to law, the magistrate who sees him and does not indict him, when he gives an account of his magistracy shall be liable to the heaviest charges in this particular.

If a slave strike a freeman, whether a stranger or a citizen, let any one who is present come to the rescue, or pay 882
the penalty already mentioned; and let those who are standing by in company with the wounded man bind him, and deliver him up to the injured person, and he receiving him shall bind him in chains, and inflict on him as many stripes as he pleases; but having punished him he must surrender him to his master according to law, and not deprive him of his property. Let the law be as follows: The slave who strikes a freeman, not at the command of the magistrates, his owner shall receive bound from the man whom he has stricken, and not release him until the slave has persuaded the man whom he has stricken that he ought to be released and live. And let there be the same laws about women in relation to women, and about men and women in relation to one another.

BOOK X.

884 AND now having spoken of assaults, let us sum up all acts of violence under a single law, which shall be as follows: No one shall take or carry away any of his neighbor's goods, neither shall he use anything which is his neighbor's without the consent of the owner; for these are the offenses which are and have been, and will ever be, the source of all the aforesaid evils. The greatest of them are excesses and insolences of youth, and are offenses against the greatest when they are done against religion; and especially great when in
885 violation of public and holy rites, or of those in which tribes and phratries partake; and in the second degree great when they are committed against private rites and sepulchres; and in the third degree (not to repeat the acts formerly mentioned), when insults are offered to parents; the fourth kind of violence is when any one, regardless of the authority of the rulers, takes or carries away, or makes use of anything which belongs to them, not having their consent; and the fifth kind is when the violation of the civil rights of individual citizens invites retaliation: There should be a common law embracing all these cases. For we have already said in general terms what shall be the punishment of sacrilege, whether fraudulent or violent, and now we have to determine what is to be the punishment of those who speak or act insolently toward the gods. But first we must give them an admonition which may be in the following terms: No one ever intentionally did any unholy act, or uttered any unlawful word, retaining a belief in the existence of the gods, but he must have supposed one of three things: either that they did not exist,— that is the first possibility; or secondly, that if they did they took no care of man; or thirdly, that they were easily appeased by sacrifices, or turned from their course by prayers.

Cle. What shall we say or do to these persons?

Ath. My good friends, let us first hear the jests which I suspect that they in their superiority will utter against us.

Cle. What jests?

Ath. They will make some provoking speech of this sort: O inhabitants of Athens, and Sparta, and Cnosus, they will reply, in that, you speak truly; for some of us deny the very existence of the gods, while others, as you say, are of opinion that they do not care about us; and others that they are turned from their course by gifts. Now we have a right to claim, as you yourself allowed, in the matter of the laws, that before you are hard upon us and threaten us, you should argue with us and convince us — you should first attempt to teach and convince us that there are gods; let that be shown to us by reasonable evidences — and also that they are too good to be unrighteous, or to be propitiated, or turned from their course by gifts. For when we hear these and the like things said of them by those who are esteemed to be the best of poets, and orators, and prophets, and priests, and innumerable others, the thoughts of most of us are not set upon abstaining from unrighteous acts, but upon doing them and making atonement for them. When lawgivers profess that they are gentle and not stern, we think that they should first of all use persuasion to us, and show us the existence of gods, if not in a better manner than other men, at any rate in a truer; and who knows but that we shall hearken to them? If then our request is a fair one, please to accept our challenge.

Cle. But is there any difficulty in proving the existence of the gods?

Ath. How would you prove their existence?

Cle. How? In the first place, the earth and the sun, and the stars and the universe, and the fair order of the seasons, and the division of them into years and months, furnish proofs of their existence; and also there is the fact that all Hellenes and barbarians believe in them. 886

Ath. I am afraid, my sweet friend, though I will not say I am ashamed, of the contempt with which the profane will be likely to assail us. For you do not understand the nature of their complaint, and fancy that their minds rush into impiety only from a love of sensual pleasure.

Cle. Why, Stranger, what other reason is there?

Ath. One which you who live in another part of the world would never guess.

Cle. What is that?

Ath. A very grievous sort of ignorance which is imagined to be the greatest wisdom.

Cle. What do you mean?

Ath. At Athens there are tales preserved in writing which the virtue of your state, as I am informed, refuses to admit. They speak of the gods in prose as well as verse, and the oldest of them tell of the origin of the heavens and the world, and as they proceed not far from the beginning they narrate the birth of the gods, and how after they were born they behaved to one another. Whether these stories have a good or a bad influence I should not like to be severe upon them, because they are ancient; but I must say, that looking at them with reference to the duties of children to their parents, I cannot praise them, or think that they are useful, or at all true. Of the words of the ancients I have nothing more to say; and I should wish to say of them only what is pleasing to the God. But as to our younger generation and their wisdom, I cannot let them off when they do mischief. For do but mark the effect of their words: when you and I argue that there are gods, and produce the sun, moon, and stars as gods or divine beings, if we[1] would listen to the aforesaid philosophers we should say that they are earth and stones only, which can have no care at all of human affairs, and that all this is a cooking up of words and a make-believe.

Cle. One such teacher, O Stranger, would be bad enough, and you imply that there are many of them, which is worse.

Ath. Well, then; what shall we say or do? shall we assume that some one is accusing us among unholy men, and that they, and not we, are the real defendants in the matter of legis-
887 lation; they will say of us: How dreadful that we should legislate on the supposition that there are gods! and shall we make a defense? or shall we leave them and return to our laws, lest the preamble should become longer than the law? For the discourse will certainly extend to great length, if we are to treat the impiously disposed as they desire; partly arguing with them, as they demand, partly frightening them, or inspiring aversion in them, and then proceed to the requisite enactments.

Cle. Yes, Stranger; but then how often have we repeated already that there is no reason why brevity should be preferred to length; for there is nobody to hurry us, and it would be paltry

[1] Reading λέγοιμεν.

and ridiculous to prefer the shorter to the better. It is a matter of no small consequence, that our reasons in proof of the assertion, that there are gods, and that they are good, and regard justice more than men, should carry some sort of conviction with them. This would be the best and noblest preamble of all our laws. And, therefore, without impatience, and without hurry, let us summon as far as possible all the power of persuasion which we possess, and unreservedly consider the whole matter.

Ath. When I see you thus earnest, I feel impelled to offer up a prayer, and can no longer refrain. Tell me, I say, who can preserve calmness, having to speak of the existence of the gods? For he must hate and abhor the men who are and have been the cause of these words of ours; I speak of those who will not believe[1] the words which they have heard as babes and sucklings from their mothers and nurses, who used them as charms, both in jest and earnest, whom also they have heard and seen offering up sacrifices and prayers — sights and sounds delightful to children — of their parents sacrificing in the most earnest manner on behalf of them and of themselves, and with eager interest talking to the gods, and beseeching them, as though they were firmly convinced of their existence; moreover, they see and hear the genuflections and prostrations which are made by Hellenes and barbarians to the rising and setting sun and moon, in all the various turns of good and evil fortune, not as if they thought that there were no gods, but as if there could be no doubt of their existence, and no suspicion of their non-existence; when men, knowing all these things, despise them on no real grounds, as would be admitted by all who have any particle of intelligence, and when they force us to say what we are now saying, how can any one 888
in gentle terms remonstrate with the like of them, when he has to begin by proving to them the very existence of the gods? Yet the attempt must be made; for it would be unseemly that one half of mankind should go mad with lust, and the other half in righteous indignation at them. Our address to these lost and perverted natures should not be spoken in passion; let us suppose ourselves to select some one of them, and gently reason with him, smothering our anger: O my son, we say to

[1] The text in this sentence is corrupt; we may read λεγομένους, or suppose the genitive in construction with ἀκούοντες suggested by the sound of the preceding genitive.

him, you are young, and the advance of time will make you reverse many of the opinions which you now hold. Wait, therefore, until the time comes, and do not attempt to judge of high matters at present; and that is the highest of which you think nothing — to know the gods rightly and to live accordingly. And in the first place let me indicate to you one point which is of great importance and of the truth of which I am quite certain: You and your friends are not the first who have held this opinion about the gods. There have always been persons more or less numerous who have had the same disorder. I have known many of them, and can tell you this, that no one who had taken up in youth this opinion, that the gods do not exist, ever continued in the same until he was old; the two other notions certainly do continue in some cases, but not in many; the notion, I mean, that the gods exist, but take no heed of human things, and also the notion that they do take heed of them, but are easily propitiated with sacrifices and prayers. What may be the true doctrine, if you are patient and take my advice, you will hereafter discover, by the help of the legislator and of others. In the mean time take heed lest you offend about the gods. For the duty of the legislator is and always will be to teach you the truth of these matters.

Cle. Your address, Stranger, thus far, is excellent.

Ath. Most true, Megillus and Cleinias, but I am afraid that we have unconsciously lighted on a strange doctrine.

Cle. What doctrine do you mean?

Ath. The wisest of all doctrines, in the opinion of many.

Cle. I wish that you would speak plainer.

Ath. The doctrine that all things which are or have been or will be, exist, some by nature, some by art, and some by chance.

Cle. Is not that true?

Ath. Well, philosophers are probably right; at any rate, we
889 may as well follow in their track, and examine what is the meaning of them and their disciples.

Cle. By all means.

Ath. They say that the greatest and fairest things are done by nature and chance, and the lesser by art, which receives from nature all the greater and primeval creations, and fashions them in detail; and these lesser works are generally termed artificial.

Cle. What do you and they mean?

Ath. You will understand their meaning better, if I take the

elements as an example; they mean to say that fire and water, and earth and air, all exist by nature and chance, and not by art; and that as to the bodies which come next in order, — earth, and sun, and moon, and stars, — they are created by the help of these absolutely inanimate existences, and that they are severally moved by chance and some inherent influence according to certain affinities of hot with cold, or of dry with moist, or of soft with hard, and other chance admixtures of opposites which have united of necessity, and that on this manner the whole heaven has been created, and all that is in the heaven, including animals and all plants, and that all the seasons come from these elements, not by the action of mind, as they say, or of any god, or from art, but as I was saying, by nature and chance only; and that art sprang up after these and out of them, mortal and of mortal birth, and produced in play certain images and very partial imitations of the truth, having an affinity to one another, such as music and painting create and their companion arts. And there are other arts which have a serious purpose, and these coöperate with nature, such, for example, as medicine, and husbandry, and gymnastic. And they say that politics coöperate with nature, but in a less degree, and have more of art; also that legislation is entirely a work of art, and is based on assumptions which are not true.

Cle. How do you mean?

Ath. In the first place, my dear friend, they would say that the gods exist neither by nature or by art, but only by the laws of states, which are different in different places, according to the agreement of those who make them; and that the honorable is one thing by nature and another thing by law, and that the principles of justice have no existence at all in nature, but that mankind are always disputing about them and altering them; and that the alterations which are made by art and by law have no basis in nature, but are of authority for the moment and at the time at which they are made: these, my friends, are the sayings of wise men, poets and prose writers, which find a way into the minds of young men. They are told by them that the highest right is might, and in this way the young fall into impieties, under the idea that the gods are not such as the law bids them imagine them; and hence arise contentions — the philosophers inviting them to lead a true life according to nature, which is to live in real dominion over others, and not in legal subjection to them. 890

Cle. What a dreadful picture, Stranger, have you given of young men, and how great is the injury which they inflict on states and families!

Ath. True, Cleinias; but then what should the lawgiver do when this evil is of long standing? should he only rise up in the state and threaten all mankind, declaring that if they will not say and think that the gods are such as the law ordains (and this may be extended generally to the honorable, the just, and all other important principles which have to do with virtue and vice), he will insist on their actions conforming to the copy which the law gives them; and that he who will not submit to the established religion shall die, or suffer stripes and bonds, or privation of citizenship, or in some cases be punished by loss of property and exile? Should he not rather, when he is making laws for men, at the same time infuse the spirit of persuasion into his words, in order to mitigate the severity of them as far as he can?

Cle. Why, Stranger, if such persuasion be at all possible, then a legislator who has anything in him ought never to weary of persuading men; he ought to leave nothing unsaid in support of the ancient opinion that there are gods, and of all those other truths which you were just now mentioning; he ought to support the law and also art, and acknowledge that both alike exist by nature, or by that which is not inferior to nature, if they are the creations of mind in accordance with right reason, as you appear to me to maintain, and I am disposed to agree with you in thinking.

Ath. Yes, my enthusiastic Cleinias; but are not these things when spoken to a multitude hard to be understood, not to mention that they take up a dismal length of time?

Cle. Why, Stranger, shall we, whose patience failed not when drinking or music were the themes of discourse, weary now of discoursing about the gods, and about divine things? And the greatest help to rational legislation is that laws when
891 once written down are always at rest; they can be put to the test at any future time, and therefore, if on first hearing they seem difficult, there is no reason for apprehension about them, because any man however dull can understand them, if he go over them often; nor if they are tedious but useful, is there any reason or religion in any man refusing to maintain this argument of ours to the utmost of his power?

Meg. I am of opinion, Stranger, that Cleinias is right in saying that.

Ath. Yes, Megillus, and we should do as he proposes; for if impious discourses were not scattered, as I may say, throughout the world, there would have been no need of the argument in support of the existence of the gods — but seeing that they are spread far and wide, such arguments are needed; and who should come to the rescue of the greatest laws, when they are being undermined by bad men, but the legislator himself?

Meg. There is no more proper champion of them.

Ath. Well, then, tell me, Cleinias, for I must ask you to be my partner, — does not he who talks in this way conceive fire and water and earth and air to be the first elements of all things? these he calls nature, and out of these he supposes the soul to be formed afterwards; and this is not a vague suspicion of his, but he really means and confidently asserts that this is the case.

Cle. Very true.

Ath. Then, by Heaven, we have discovered the source of this vain opinion of all those physical investigators; and I would have you examine them with the utmost care, for their impiety is a very serious matter; they not only make a bad and mistaken use of their dialectic, but they lead away the minds of others: that is my opinion of them.

Cle. Very true; but I should like to know in what way this happens.

Ath. I am afraid that the argument might seem singular.

Cle. Do not hesitate, Stranger; I see that you are afraid of such a discussion carrying you out of the limits of legislation. But if there be no other way of showing our agreement in the belief of the gods whom the law is now said to approve, let us take this way, my good sir.

Ath. Then I suppose that I must repeat the singular argument of those who manufacture the soul according to their own impious notions; they affirm that which is the first cause of the generation and destruction of all things, to be not first but last, and that which was last to be first, and hence they have fallen into error about the true nature of the gods.

Cle. Still I do not understand you.

892 *Ath.* Nearly all of them, my friends, seem to be ignorant of the nature and power of the soul, especially in what relates to her origin: they do not know that she is among the first of bodies, and before them all, and is the chief author of their changes and transpositions. And if this is true, and if

the soul is older than the body, must not the things which are of the soul's kindred be of necessity before those which appertain to the body?

Cle. Certainly.

Ath. Then thought and care, and mind and art, and law will be prior to that which is hard and soft, and heavy and light; and the great and primitive works and actions will be works of art; they will be the first, and after them will come nature and works of nature, which however is a wrong term to apply to them; these will follow, and be under the government of art and mind.

Cle. But why is the word "nature" wrong?

Ath. Because those who use the term mean to say that nature is the first creative power; but if the soul turn out to be the primeval element and not fire or air, then in the truest sense and beyond other things the soul may be said to have a natural or creative power: and this would be true if you proved that the soul is older than the body, but not otherwise.

Cle. You are quite right.

Ath. Shall we then, in the next place, proceed to consider this point?

Cle. By all means.

Ath. I fear that we may be quite deceived, and that the greenness with which we let the argument escape us, may ludicrously contrast with the ripeness of our ages; who knows but we may be aiming at the greater, and fail of attaining the lesser? Suppose that we three have to pass a rapid river, and I being the youngest of the three and experienced in rivers, have the duty thrown upon me of making the attempt first by myself; leaving you in safety on the bank, I am to examine whether the river is passable by older men like yourselves, and if such appears to be the case then I will invite you to follow, and help you across by my knowledge; but if the river is impassable by you, then I shall have had all the danger myself,—does not that seem to be a very fair proposal? I mean to say that the argument in prospect is likely to be too violent, and indeed almost impassable to men of your dialectical powers, and
893 I should be afraid that the stream of questions addressed to you, might create in you who are unaccustomed to be questioned, giddiness and confusion of mind, and hence a feeling of unpleasantness and unsuitableness might arise. I think therefore that I had better first ask and answer the questions

myself while you listen in safety; in that way I can carry on the argument until I have completed the proof that the soul is prior to the body.

Cle. Excellent, Stranger, and I hope that you will do as you propose.

Ath. Come, then, and if ever we are to call upon the gods, let us call upon them now in all seriousness to come to the demonstration of their own existence. And so holding fast to the rope we will venture upon the depths of the argument: When questions of this sort are asked of me, my safest answer would appear to be as follows: Some one says to me, "O Stranger, are all things in rest and nothing in motion, or is the exact opposite of this true, or are some things in motion and others at rest?" To this I shall reply that some are in motion and others at rest. "And do not things which move, move in place, and are not the things which are at rest, at rest in place?" Certainly. "And some move in one place and some in more places than one?" You mean to say, we shall rejoin, that those things which rest on a centre move in the same place, like revolving circles, which are said not to move? "Yes." And we observe that, in the revolution, the motion which carries round the larger and the lesser circle at the same time is proportionally distributed to greater and smaller, and is greater and smaller in a certain proportion. And this is a source of infinite wonder, that the same motion should impart swiftness and slowness in due accord to larger and lesser circles, and is a sort of phenomenon seemingly impossible." That is very true. "And when you speak of bodies moving in many places, you seem to me to mean those which move from one place to another, and sometimes have one centre of motion and sometimes several in the course of their revolutions; and sometimes impinging upon each other they come against bodies which are at rest, and are divided by them, and meeting other bodies which are coming violently from an opposite direction unite with them and interpenetrate them." I admit the truth of this. Also when they unite they grow, and when they are divided they waste away,—that is supposing the constitution of each to remain, or if that fails, then there is a second reason of their dissolution. "And how are things affected when they are created?" Clearly, they are created when the principle of motion receives increase and attains the second dimension, and from this arrives at the one which is neighbor to this, and 894

after reaching the third becomes perceptible to sense. Everything which is thus changing and moving is in process of generation, and has real existence only when at rest, but when passing into another state is destroyed utterly. Have we not mentioned all the kinds of motion, and by the help of number comprehended them under their kinds with the exception, my friends, of two?

Cle. Which are they?

Ath. Just the two, my good friends, with which our present inquiry is concerned.

Cle. Speak plainer.

Ath. I suppose that our inquiry has reference to the soul?

Cle. Very true.

Ath. Let us assume that there is a motion able to move other things, but not to move itself, — that is one kind; and there is another kind which can move itself as well as other things, working in composition and decomposition, by increase and diminution, and generation and destruction, — that is also one of the many kinds of motion?

Cle. Let us suppose that.

Ath. And we will assume that which moves other, and is changed by other, to be the ninth, and that which changes itself and others, and has a place in every action and in every passion, and is the true principle of change in all that truly is, — that we shall be inclined to call the tenth.

Cle. Certainly.

Ath. And which of these ten motions ought we to prefer as being the mightiest and most efficient?

Cle. I must say that the motion which is able to move itself is ten thousand times superior to all the others.

Ath. Very good; but may I make one or two corrections in what I have been saying?

Cle. What are they?

Ath. When I spoke of the tenth sort of motion, that was not quite correct.

Cle. What was the error?

Ath. According to the true order, the tenth was really the first in generation and power; then follows the second, which was improperly termed the ninth by us.

Cle. What do you mean?

Ath. I mean this: when one thing moves another, and that another, will there be any primary changing element? Can

there be, considering that what changes first will always have been changed by another? There cannot. And when the self-moved changes other, and that again other, and thus, thousands upon tens of thousands of bodies are set in motion, must not the beginning of all this motion be the change of the self-moving principle? 895

Cle. Very true, and I quite agree.

Ath. Or, to put the question in another way: If, as most of these philosophers have the audacity to affirm, all things were at rest in one mass, which of the above-mentioned principles of motion would first spring up among them?

Cle. Clearly the self-moving; for there could be no change in them arising out of any external cause, if there had been no previous change in themselves.

Ath. Then we must say that self-motion being the origin and beginning of motion, as well among things at rest as among things in motion, is the eldest and mightiest principle of change, and that which is changed by another and yet moves other is second.

Cle. That is very true.

Ath. At this stage of the argument let us put a question.

Cle. What question?

Ath. If I were to see this power existing in any earthy, watery, or fiery substance, simple or compound — what should I say that the power is?

Cle. You mean to ask whether I should call the self-moving power life?

Ath. I do.

Cle. Yes, I certainly should.

Ath. And when we see soul in anything, must we not do the same — must we not admit that this is life?

Cle. We must.

Ath. And now, I beseech you, reflect; you would admit that we have a threefold knowledge of things?

Cle. What do you mean?

Ath. I mean that we know the essence, and that we know he definition of the essence, and the name, — these are the three; and there are two more questions which may be raised about anything.

Cle. How two?

Ath. Sometimes a person may give the name and ask the lefinition; or he may give the definition and ask the name. I may illustrate what I mean in this way —

Cle. How?

Ath. Number like other things is capable of being divided into equal parts; when thus divided number is termed "even," and the definition of the term "even" is "number divisible into two equal parts?"

Cle. True.

Ath. I mean to say, that when we are asked about the definition and give the name, or when we are asked about the name and give the definition — in either case we are dividing number in two equal parts, and the name and definition of "even" have the same import.

Cle. Quite true.

Ath. And what is the definition of that which is named "soul?" Can we conceive of any other than that which
896 has been already given — the motion which is self-moved?

Cle. You mean to say that the essence which is defined as the self-moved is identical with that which we call soul?

Ath. Yes; and if this is true, do we still maintain that there is anything wanting in the proof that the soul is the first origin and moving power of all that is, or has been, or will be, and their contraries, when she has been clearly shown to be the source of change and motion in all things?

Cle. Certainly not; the soul as being the source of motion, has been most satisfactorily shown to be the oldest of all things.

Ath. And is not that motion which takes place in another, or by reason of another, but never has any self-moving power at all, being in truth the change of an inanimate body, to be reckoned in the second degree, or in any lower degree which you may prefer?

Cle. Very true.

Ath. Then we are right, and speak the most perfect and absolute truth, when we say that the soul is prior to the body, and that the body is second and comes afterwards, and is born to obey the soul which is the ruler?

Cle. That is very true.

Ath. Do you remember our old admission, that if the soul was prior to the body the things of the soul were also prior to those of the body?

Cle. Certainly.

Ath. And characters and manners, and wishes and reasonings, and true opinions, and reflections, and recollections are prior to length and breadth and depth and strength of bodies, if the soul is prior to the body.

Cle. Of course.

Ath. In the next place, must we not of necessity admit that the soul is the cause of good and evil, base and honorable, just and unjust, and of all other opposites, if we suppose her to be the cause of all things?

Cle. Certainly.

Ath. And as the soul orders and inhabits all things moving every way, must we not say that she orders also the heavens?

Cle. Of course.

Ath. One soul or more? More than one — I will answer for you; at any rate, we must not suppose that there are less than two — one the author of good, and the other of evil.

Cle. Very true.

Ath. Yes, very true; the soul then directs all things in heaven, and earth, and sea by her movements, and these are described by the terms — will, consideration, attention, deliberation, opinion true and false, joy and sorrow, confidence, 897
fear, hatred, contentment, and other primary motions akin to these; which again receive the secondary motions of corporate substances, and guide all things to growth and decay, to composition and decomposition, and to the qualities which accompany them, such as heat and cold, heaviness and lightness, hardness and softness, blackness and whiteness, bitterness and sweetness, and all those other qualities which the soul uses, herself a goddess, when truly receiving the divine mind and disciplining all things rightly to their happiness; but when the companion of folly, doing the very contrary of all this. Shall we assume this, or do we still entertain doubts?

Cle. There is no room at all for doubt.

Ath. Shall we say then that soul is the nature which controls heaven and earth, and the whole circumference; the principle of wisdom and virtue, or that which has neither wisdom nor virtue? Suppose that we make answer as follows:

Cle. How would you answer?

Ath. If, my friend, we say that the whole path of heaven, and the movement of all that is therein, is by nature akin to the movement and revolution and calculation of mind, and proceeds by kindred laws, then, as is plain, we must say that the best soul takes care of the world and guides it along the good path.

Cle. True.

Ath. But when the world moves wildly and irregularly, then the evil soul guides it?

Cle. That, again, is true.

Ath. Of what nature is the movement of mind? That is, indeed, a hard question, my friends, to determine wisely, and therefore I ought to assist you in framing the answer.

Cle. Very good.

Ath. Then let us not answer as if we would look right at the sun, making ourselves darkness from excess of light,—I mean as if we were under the impression that we could see with mortal eyes, or know adequately the nature of mind; it will be safer to look at the image only.

Cle. What do you mean?

Ath. Let us select of the ten motions the one which mind chiefly resembles; this I will bring to your recollection, and will then request you to assist me in giving the answer.

Cle. That will be excellent.

Ath. You will surely remember our saying that all things were either at rest or in motion?

Cle. Yes.

Ath. And that of things in motion some were moving in one place, and others in more than one?

898

Cle. That is true.

Ath. Of these two kinds of motion, that which moves in one place must move about a centre after the manner of a top, and is most entirely akin and similar to the circular movement of mind.

Cle. What do you mean?

Ath. In saying that both mind and the motion which is in one place move in the same and like manner, in and about the same, and in relation to the same, and according to one law and order, and are like the motion of a top, we invented a fair image, which did no discredit to our ingenuity.

Cle. That is very true.

Ath. And the motion of the other sort which is not after the same manner, nor in the same, nor about the same, nor in relation to the same, nor in one place, nor in order, nor according to any rule or proportion, may be said to be akin to senselessness and folly.

Cle. That is most true.

Ath. Then, after what has been said, there is no difficulty in distinctly stating, that since soul carries all things round, either the best soul or the contrary must of necessity carry round, and order and arrange the revolution of the heaven.

Cle. And judging from what has been said, Stranger, there would be impiety in asserting that any but the most perfect soul or souls carries round the heavens.

Ath. You have understood my meaning right well, Cleinias, and now let me ask you another question.

Cle. What are you going to ask?

Ath. If the soul carries round the sun and moon, and the other stars, does she not carry round each individual of them?

Cle. Certainly.

Ath. Then of one of them let us speak, and the same argument will apply to all.

Cle. Which will you take?

Ath. Every one sees the body of the sun, but no one sees his soul, nor the soul of any other body living or dead; and yet there is great reason to believe that this nature, unperceived by any of our senses, is circumfused around them all, but is apprehended by mind only; and only by reflection do we ascertain what I am about to mention.

Cle. What is that?

Ath. If the soul carries round the sun, we shall not be far wrong in supposing one of three alternatives.

Cle. What are they?

Ath. Either the soul which moves the sun this way and that, resides within the circular and visible body, just as the soul in us carries us about every way; or the soul provides herself with an external body of fire or air, as some affirm, and violently propels body by body; or thirdly, being incorporeal, she has some extraordinary and wonderful guiding power. 899

Cle. Yes, certainly; the soul can only order all things in one of these three ways.

Ath. And this soul of the sun, which is therefore better than the sun, whether taking the sun about in a chariot to give light to men, or acting from without, or in whatever way, ought by every man to be deemed a god.

Cle. Yes, by every man who has the least particle of sense.

Ath. And of the stars too, and of the moon, and the years, and months, and seasons, must we not say in like manner, that since a soul or souls are the causes of all of them having every sort of excellence, those souls are divine, whether they are living beings and reside in bodies, and in this way order the whole heaven, or whatever be the place and mode of their existence; and will any one who admits all this venture to deny that all things are full of gods?

Cle. No one, Stranger, would be such a madman as to do that.

Ath. And now, Megillus and Cleinias, let us offer an alternative to him who has hitherto denied the existence of the gods, and leave him.

Cle. What alternative?

Ath. Either he shall teach us that we were wrong in saying that the soul is the original of all things, and what followed upon this; or, if he be not able to say anything better, then he must yield to us and live for the remainder of his life in the belief that there are gods: Let us see, then, whether we have said enough or not enough to those who deny that there are gods.

Cle. Certainly, quite enough, Stranger.

Ath. Then we will say no more to them. And now we are to address him who, believing that there are gods, believes also that they take no heed of human affairs: O thou best of men (this is what we will say to him), in believing that there are gods you are led by some affinity to them, which attracts you towards your kindred and makes you honor and believe in them. But the fortunes of evil and unrighteous men in private as well as public life, which, though not really happy, are wrongly counted happy in the judgment of men, and are sung or spoken of by poets and prose writers, draw you aside from your natural piety. Perhaps you have seen impious men growing old and leaving their children's children in high offices, and that shakes your faith; you have known or heard or been yourself an eye-witness of many monstrous impieties, and have beheld men by these criminal means from small beginnings reaching the pinnacle of greatness, and considering all these things you do not like to accuse the gods of them, because they are your relatives; and so from some want of reasoning power, and also from an unwillingness to find fault with them, you are led to believe that they exist indeed, but have no thought or care of human things. Now, that your present evil opinion may not grow to still greater impiety, and that we may if possible use arguments which may drive away the pollution of error, we will add another argument to that which we addressed to him who utterly denied the existence of the gods. And do you, Megillus and Cleinias, answer for the young man as you did before; and if any difficulty arises in the course of the argument, I will take the word out of your mouths, and carry you over the river as I did before.

Cle. Very good; do as you say, and we will help you as well as we can.

Ath. There will surely be no difficulty in proving to him that the gods care about the small as well as about the great. For he was present and heard what was said, that they are perfectly good, and that the care of all things is most entirely natural to them.

Cle. He certainly heard that.

Ath. Let us consider together in the next place what we mean by this virtue which we ascribe to them. Surely we should say that to possess mind belongs to virtue, and the contrary to vice?

Cle. Certainly.

Ath. Yes; and courage is a part of virtue, and cowardice of vice?

Cle. True.

Ath. And the one is dishonorable, and the other honorable?

Cle. To be sure.

Ath. And the one, like other meaner things, is a human quality, but the gods have no part in anything of the sort?

Cle. No one will deny that.

Ath. But do we imagine carelessness and idleness and luxury to be virtues? What do you think?

Cle. Certainly not.

Ath. They rank under the opposite class?

Cle. Yes.

Ath. And their opposites would fall under the opposite class? 901

Cle. Yes.

Ath. But can we suppose that one who takes care of great and small will be luxurious and heedless and idle, like those whom the poet compares to stingless drones?[1]

Cle. And the comparison is a most just one.

Ath. Surely God must not be supposed to have a nature which he himself hates? and if any one dares to say anything of that sort, he must not be allowed for a moment.

Cle. He must not — of course not.

Ath. Should we not on any principle be entirely mistaken in praising any one who has some special business intrusted to him, he having a mind which takes care of great matters and no care of small ones? Reflect; he who acts in this way,

[1] Hesiod, Works and Days, v. 307.

whether he be God or man, must act from one of two principles.

Cle. What are they?

Ath. Either he must think that the neglect of the small matters is of no consequence to the whole, or if they are of consequence and he neglects them, his conduct must be attributed to carelessness and indolence. Is there any other way in which his neglect can be explained? For, surely, he will not neglect anything, whether small or great, from any impossibility of taking care of all — or be careless about those things of which an inferior being, who has not the power, whether God or man, might be unable to take care.

Cle. Impossible.

Ath. Now, then, let us examine the offenders, who both alike confess that there are gods, but with a difference, — the one saying that they may be appeased, and the other that they have no care of small matters — there are three of us and two of them, and we will say to them: In the first place, you both acknowledge that the gods hear and see and know all things, and that nothing can escape them which is matter of sense and knowledge: do you admit this?

Cle. Yes.

Ath. And do you admit also that they have all power which mortals and immortals can have?

Cle. They will, of course, admit this also.

Ath. And surely we three and they two — five in all — have acknowledged that they are good and perfect?

Cle. Assuredly.

Ath. But, if they are such as we conceive them to be, can we possibly suppose that they ever act in the spirit of carelessness and indolence? For in us inactivity is the child of cowardice, and carelessness of inactivity and indolence.

Cle. Most true.

Ath. Then not from inactivity and carelessness is any god ever negligent; for he has no cowardice in him.

Cle. That is very true.

902 *Ath.* Then the alternative which remains is, that if the gods neglect the lighter and lesser concerns of the universe, they neglect them because they know that they ought not to care about such matters; what other alternative is there but that they have no knowledge?

Cle. There is none.

Ath. And, O most excellent and best of men, do I understand you to mean that they are ignorant, and do not know that they ought to take care, or that they know and yet like the meanest sort of men, knowing the better choose the worse because they are overcome by pleasures and pains?

Cle. Impossible.

Ath. Do not all human things partake of the nature of soul? And is not man the most religious of all animals?

Cle. That is certainly true.

Ath. Surely we say that all mortal creatures are the property of the gods, to whom also the whole of heaven belongs?

Cle. Certainly.

Ath. And, now, whether a person says that these things to the gods are great or small — in either case the gods who own us and who are the most careful and the best of owners, are not likely to neglect us. There is also a further consideration.

Cle. What is that?

Ath. Sensation and power are in an inverse ratio to each other in respect to their ease and difficulty.

Cle. What do you mean?

Ath. I mean that there is greater difficulty in seeing and hearing the small than the great, but more facility in moving them and controlling them and taking care of them than of their opposites.

Cle. Far more.

Ath. Suppose the case of a physician who is willing and able to cure some living thing as a whole, — how will the whole fare at his hands, if he takes care only of the greater and neglects the lesser?

Cle. Certainly not well.

Ath. No better would be the result with pilots or generals, or householders or statesmen, or any other class, if they neglected the small and regarded only the great; as the builders say, the larger stones do not lie well without the lesser.

Cle. Of course not.

Ath. Let us not, then, deem God inferior to human workmen, who, in proportion to their skill, finish and perfect their works, small as well as great, by one and the same art; 903
or that God, the wisest of beings, who is willing and able to extend his care to all things, like a lazy good-for-nothing, wants a holiday, and takes no thought of smaller and easier matters, but of the greater only.

Cle. Never, Stranger, let us admit such a supposition about the gods; which is both impious and false.

Ath. I think that we have now said enough to him who charges the gods with neglect.

Cle. Yes.

Ath. He has been forced to acknowledge that he is in error but he still seems to me to need some consolation.

Cle. What consolation will you offer him?

Ath. Let us say to the youth: "The ruler of the universe has ordered all things with a view to the preservation and perfection of the whole, and each part has an appointed state of action and passion; and the smallest action or passion of any part affecting the minutest fraction has a presiding minister. And one of these portions of the universe is thine own, stubborn man, which, however little, has the whole in view; and you do not seem to be aware that this and every other creation is for the sake of the whole, and in order that the life of the whole may be blessed; and that you are created for the sake of the whole, and not the whole for the sake of you. For every physician and every skilled artist does all things for the sake of the whole, directing his effort toward the common good, executing the part for the sake of the whole, and not the whole for the sake of the part. And you are annoyed because you do not see how that which is best for you is, as far as the laws of the creation admit of this, best also for the universe." Now, as the soul combining first with one body and then with another undergoes all sorts of changes, either of herself, or through the influence of another soul, all that remains to the master of the game is that he should transpose the pieces; sending the better nature to the better place, and the worse into the worse, and so assigning to them their proper portion.

Cle. How do you mean?

Ath. I am proposing a plan which may be supposed to make the care of all things easy to the gods. For if any one did not form or fashion[1] all things with a view to the whole,—if, for example, he formed a living element of water out of fire, instead of forming many things out of one, or one out of
904 many, not at random, but in regular order of the first or second or third degree, the transmutation would have been infinite; but now the ruler of the world has a wonderfully easy task.

[1] Reading μὴ πρὸς τὸ ὅλον.

Cle. How is that?

Ath. In this way: When the king saw that our actions had life, and that there was much virtue in them and much vice, and that the soul and body, although not eternal, were indestructible, like the gods of popular opinion (for if either of them had been destroyed, there would have been no generation of animals); and when he observed that the good of the soul was by nature designed to profit men, and the evil to harm them — he, seeing all this, contrived so to place them in each of the parts that their position might in the easiest and best manner procure the victory of good and the defeat of evil in the whole. And he contrived a general plan by which a thing of a certain nature found a certain seat and room. But the formation[1] of qualities he left to the wills of individuals. For every one of us is made pretty much what he is by the bent of his desires and the nature of his soul.

Cle. Yes, that is probably true.

Ath. Then all things which have a soul change, and possess in themselves a principle of change, and in changing move according to law and the order of destiny: lesser changes of nature move on level ground, but greater crimes sink into the abyss, that is to say, into Hades and other places in the world below, of which the very names terrify men, and about which they dream that they live in them absent from the body. And when the soul changes greatly, either for the better or worse, by her own impulse or the strong influence of others, when she has communion with divine virtue and becomes divine, she is carried into another and better place, which is also divine and perfect in holiness; and when she has communion with evil, then she also changes the place of her life.

"For that is the justice of the gods who inhabit heaven."[2]

O youth or young man, who fancy that you are neglected by the gods, know that if you become worse you shall go to the worse souls, or if better to the better, and in every succession of life and death you will do and suffer what like may fitly suffer at the hands of like. This is a divine justice, which neither you nor any other unfortunate will ever glory in escaping, and which the ordaining powers have specially ordained; take good heed of them, for a day will come when they will take heed of you. If thou sayest: I am small and will creep 905

[1] Reading τοῦ τρόπου.

[2] Hom. Odyss., 19, 43.

into the depths of the earth, or I am high and will fly up to heaven, you are not so small or so high but that you shall pay the fitting penalty, either in the world below or in some yet more savage place still to which thou shalt be conveyed. This is also the explanation of the fate of those whom you saw, who had done unholy and evil deeds, and from small beginnings had become great, and you fancied that from being miserable they had become happy; and in their actions, as in a mirror, you seemed to see the universal neglect of the gods, not knowing how they make all things work together and contribute to the great whole. And thinkest thou, bold man, that thou shouldst not know this; he who knows not this can never see any true form or say any true word touching the happiness or unhappiness of life? If Cleinias and this reverend company succeed in proving to you that you know not what you say of the gods, then will God help you; but should you desire to hear more, listen to what we say to the third opponent, if you have any understanding left in you. For I think that we have sufficiently proved the existence of the gods, and that they have a care of man: that they are appeased by wicked men, and take gifts is what I will not allow, and what every man should disprove to the utmost of his power.

Cle. Very good; let us do as you say.

Ath. Well, then, by the gods themselves I conjure you to tell me, — if they are to be propitiated, how are they to be propitiated? Who are they, and what is their nature? Must not the eternal administrators of heaven be at least rulers?

Cle. True.

Ath. And to what earthly rulers can they be compared, or who to them? How in the less can we find an image of the greater? Are they charioteers of contending pairs of steeds, or pilots of vessels? Perhaps they might be compared to the generals of armies, or they might be likened to physicians pro-
906 viding against the strife of bodily disease, or to husbandmen observing anxiously the effects of the seasons or the growth of plants; or perhaps to shepherds of flocks. For as we acknowledge the heaven to be full of many goods and also of evils, and of more evils than goods, there is, as we affirm, an immortal conflict going on among us, which requires marvelous watchfulness; and in that conflict the gods and demigods are our allies, and we are their property. Injustice and insolence and folly are the destruction of us, and justice and

temperance and wisdom are the salvation of us; and the place of these latter is in the life of the gods, and of their virtues some vestige may occasionally be discerned among mankind. But upon this earth there dwell souls who have an unjust spirit,[1] and they, like brute animals, fawn upon their keepers, who may be dogs or shepherds, or may be the best and most perfect masters; and upon these, as the wicked declare, they prevail by flattery and prayers and incantations, and are allowed to make their gains with impunity. And this sin, which is termed dishonesty, is the same evil as that which is called disease in living bodies or blight in the seasons, and in cities and governments has another name, which is injustice.

Cle. Quite true.

Ath. That is what he must say who declares that the gods are always lenient to the doers of unjust acts, who divide the spoil with them. That is as if wolves might be supposed to toss a portion of their prey to the dogs, and they, mollified by the gift, suffered them to tear the flocks. What but this will he say who maintains that the gods are to be propitiated?

Cle. That is what he will say.

Ath. And to whom of the above-mentioned classes of guardians would any man gravely compare the gods? Will he say that they are like pilots, who are themselves turned away from their duty by draughts of wine and the savor of fat, and at last overturn both ship and sailors?

Cle. Certainly not.

Ath. And surely they are not like charioteers who are bribed to give up the victory to other chariots?

Cle. That would be a fearful image of the gods.

Ath. Nor are they like generals, or physicians, or husbandmen, or shepherds; and no one would compare them to dogs who have been silenced by wolves.

Cle. Do not be profane.

Ath. And are not all the gods the chiefest of all guardians, and do they not guard our highest interests? 907

Cle. Yes; the chiefest.

Ath. And shall we say that those who guard our noblest interests, and are the best of guardians, are inferior in virtue to dogs, and to men even of moderate excellence, who would never betray justice, for the sake of gifts which unjust men impiously offer them?

[1] Reading λῃμα.

Cle. Certainly not; nor is such a notion to be endured, and he who holds this opinion may be fairly singled out and characterized as of all impious men the wickedest and most impious.

Ath. Then are the three assertions, — that the gods exist, and that they take care of men, and that they will not be entreated to injustice, now sufficiently demonstrated? May we say that they are?

Cle. You have our entire assent to your words.

Ath. I have spoken with vehemence because I was jealous of evil men; and I will tell you, dear Cleinias, what is the reason of my jealousy. I would not have them suppose that the wicked, having the superiority in argument, may do as they like, in accordance with their various imaginations about the gods; and this zeal has led me to speak more vehemently; but if we have at all succeeded in persuading the men to hate themselves and love their opposites, the preamble of our laws about impiety will not have been spoken in vain.

Cle. So let us hope; and even if we have failed, the style of our argument will not discredit the lawgiver.

Ath. After the preamble shall follow a discourse, which will be the interpreter of the law; this shall proclaim to all impious persons that they must depart from their ways and go over to the pious. And to those who do not obey them, let the law about impiety be as follows: If a man is guilty of any impiety in word or deed, any one who happens to be present shall give information to the rulers, in aid of the law; and let the rulers who receive the information bring them before the appointed court according to the law; and if the magistrate, after receiving information, refuses to act, he shall be tried for impiety at the instance of any one who is willing to vindicate the laws; and if he be cast, the court shall
908 estimate the punishment of each act of impiety; and let all such criminals be imprisoned. There shall be three prisons in the state: the first of them is to be the common prison, in the neighborhood of the agora, for the safe keeping of the generality of offenders; another is to be in the neighborhood of the nocturnal council, and is to be called the "house of reformation;" another, to be situated in some wild and desolate region in the centre of the country, shall be called by some name expressive of retribution. Now, men fall into impiety from three causes, which have been already mentioned, and

from each of these causes arise two sorts of impiety, in all six, requiring judicial decision, but differing greatly in their degrees of guilt. For he who does not believe in the gods, and yet has a righteous nature, hates the wicked and dislikes and refuses to do injustice, and avoids unrighteous men, and loves the righteous. But they who, besides believing that the world is devoid of gods, are intemperate, and have at the same time good memories and quick wits, are worse; although both of them are unbelievers, much less injury is done by the one than by the other. The one may talk loosely about the gods and about sacrifices and oaths, and perhaps by laughing at other men he may make them like himself, if he be not punished. But the other unbeliever, who is deemed a superior person, is full of stratagem and deceit — men of this class are prophets and jugglers of all sorts, and out of their ranks sometimes come tyrants and demagogues and generals and hierophants of private mysteries and the ingenuities of so-called Sophists. Of these there may be altogether many kinds, but two only for whom legislation is required; one the hypocritical sort, whose crime is deserving of death many times over, the other having need of bonds and admonition. In like manner also the notion that the gods take no thought of men produces two other sorts of crimes, and the notion that they may be propitiated produces two more. Assuming these divisions, let those who have been made what they are only from want of understanding, and not from malice or an evil nature, be placed by the judge in the house of reformation, and ordered to suffer imprisonment during a period of not less than five years. And in the 909
mean time let them have no intercourse with the other citizens, except with members of the nocturnal council, and with them let them converse touching the improvement of their souls' health. And when the time of their imprisonment has expired, if any of them be of sound mind let him be restored to sane company, but if not, and if he be condemned a second time, let him be punished with death. As to that class of monstrous natures who not only believe that there are no gods, or that they are negligent, or to be propitiated, but conjure the souls of the living, and say that they can conjure the dead, and promise to charm the gods with sacrifices and prayers, and will utterly overthrow whole houses and states for the sake of money, — let him who is guilty of any of these things be condemned by the judge to be bound according to law in the prison which

is in the centre of the land, and let no freeman ever approach him, but let him receive the rations of food appointed by the magistrates from the hands of slaves; and when he is dead let him be cast out of the borders unburied, and if any freeman assist in burying him let him pay the penalty of impiety to any one who is willing to bring a suit against him. But if he leaves behind him children who are fit to be citizens, let the guardians of orphans take care of them, just as they would of any other orphans, from the day that their father was convicted.

In all these cases there should be one law, which will make men in general less liable to transgress in word or deed, and less foolish, because they will not be allowed to practice religious rites contrary to law. And let this be the simple form of the law: No man shall have sacred rites in a private house. But when he is disposed to sacrifice, let him place his offerings in the hands of the priests and priestesses, who have under their care the holy rite, and let him pray himself, and let any one who pleases join with him in prayer. The reason of this is as follows: Gods and temples are not easily established, and to establish them rightly is the work of a mighty intellect. And women especially, and men too, when they are sick or in danger, or in any sort of difficulty, or again on their receiving any good fortune, have a way of consecrating the occasion, offering up prayers and sacrifices, and promising statues to gods, demigods, and sons of gods; and when they are awakened by terrible apparitions, and have dreams or remember visions, they find in altars and temples the remedies of them, and will fill every house and village with them, placing them in the open air or in any chance place; and with a view to all these cases we should act as the law enacts. The law has also regard to the impious, and would not have them fancy that by the secret performance of these actions — by raising temples and altars in private houses, they can propitiate the God secretly with sacrifices and prayers, while they are really multiplying their crimes infinitely, bringing guilt from Heaven upon themselves, and also upon those who permit them, who are better men than they are; and the consequence is that the whole state reaps the fruit of their impiety, which, in a certain sense, is deserved: assuredly God will not blame the legislator.

Let this, then, be the language of the law: No one shall possess shrines of the gods in private houses, and he who is found to possess them, and perform any sacred rites not publicly au

thorized, — supposing the offender to be some man or woman who is not guilty of any other great and impious crime, — shall be informed against by him who is acquainted with the fact, which shall be announced by him to the guardians of the law; and let them issue orders that he or she should carry away his private rites to the public temples, and if they do not persuade them, let them inflict a penalty on them until they comply. And if a person be proven guilty of impiety, not merely from childish levity, but such as grown-up men may be guilty of, whether he have sacrificed publicly or privately to any gods, let him be punished with death, for he has offered impure sacrifices. And whether the deed has been done in earnest, or only from childish levity, let the guardians of the law determine, before they prosecute the offender for impiety.

BOOK XI.

913 IN the next place, dealings between man and man require to be suitably regulated. The principle of them is very simple: Thou shalt not touch that which is mine, if thou canst help, or remove the least thing which belongs to me without my consent; and may I, being of sound mind, do to others as I would that they should do to me. First, let us speak of treasure-trove: May I never pray the gods to find the hidden treasure, which a man has laid up for himself and his family, he not being one of my ancestors, nor lift, if I should find, such a treasure. And may I never have any dealings with the diviners, as they are called, who in any way or manner counsel me to take up the deposit intrusted to the earth, for I should not gain so much in the increase of my possessions, if I take up the prize, as I should grow in justice and virtue of soul, if I abstain; and this will be a better possession to me than the other; for the possession of justice in the soul is preferable to the possession of wealth. And of many things it is well said, — "Move not the immovables," and this may be truly regarded as one of them. And we shall do well to believe the common tradition which says, that such deeds prevent a man from having a family. Now, as to him who is careless about having children and regardless of the legislator, taking up that which he neither deposited, nor any ancestor of his, without the consent of the depositor, violating the simplest and noblest of laws which was the enactment of no mean man, who said: "Take not up that which you have not laid down," — of him, I say, who despises these two legislators, and takes up, not some small matter which he has not deposited, but perhaps a great heap of treasure, what he ought to suffer at the hands of the gods, God only knows; but I would have the first person who sees him go and tell the wardens of the city, if the occurrence has taken place in the

city, or if the occurrence has taken place in the agora he shall tell the wardens of the agora, or if in the country he shall tell the wardens of the country and their officers. When information has been received they shall send to Delphi, 914
and whatever the God answers about the money and the remover of the money, that the city shall do in obedience to the oracle; the informer, if he be a freeman, shall have the honor of doing rightly, or if he inform not, the dishonor of doing wrongly; and if he be a slave who gives information, let him be freed, as he ought to be, by the state, which shall give his master the price of him; but if he do not inform he shall be punished with death. Next in order shall follow a similar law, which shall apply equally to matters great and small: If a man happens to leave behind him some part of his property, whether intentionally or unintentionally, let him who may meet with the left property, suffer it to remain, reflecting that such things are under the protection of the goddess of ways, and are dedicated to her by the law. But if any one defies the law, and takes the property home with him, let him, if he be a slave of little worth, be beaten with many stripes by him who meets him, being a person of not less than thirty years of age. Or if he be a freeman, in addition to being thought a mean man, who has no share in the laws, let him pay ten times the value of the treasure which he has moved to the leaver. And if some one accuses another of having anything which belongs to him, whether little or much, and he admits that he has this thing, but says that the property in dispute is not the other's, if the property be registered with the archons according to law, he shall summon the possessor, who shall appear before the magistrates; and when the matter is cleared up, if it be registered in the public registers, to which of the litigants it belonged, let him take it and go his way. Or if the property be registered as belonging to some one who is not present, whoever will give sufficient surety on behalf of the absent person that he will give it up to him, let him take it away as the representative of the other. But if the property which is deposited be not registered with the archons, let it remain until the time of trial with three of the eldest of the archons; and if that for which bail is given be an animal, then he who loses the suit shall pay the archons for its keep, and the archons shall determine the cause within three days.

Any one who is of sound mind may carry off his own slave,

and do with him whatever he will of such things as are lawful; and he may carry off the runaway slave of any of his friends or kindred with a view to his safe-keeping. And if any one takes away him who is being carried off as a slave, intending to liberate him, he who is carrying him off shall let him go; but he who takes him away shall give three sufficient sureties; and if he give them, and not without giving them, he may take him away, but if he take him away after any other manner he shall be guilty of violence, and being convicted shall pay double
915 the penalty of the loss to him from whom he has taken the slave. Let him also carry off the freedman, if he do not pay respect or not sufficient respect to him who freed him. Now the respect shall be, that the freedman go three times in the month to the house of the person who freed him, and offer to do whatever he can and ought to do, and he shall agree to make such a marriage as his former master pleases. He shall not be permitted to have more property than he who gave him liberty, and what more he has shall belong to his master. The freedman shall not remain in the state more than twenty years, but like other foreigners shall go away, taking his entire property with him, unless he have the consent of the magistrates and of his former master to remain. If a freedman or any other stranger have a property greater than the census of the third class, at the expiration of thirty days from the day on which this comes to pass, he shall take that which is his and go his way, and in this case he shall not be allowed to remain any longer by the archons. And if any one disobeys this regulation, and is brought into court and convicted, he shall be punished with death, and his property shall be confiscated. Suits about these matters shall take place before the tribes, unless the plaintiff and defendant have got rid of the accusation either before their neighbors or before arbitrators. If a man lay claim to any animal or anything else which he declares to be his, let him who is the possessor refer to some honest and trustworthy person, who has sold or given, or in some legitimate way made over the property to him; if he be a citizen or a metic, sojourning in the city, within thirty days, or, if the property have been delivered to him by a stranger, within five months, of which the middle month shall be the summer solstice. When goods are exchanged by selling and buying, a man shall deliver them, and receive the price of them, at a fixed place in the agora, and have done with the matter; but he shall not buy

or sell anywhere else, nor give credit. And if in any other manner or in any other place there be an exchange of one thing for another, and the seller with whom he is dealing give him credit, he must do this on the understanding that the law gives no protection in cases of things sold not in accordance with these regulations. Again, as to contributions, any man who likes may contribute as a friend with friends, but if any difference arises about the contribution, he is to act on the understanding that the law gives no protection in such cases. He who sells anything up to the value of fifty drachmas shall be required to remain in the city for ten days, and the purchaser shall be informed of the house of the seller, with a 916
view to the sort of charges which are apt to arise in such cases, and the restitutions which the law allows. And let legal restitution and illegal be on this wise: If a man sells a slave who is in a consumption, or who has the disease of the stone, or of strangury, or epilepsy, or some other tedious and incurable disorder of body or mind, which is not discernible to the ordinary man, if the purchaser be a physician or trainer, he shall have no right of restitution; nor shall there be any right of restitution if the seller has told the truth beforehand to the buyer. But if a skilled person sells to another who is not skilled, let the buyer appeal for restitution within six months, except in the case of epilepsy, and then the appeal may be made within a year, and shall be determined by such physicians as the parties may agree to choose; and he who loses the suit shall pay double the price at which he sold. If a private person sell to another private person, he shall have the right of restitution, and the decision shall be given as before, but he who loses the suit shall only pay back the price of the slave. If a person sells a homicide to another, and they both know of the fact, let there be no restitution in such a case, but if he do not know of the fact, there shall be a right of restitution, whenever a buyer makes the discovery, and the decision shall rest with five of the youngest guardians of the law, and if the decision be, that the seller was cognizant of the fact, he shall purify the house of the purchaser, according to the law of the interpreters, and shall pay back three times the purchase-money.

He who exchanges either money for money, or anything whatever for anything else, either with or without life, let him give and receive them genuine and unadulterated, in accordance with the law. And let us have a preamble about all this sort

of roguery, like the preambles of our other laws. Every man should regard adulteration as a particular kind of falsehood, concerning which the many are too fond of saying, that at proper times, the practice may often be right. But they leave the time and place and occasion undefined and unregulated, and from this want of definiteness in their language they do a great deal of harm to themselves and to others. Now, a legislator ought not to leave the matter undefined; he ought to prescribe some limit, either greater or less. Let this, then, be the limit prescribed: No one shall call the gods to witness, when he says or does anything false or deceitful or dishonest, unless
917 he would be the most hateful of mankind to them. And he is most hateful to them who takes a false oath, and never thinks of the gods; and in the second place, he who tells a falsehood in the presence of his superiors. Now, better men are the superiors of worse men, and in general elders are the superiors of the young; wherefore also parents are the superiors of their children, and men, of women and children, and rulers, of their subjects; and all men ought to reverence any one who is in any position of authority, and especially those who are in political offices. I have made this remark in reference to our present discourse. For every one who is guilty of adulteration in the agora tells a falsehood, and deceives, and when he invokes the gods, according to the customs and cautions of the wardens of the agora, he is perjured, and has no respect either for God or man. Certainly, it is an excellent rule not lightly to profane the names of the gods, after the fashion of men in general, who care little about piety and purity in their actions. But if a man will not conform to this rule, let the law be as follows: He who sells anything in the agora shall not ask two prices of that which he sells, but he shall ask one price, and if he do not obtain this, he shall take away his goods; and on that day he shall not value them, either at more or less; and there shall be no praising of any goods, or oath taken about them. If a person disobeys this command, any citizen who is present, not being less than thirty years of age, may chastise and beat the swearer, and he shall be guiltless, but if he takes no heed and disobeys, he shall be liable to the charge of having betrayed the laws. If a man sell any adulterated goods and will not obey these regulations, he who knows and can prove the fact, and does prove it in the presence of the magistrates, if he be a slave or a metic, shall have the adulterated goods; but if he be

a citizen, and do not prove it, he shall be disgraced and deemed to have robbed the gods of the agora; or if he prove the charge, he shall dedicate the goods to the gods of the agora. He who is proved to have sold any adulterated goods, in addition to losing the goods themselves, shall be beaten with stripes, — a stripe for a drachma, according to the price of the goods; and the herald shall proclaim in the agora the offense for which he is going to be beaten. The wardens of the agora and the guardians of the law shall obtain information from experienced persons about the rogueries and adulterations of the sellers, and shall write up what the seller ought and ought not to do in each case; and let them inscribe their laws on a column in front of the court of the agora, that they may be clear instructors of those who have business in the agora. Enough has been said in what has preceded about the wardens of the city, 918 and if anything seems to be wanting, let them communicate with the guardians of the law, and write down the omission, and place on a column in the court of the city the first and second regulations which are laid down for them about their office.

After the practices of adulteration naturally follow practices of retail trade. Concerning these, we will first of all give a word of counsel and reason, and the law shall come afterwards. Retail trade in a city is not by nature intended to do any harm, but quite the contrary; for is not he a benefactor who reduces the inequalities and immeasurabilities of goods to equality and measure? And this is what the power of money accomplishes, and the merchant may be said to be appointed for this purpose. The hireling and the tavern-keeper, and many other occupations, some of them more and others less seemly — all alike have this object; they seek to satisfy our needs and equalize our possessions. Let us then endeavor to see what is this dishonor and appearance of unseemliness, and what is the accusation brought against retail trade, in order that if not entirely we may yet partially remove the objection by law. To effect his is no easy matter, and implies a great deal of virtue.

Cle. What do you mean?

Ath. Dear Cleinias, the class of men is small — they must have been rarely gifted by nature, and trained by education, who, when compelled by wants and desires of every sort, are able to hold out and observe moderation, and when they might make a great deal of money are sober in their wishes, and prefer a moderate to a large gain. But the mass of mankind

are the very opposite: their desires are unbounded, and when they might gain in moderation they prefer gains without limit wherefore all that relates to retail trade and merchandise, and keeping of taverns, is denounced and numbered among dishonorable things. For if, what I trust may never be and will not be, we were to compel, if I may venture to say a ridiculous thing, the best men everywhere to keep taverns for a time, or carry on retail trade, or do anything of that sort; or if, in consequence of some dire necessity, the best women were compelled to take to a similar calling, then we should know how agreeable and pleasant all these things are. And if they were carried on according to pure reason, all such occupations would be held in honor, and those who practiced them would be deemed parents
919 or nurses; but now that a man goes to desert places and builds houses which can only be reached by long journeys, for the sake of retail trade, and receives strangers who are in need at the desired resting-places, or gives them sweet calm when they are tossed by the storm, or cool shade in the heat; and then instead of behaving to them as friends, and showing the duties of hospitality to those whom he has received under his roof, treats them as enemies and captives who are at his mercy, and will not release them until they have paid the highest, most exorbitant, and base price, — these are the sort of practices, and foul evils they are, which cast a reproach upon the succor of adversity. And the legislator ought always to be devising a remedy for evils of this sort. There is an ancient saying, which is also a true one — "To fight against two opponents is a difficult thing," as is seen in diseases and in many other cases. And in this case also the war is against two enemies — wealth and poverty; one of whom corrupts the soul of man with luxury, while the other drives him by pain into utter shamelessness. What remedy can a city of sense find against this disease? In the first place, they must have as few as possible of the retail class; and in the second place, they must assign the occupation to that class of men whose corruption will be the least injury to the state; and in the third place, they must devise some way whereby the followers of these occupations themselves will not readily fall into habits of unbridled shamelessness and meanness.

After this preface let our law run as follows, and may fortune favor us: No landowner among the Magnetes, whose city the God is restoring and resettling — no one, that is, of the

5040 families, shall become a retail trader either voluntarily or involuntarily; neither shall he be a merchant, or do any service for private persons who are not his equals, except for his father or his mother, and their fathers and mothers; and in general for his elders who are freemen, and whom he serves as a freeman. Now it is difficult to determine accurately the things which are worthy or unworthy of a freeman, but let those who have obtained the prize of virtue give judgment about them in accordance with their feelings of right and wrong. He who in any way shares in the illiberality of retail trades may be indicted by any one who likes for dishonoring his race, before those who are judged to be the first in virtue; and if he appear to throw dirt upon his father's house by an unworthy occupation, let him be imprisoned for a year and abstain from that sort of thing; and if he repeat the offense, for two years; and every time that he is taken let the time of his imprisonment be doubled. This shall be the second law: He who engages in retail trade, must be either a metic or a stranger. And a third law shall be: That with a view to this class of retail traders who dwell with us in our city, being as good or as little bad as possible, the guardians of the law ought to remember that they are guardians not only of those who may be easily watched and prevented from becoming lawless or bad, because they are well-born and bred; but still more should they have a watch over those who are of another sort, and follow pursuits which have a very strong tendency to make men bad. And, therefore, in respect of the multifarious occupations of retail trade, that is to say, in respect of such of them as are allowed to remain, because they seem to be quite necessary in a state, — about these the guardians of the law should meet and take counsel with those who have experience of the several kinds of retail trade, as we before commanded concerning adulteration (which is a matter akin to this), and when they meet they should consider what receipts and what expenditure will produce a moderate gain, and they should fix in writing and strictly observe the ratio of receipt and expenditure; this should be done by the wardens of the agora, and by the wardens of the city, and by the wardens of the country. In this way retail trade will benefit every one, and do the least possible injury to those in the state who practice it. 920

When a man makes an agreement which he does not fulfill, unless the agreement be of a nature which the law or a vote of

the assembly does not allow, or which he has made under the influence of some unjust compulsion, or which he is prevented from fulfilling against his will by some unexpected chance, the other party may go to law with him in the courts of the tribe, for not having completed his agreement, if the parties are not able previously to come to terms before arbiters or before their neighbors. The class of craftsmen who have furnished human life with the arts, is dedicated to Hephaestus and Athene; and there is a class of craftsmen who preserve the works of all craftsmen by arts of defense, the votaries of Ares and Athene; and they also deserve to be dedicated to the gods. All these continue through life serving the country and the people; some of them are leaders in battle, others make for hire implements
921 and works, and they ought not to deceive in such matters, out of respect to the gods who are their ancestors. If any craftsman through indolence omit to execute his work in a given time, not reverencing the God who gives him the means of life, but considering, foolish fellow, that he is his own god and will let him off easily; in the first place, he shall pay a penalty to the God; and in the second place, the law shall follow in a similar spirit. He shall owe to him who contracted with him the price of the works which he has failed in performing, and he shall begin again and execute them gratis in the given time. When a man undertakes a work, the law gives him the same advice which was given to the seller, that he should not attempt to raise the price, but simply ask the value; this the law enjoins also on the contractor; for the craftsman assuredly knows the value of his work. Wherefore, in free states the man of art ought not to attempt to impose upon private individuals by the help of his art, which is by nature a true thing; and he who is wronged in a matter of this sort, shall have a right of action against the party who has wronged him. And if any one lets out work to a craftsman, and does not pay him duly, according to the lawful agreement, disregarding Zeus Poliuchus and Athene, who are the partners of the state, and overthrows the foundation of society for the sake of a little gain, in his case let the law and the gods maintain the common bonds of the state. And let him who, having already received the work in exchange, does not pay the price in the time agreed, pay double the price; and if a year has elapsed, whereas usury in general is not to be taken on money lent in our state, let him for every drachma which he owes to the contractor pay a monthly interest of an

obol. Suits about these matters are to be decided by the courts of the tribes; and, by the way, now that we are mentioning craftsmen, we must not forget to speak of generals and tacticians, who are the craftsmen of our art of safety, which is war, and like other craftsmen undertake some public work either of their own accord, or because they are appointed by the state; and if they execute their work well, the law will never be tired of praising him who gives them[1] those honors which are the just rewards of the soldier; but if any one, having already received the benefit of any noble service in war, does not make the due return of honor, the law will blame him: Let this then be the law, having an ingredient of praise, not compelling but advising the great body of the citizens to honor the brave men who are the saviors of the whole state, whether by their courage or by their military skill; they should honor them, I say, in the second place; for the first and highest tribute of honor is to be given to those who in a special manner honor the good words of the legislator. 922

The greater part of the dealings between man and man have been now regulated by us with the exception of those that relate to orphans and the supervision of guardians of orphans. These follow next in order, and must be regulated in some way. They all begin with the testamentary wishes of the dying and the case of those who make no disposition of their property. And when I said, Cleinias, that we must regulate them, I had in my mind the difficulty and perplexity in which they are entangled. You cannot leave them unregulated, for individuals would make regulations at variance with one another, and repugnant to the laws and habits of the living and to their own previous habits, if a person were simply allowed to make any will which he pleases, and this were to take effect in whatever state he may be at the end of life; for most of us lose our senses in a manner, and are prostrated in mind when we think that we are soon about to die.

Cle. What do you mean, Stranger?

Ath. O, Cleinias, a man when he is about to die is a fearful thing, and may cause a great deal of anxiety and trouble to the legislator.

Cle. How is that?

Ath. He wants to have the entire control of all his property and will use angry words.

[1] Reading, according to Schneider, δι τούτοις αὖ.

Cle. What words?

Ath. O ye gods, he will say, how monstrous that I am not allowed to give, or not to give, my own to whom I will — less to him who has been bad to me, and more to him who has been good to me, and whose badness or goodness has been tested by me in time of sickness or in old age and in every other sort of fortune.

Cle. Well, Stranger, and may he not very fairly say that?

Ath. I think, Cleinias, that the ancient legislators were too good-natured, and that they made laws without sufficient observation or consideration of human things.

Cle. How do you mean?

Ath. I mean, my friend, that they were afraid of the testator's reproaches, and so they passed a law to the effect that a man should be allowed to dispose of his property in all respects as he likes, but you and I, if I am not mistaken, will have something better to say to our departing citizens.

923 *Cle.* What is that.

Ath. O my friends, we will say to them, hard is it for you who are creatures of a day, to know what is yours, — hard, too, to know yourselves, as the Pythian Oracle says, at this hour. Now I, as the legislator, regard you and your possessions, not as belonging to yourselves, but as belonging to your whole family, both past and future, and yet more do I regard both family and possessions as belonging to the state; wherefore, if some one steals upon you with flattery, when you are tossed on the sea of disease or old age, and persuades you to dispose of your property in a way that is not for the best, I will not, if I can help, allow this; but I will legislate with a view to the whole, considering what is best both for the state and for the family, esteeming as I ought the feelings of an individual at a lower rate; and I hope that you will depart in peace and kindness towards us, as you are going the way of all mankind; and we will impartially take care of all your concerns, not neglecting any of them, if we can possibly help. Let this be our warning and consolation of the living and dying, Cleinias, and let the law be as follows: He who makes a disposition in a testament, being a father and having children, shall first of all inscribe as his heir any one of his sons whom he may think fit; and if he have given any of his children to be adopted by another citizen, let him inscribe the adoption. And if he has a son remaining over and above who has not had any portion assigned to him, and

who may reasonably be expected to go out to a colony according to law, to him his father may give as much as he pleases of the rest of his property, with the exception of the paternal lot and the property on the lot. And if there are more sons than one, let the father distribute what there is more than the lot in any way that he pleases. And if one of the sons has the family inheritance, he shall not give him of the money, nor shall he give money to a daughter who is betrothed to a husband, but if she is not betrothed he may give her money. And if any of the sons or daughters shall be found to have a lot of land in the country, which has accrued after the testament has been made, he shall leave the lot which he has inherited to the heir of the man who has made the will. If the testator has no sons, but only daughters, let him choose the husband of any one of his daughters, and leave and inscribe him as his son and heir. And if a man have lost his son, when he was a child, and before he came to be reckoned among grown-up men, whether his own or an adopted son, let the testator make mention of the circumstance and inscribe whom he will to be his second son, in hope of better fortune; and if the testator has no children 924
at all, he may select and give to any one whom he pleases the tenth part of the property which he has acquired. Let him, as he ought, give all the rest to his adopted son, and make a friend of him according to the law. If the sons of a man require guardians, and he dies and makes a will appointing guardians who are agreeable and willing to take charge of his children, whoever they are, and as many as he pleases, let the choice of the guardians have force according to what he has written. But if he dies and has made no will, or a will in which he has appointed no guardians, then the next of kin, two on the father's and two on the mother's side, and one of the friends of the deceased, shall have the authority of guardians; whom the guardians of the law shall appoint when the orphans require guardians. And fifteen of the eldest of the guardians of the law, according to seniority, shall have the whole care and charges of the orphans, and shall divide themselves into threes, — a body of three for one year, and then another body of three for the next year, until the cycle is complete, and this, as far as possible, is to continue always. If a man dies, having made no will at all, and leaves sons who require the care of guardians, they shall share in the protection which is afforded by these laws. And if a man dying by some unexpected fate leave daughters

behind him, let him pardon the legislator if he gives his daughter in marriage, having a regard only to two out of three conditions: nearness of kin and the preservation of the lot, and omits the third condition, which a father would naturally consider, for he would choose out of all the citizens a son for himself and a husband for his daughter, with a view to his character and disposition: he shall forgive him, I say, if he neglects this, which to him is an impossible consideration. Let the law about these matters where practicable be as follows: If a man dies without making a will and leaves behind him daughters, let his brother, being the son of the same mother, having no lot, marry the daughter and have the lot of the dead man. And if he have no brother, but only a brother's son, in like manner let them marry, if they be of a suitable age; and if there be not even a brother's son, but only the son of a sister, let them do likewise, and so in the fourth degree if there be only a father's brother, or in the fifth degree a father's brother's son, or in the sixth degree the child of a father's sister. Let kindred be always reckoned in this way: if a person leaves daughters the
925 relationship shall proceed upwards through brother's and brother's son, and first the males shall come, and after them the females in the same family. The judge shall consider and determine the suitableness or unsuitableness of age in marriage; he shall make an inspection of the males naked, and of the women naked down to the navel. And if there be a lack of kinsmen in a family extending to grandchildren of a brother, or to the grandchildren of a grandfather's children, the maiden may choose with the consent of her guardians any one of the citizens whom she will, and he shall be the heir of the dead man, and the husband of his daughters. Circumstances vary, and there may sometimes be a still greater lack of relations within the limits of the state; and if any maiden has no kindred living in the city, and there is some one who has been sent out to a colony, and she is disposed to make him the heir of her father's possessions, if he be of her kindred, let him proceed to her lot according to the regulation of the law; but if he be not of her kindred, and there be no kinsman within the pale of the city, let him be chosen by the daughter of the dead man, and empowered to marry by the guardians, and let him return home and take the lot of him who died intestate. And he who has no children, either male or female, and dies without making a will, shall act in such a case in accordance with the

previous laws; and let a man and a woman go forth from the family and share the deserted house, and let the lot belong absolutely to them; and let the heiress in the first degree be a sister, and in the second degree a daughter of a brother, and in the third, a daughter of a sister, in the fourth degree the sister of a father, and in the fifth degree the daughter of a father's brother, and in the sixth degree of a father's sister; and these shall dwell with their male kinsmen, according to the degree of relationship and right, as we enacted before. Now we must not conceal from ourselves that such laws are apt to be oppressive, and that there may sometimes be a hardship in the lawgiver, commanding the kinsman of the dead man to marry his relation; he may be thought not to have considered the innumerable hinderances which may arise among men in the execution of such ordinances; for there may be cases in which the parties refuse to obey, and are ready to do anything rather than marry, when there is some bodily or mental malady or defect among those who are bidden to marry or be married. Persons may fancy that the legislator never thought of this, in which, however, they are mistaken; wherefore let us make a common prelude on behalf of the lawgiver and of the subjects, the law begging the latter to forgive the legislator, in that he, having to take care of the common weal, cannot order at the same time the various circumstances of individuals, and begging him to pardon them if they are sometimes unable to fulfill the act which he in his ignorance imposes upon them. 926

Cle. And what, Stranger, can we do that is fairest under the circumstances?

Ath. There must be arbiters chosen to deal with such laws and the subjects of them.

Cle. What do you mean?

Ath. I mean to say, that a case may occur in which the brother's son, having a rich father, will be unwilling to marry the daughter of his uncle; he will have a feeling of pride, and he will wish to look higher. And there are cases in which the legislator will be imposing upon him the greatest calamity, and he will be compelled to disobey the law, if he is required, for example, to take a wife who is mad, or has some other terrible malady of soul or body, such as makes life intolerable to the sufferer. Let our law, then, concerning these cases, be on this wise: if any one find fault with the established laws respecting testaments, both as to other matters and especially in what re-

iates to marriage, and declares that the legislator, if he were alive, would not compel him to obey, — that is to say, would not compel those who are by our law required to marry or be given in marriage, to do either, — and some kinsman or guardian assent to this, let them say that the legislator left the fifteen guardians of the law to be arbiters and fathers to orphans, male or female, and to them let the disputants have recourse, and by their aid determine any matters of this sort, admitting their decision to be final. But if any one thinks that too great power is thus given to the guardians of the law, let him bring his adversaries into the court of the select judges, and there have the points in dispute determined. And he who loses the cause shall have censure and blame from the legislator, which, by a man of sense, is felt to be a penalty far heavier than a great loss of money.

Thus will orphan children have a second birth: After their first birth we spoke of their nurture and education, and after their second birth, when they have lost their parents, we ought to take measures that the misfortune of orphanhood may be as little sad as possible to them. In the first place, as we are saying, we appoint them the guardians of the law, to be fathers to them, not inferior to their natural fathers. Moreover, we bid them take charge of them in each year as their own kindred, and have given a suitable admonition to them and to the
927 guardians concerning the nurture of orphans. And we seem to have spoken opportunely in our former discourse, when we said that the souls of the dead have the power after their death of taking an interest in human affairs, about which there are many tales and traditions, long, indeed, but true; and seeing that they are so many and so ancient, we must believe them, and we must also believe the lawgivers, who tell us that these things are true, if they are not to be regarded as utter fools. But if these things are really so, in the first place men should have a fear of the gods above, who regard the loneliness of the orphans; and in the second place of the souls of the departed, who by nature incline to take an especial care of their own children, and they are friendly to those who honor them, and unfriendly to those who do not. Men should also fear the living who are aged; wherever a city is well ordered and prosperous, their descendants cherish them, and so live happily; and they are quick to see and hear all that relates to them, and are propitious to those who are just in the fulfillment of these

duties, and they punish those who wrong the orphan and the desolate, considering that they are the greatest and most sacred of deposits. To all which matters the guardian and magistrate ought to apply his mind, if he has any, and take heed of the nurture and education of the orphans, seeking in every possible way to do them good, and contributing to his own good and that of his children. He who obeys the tale which precedes the law and does no wrong to an orphan, will never have experience of the wrath of the legislator. But he who is disobedient, and wrongs any one who is bereft of father or mother, shall pay twice the penalty which he would have paid if he had wronged one whose parents had been alive. As touching other legislation concerning guardians in their relation to orphans, or concerning magistrates and their superintendence of the guardians, if they did not possess[1] examples of the manner in which children of freemen should be brought up in the bringing up of their own children, and of the care of their property in the care of their own; or, if they had not just laws fairly stated about these very things, — there would have been reason in making laws for them, under the idea that they were a peculiar class, and we might distinguish and make separate rules for the life of those who are orphans and of those who are not orphans. But as the case stands, the condition of orphans with us is not different from the case of those who have a father, though in regard to honor and dishonor, and the attention given to them, the two are not usually placed upon a level. 928 Wherefore, touching the legislation about orphans, the law speaks in serious accents, both of persuasion and threatening, and such a threat as the following will be by no means out of place: He who is the guardian of an orphan of either sex, and he among the guardians of the law who has the care of the guardians, shall love the unfortunate orphan as though he were his own child, and he shall be as careful and diligent as he would be in the management of his possessions, or even more careful than he would have been if they were his own. Let every one who has the care of an orphan observe this law. But if any one acts contrary to the law on these matters, if he be a guardian, the archon may fine him, or if he be the archon, the guardian may bring him before the court of select judges, and punish him, if convicted, by a fine, which the court shall impose, of double the amount. And if a guardian appears to

[1] Reading εἰ μὲν μή.

the relations of the orphan, or to any other citizen, to act negligently or dishonestly, let them bring him before the same court, and whatever penalty is imposed upon him, let him pay fourfold, and let half belong to the orphan and half to him who procured the conviction. If any orphan arrives at years of discretion, and thinks that he has been ill-used by his guardians, let him within five years of the expiration of the guardianship be allowed to bring his guardian to trial; and if he be convicted, the court shall determine what he shall pay or suffer. And if the archon shall appear to have wronged the orphan by his neglect, and he be convicted, let the court determine what he shall suffer or pay to the orphan, and if there be dishonesty in addition to neglect, besides paying the fine, let him be deposed from his office of guardian of the law, and let the state appoint another guardian of the law for the city and for the country in his room.

Greater differences than there ought to be sometimes arise between fathers and sons, on the part either of fathers who will be of opinion that the legislator should enact that they may, if they wish, lawfully renounce their son by the proclamation of a herald in the face of the world, or of sons who will be of opinion that they should be allowed to indict their fathers on the charge of imbecility when they are degraded by disease or old age. These things only happen as a matter of fact, where the natures of men are very bad; for where only half is bad, as, for example, if the father be not bad, but the son is bad, or conversely, there is no bad effect caused by this amount of hatred. In another state, a son disowned by his father would not of necessity cease to be a citizen, but in our state, of which
929 these are to be the laws, the disinherited must necessarily emigrate into another country, for no addition can be made even of a single family to the 5040 households; and, therefore, he who deserves to suffer these things must be renounced not only by his father, who is a single person, but by the whole family, and what is done in these cases must be regulated by some such law as the following: He who in the sad disorder of his soul has a mind, justly or unjustly, to expel from his family a son whom he has begotten and brought up, shall not lightly or at once execute his purpose; but first of all he shall collect together his own kinsmen, extending to cousins, and in like manner his son's kinsmen by the mother's side, and in their presence he shall accuse his son, setting forth

that he deserves at the hands of them all to be dismissed from the family; and the son shall be allowed to address them in a similar manner, and show that he does not deserve to suffer any of these things. And if the father persuades them, and obtains the suffrages of more than half of his kindred, exclusive of the father and mother and the offender himself — I say, if he obtain more than half the suffrages of all the other grown-up members of the family, of both sexes, the father shall be permitted to put away his son, but not otherwise. And if any other citizen is willing to adopt the son who is put away, no law shall hinder him; for the characters of young men are subject to many changes in the course of their lives. And if he has been put away, and in a period of ten years no one is willing to adopt him, let those who have the care of the superabundant population that are sent out into colonies, see to him, in order that he may duly share in the colony. And if disease or age or harshness of temper, or all these together, make a man to be more out of his mind than the rest of the world are, — but this is not observable, except to those who live with him, — and he, being master of his property, is the ruin of the house, and his son doubts and hesitates about indicting his father for insanity, let the law in that case provide that he shall first of all go to the eldest guardians of the law and tell them of his father's misfortune, and they shall duly look into the matter, and take counsel as to whether he shall indict him or not. And if they advise him to proceed, they shall be both his witnesses and his advocates; and if the father is cast, he shall henceforth be incapable of ordering the least particular of his life; let him be as a child dwelling in the house for the remainder of his days. And if a man and his wife have an unfortunate incompatibility of temper, ten of the guardians of the law, who are impartial, and ten of the women who regulate marriages shall look to the matter, and if they are able to reconcile them they shall be formally reconciled; but if their souls are too much tossed with passion, they shall endeavor to find other partners. Now, they are not likely to have very gentle tempers; and, therefore, we must endeavor to associate with them deeper and softer natures. Those who have no children, or but a few at the time of their separation, should choose their new partners with a view to the procreation of children; but those who have a sufficient number of children should separate and form new connections in order

930

that one of the two partners may be able to take care of the other in old age. If a woman dies, leaving children, male or female, the law will advise rather than compel the husband to bring up the children which they have, and not introduce into the house a step-mother. But if he have no children, then he shall be compelled to marry until he have begotten a sufficient number of sons to his family and to the state. And if a man die leaving a sufficient number of children, the mother of his children shall remain with them and bring them up. But if she appears to be too young to live virtuously without a husband, let her relations communicate with the women who superintend marriage, and do what they both think for the best in these matters; if there is a lack of children, let them make the choice with a view to children; two children, one of either sex, shall be deemed sufficient in the eye of the law. When a child is admitted to be the offspring of certain parents and is acknowledged by them, but there is need of a decision as to which parent the child is to follow, — in case a female slave have intercourse with a male slave, or with a freeman or freedman, the offspring shall always belong to the master of the female slave. Again, if a free woman have intercourse with a male slave, the offspring shall belong to the master of the slave; but if a child be born either of a slave by her master, or of his mistress by a slave — and this be proven — the offspring of the woman and its father shall be sent away by the women into another country, and the guardians of the law shall send away the offspring of the man and the mother.

Neither God, nor a man who has understanding, will ever advise any one to neglect his parents. To a discourse concerning he honor and dishonor of parents, a prelude such as the following, about the service of the gods, will be a suitable introduction: There are ancient customs about the gods which are universal, and they are of two kinds: some of the gods we
931 see with our eyes and honor them, of others we honor the images; raising statues of them which we adore; and though they be lifeless, yet we imagine that the living gods have a good will and gratitude to us on this account. Now, if a man has a father or mother, or their father or mother treasured up in his house stricken in years, let him consider that no statue can be more potent to grant his requests than they are who are sitting at his hearth, if only he knows how to show due service to them.

Cle. And what do you call the true mode of service?

Ath. I will tell you, O my friend, for such things are worth listening to.

Cle. Proceed.

Ath. Oedipus, as tradition says, when dishonored by his sons, invoked on them the fulfillment of those curses from the God which every one declares to have been heard and ratified by the gods; and Amyntor in his wrath invoked curses on his son Phoenix, and Theseus upon Hippolytus, and innumerable others have also called down wrath upon their children, which is a plain proof that the gods listen to the imprecations of parents against their children; for the curses of a parent are, as they ought to be, mighty against his children as no others are. And shall we suppose that the prayers of a father or mother who is specially dishonored by his or her children, are heard by the gods in accordance with nature; and that if a man is honored by them, and in the gladness of his heart earnestly entreats the gods in his prayers to do them good, he is not equally heard, and that they do not minister to his request? If not, they would be very unjust ministers of good, and that we affirm to be contrary to their nature.

Cle. Certainly.

Ath. May we not think, as I was saying just now, that we can possess no image which is more honored by the gods, than that of a father or grandfather, or of a mother stricken in years? whom when a man honors, the heart of the God rejoices, and he is ready to answer their prayers. And, truly, the figure of an ancestor is a wonderful thing, far higher than that of a lifeless image. For when they are honored by us, they join in our prayers, and when they are dishonored, they utter imprecations against us; but lifeless objects do neither. And, therefore, if a man makes a right use of his father and grandfather and other aged relations, he will have the best of all images which can procure him the favor of the gods.

Cle. That is excellent.

Ath. Every man of understanding fears and respects the prayers of his parents, knowing well that many times and to many persons they have been accomplished. Now, these things being thus ordered by nature, good men think that they are the gainers by having aged parents living, to the end of their life, or if they depart early, they are deeply lamented by them; and to the bad they are very terrible. Wherefore let 932

every man honor with every sort of lawful honor his own parents agreeably to what has now been said. But if this prelude be an unmeaning sound in the ears of any one, let the law follow, which may be rightly imposed in these terms: If any one in this city be not sufficiently careful of his parents, and do not regard and gratify in every respect their wishes more than those of his sons and of his other offspring or of himself, — let him who experiences this sort of treatment either come himself, or send some one to inform the three eldest guardians of the law, and three of the women who have the care of marriages; and let them look to the matter and punish the evil-doers with stripes and imprisonment until they are thirty years of age, that is to say, if they be men, or if they be women let them undergo the same punishment up to forty years of age. But if, when they are still more advanced in years, they continue the same neglect of their parents, and do them any hurt, let them be brought before a court, in which every single one of the eldest citizens shall be the judges, and if the offender be convicted, let the court determine what he ought to pay or suffer, and any penalty may be imposed on him which a man can do or suffer. If the person who has been wronged is unable to inform the archons, let any freeman who hears of his case inform, and if he do not, he shall be deemed base, and shall be liable to pay damages on the requisition of any one who likes. And if a slave informs, he shall be free, and if he be the slave of the injurer or injured party he shall be enfranchised by the magistrates, or if he belong to any other citizen the public shall pay a price on his behalf to the owner, and let the archons take heed that no one wrongs him out of revenge, and because he has given information.

As to cases in which one injures another by poisons, where they are fatal we have already spoken of them; but about other cases in which a person intentionally and of malice harms another with meats, or drinks, or ointments, nothing has as yet been determined. For there are two kinds of poisons used among men, which cannot clearly be distinguished. There is
933 one kind of poison which injures bodies by the use of bodies according to nature, and of this we have spoken; but there is another kind which injures by sorceries, and incantations, and magic bonds, as they are termed, and induces one class of men to injure others as far as they can, and persuades others that they above all persons are liable to be injured by the

powers of the magician. Now it is not easy to know the origin of all these things; nor if a man do know can he readily persuade others of his belief. And when men are disturbed at the sight of waxen images fixed either at the doors, or in a place where three ways meet, or in the sepulchres of parents, there is no use in trying to persuade them that they should despise all such things, because they have no certain knowledge about them. But we must have a law in two parts, concerning poisoning, in whichever of the two ways the attempt is made, and we must entreat, and exhort, and advise men not to have recourse to such practices, by which they scare the multitude out of their wits, as if they were children, compelling the legislator and the judge to heal the fears which the sorcerer arouses, and to tell them in the first place, that he who attempts to poison or enchant others knows not what he is doing, either as regards the body (unless he have a knowledge of medicine), or as regards his enchantments, unless he happens to be a diviner or soothsayer. Let the law, then, run as follows about poisoning or witchcraft: He who employs poison to do any injury not fatal to a man himself, or to his servants, or any injury whether fatal or not, to his cattle or his bees, if he be a physician, and be convicted of poisoning, shall be punished with death; or if he be a private person, the court shall determine what he is to pay or suffer. But he who seems to be the sort of man who injures others by magic knots, or enchantments, or incantations, or any of the like practices, if he be a prophet or diviner, let him die; and if, not being a prophet, he be convicted of witchcraft, as in the previous case, let the court fix what he ought to pay or suffer.

When a man does another any injury by theft or violence, for the greater injury let him pay a greater penalty to the injured man, and a less penalty for the smaller injury; but in all cases, whatever the injury be, as much as will compensate the loss. And besides the compensation of the wrong, let a man pay a further penalty for the chastisement of his offense: he who has done the wrong through another's folly,[1] and at 934
his instigation, yielding to youthful impulsiveness or the like, shall pay a lighter penalty; but he who has injured another through his own folly, when overcome by pleasure or pain, in cowardice and fear, or lust, or envy, or implacable anger, shall endure a heavier punishment. Not that he is punished because

[1] Putting the comma after ἀλλοτριᾳ.

he did wrong, for that which is done can never be undone, but in order that in future times, he, and those who see him corrected, may utterly hate injustice, or at any rate abate much of their evil-doing. Having an eye to all these things, the law, like a good archer, should aim at the right measure of punishment, and in all cases at the deserved punishment. In the accomplishment of this the judge shall be a fellow-worker with the legislator, whenever the law leaves to him to determine what the offender shall suffer or pay; and he, like a painter, shall fill up the outline with suitable details. This is what we must do, Megillus and Cleinias, in the best and fairest manner that we can: saying what the punishments are to be of all actions of theft and violence, and giving laws of such a kind as the gods and sons of gods would have us give.

If a man be mad he shall not be at large in the city, but his relations shall keep him at home in any way which they can; or if not, let them pay a penalty, — he who is of the highest class shall pay a penalty of one hundred drachmas, whether he be a slave or a freeman whom he neglects; and he of the second class shall pay four fifths of a mina; and he of the third class three fifths; and he of the fourth class two fifths. Now, there are many sorts of madness, some arising out of disease, which we have already described; and there are other kinds, which originate in an evil and passionate temperament, and are increased by education; out of a slight quarrel this class of madmen will often raise a storm of abuse against one another, and nothing of that sort ought to be allowed to exist in a well-ordered state. Let this, then, be the law about abuse, which shall relate to all cases: No one shall speak evil of another; and when a man disputes with another he shall teach and learn of the disputant and the company, but he shall abstain from evil speaking; for out of the imprecations which men utter against
935 one another, and the feminine habit of casting aspersions on one another, and using foul names, beginning in words light as air, they proceed to deeds, and the greatest enmities and hatreds spring up. For the speaker gratifies his anger, which is an ungracious element of his nature; and nursing up his wrath by the entertainment of evil thoughts, and exacerbating that part of his soul which was formerly civilized by education, he lives in a state of wild-beast fury and moroseness, and pays a bitter penalty for his anger. And in such cases almost all men have a way of saying something ridiculous about their

opponent, and there is no man who is in the habit of laughing at another who does not miss virtue and earnestness altogether, or lose the better half of greatness. Wherefore let no one say anything of that sort at the temple, or at the public sacrifices, or at the games, or in the agora, or in a court of justice, or in any public assembly. And let him who has the charge of such matters chastise an offender, and he shall be blameless; or if he fail, he shall not claim the prize of virtue; for he is one who heeds not the laws, and does not do what the legislator commands. And if in any other place any one indulges in these sort of revilings, whether he have begun the quarrel or is only retaliating, let any elder who is present support the law, and control with blows those who give way to passion, which is another great evil; and if he fail, let him be liable to pay the appointed penalty. And we say further, that he who is engaged in the practice of reviling cannot revile without attempting to say what is ludicrous; and this is the use of ridicule, employed in a moment of anger, which we censure. Again, do we admit into our state the comic writers who are so fond of making mankind ridiculous, if they attempt in a good-natured manner to turn the laugh against our citizens? or do we draw the distinction of jest and earnest, and allow a man to make use of ridicule in jest and without anger about any thing or person; but as we were saying, not if he be angry and have a set purpose? We forbid earnest — that is unalterably fixed; but we have still to say who are to be sanctioned or not to be sanctioned by the law in the employment of innocent humor. A comic poet, or maker of iambic or satirical lyric verse, shall not be permitted to ridicule any of the citizens, either by word or image, either in anger or without anger. And if any one is disobedient, the judges shall either at once expel him from the place, or he shall pay a fine of three minae, which shall be dedicated to the God who presides over the contests. Those only who have already received permission shall be allowed to write verses at one another without anger and in jest, but in anger and in serious earnest they shall not be allowed. The decision of this matter shall be left to the superintendent of the general education of the young, and whatever he may license, the writer shall be allowed to produce, and whatever he rejects let neither the poet himself exhibit, nor ever teach any other, slave or freeman, under the penalty of being dishonored, and held disobedient to the laws. 936

Now, he is not to be pitied who is only hungry, or who suffers anything of that sort, but he who is temperate, or has other virtues, and at the same time suffers from misfortune, he is to be pitied; and it would be an extraordinary thing if such a one, whether slave or freeman, were utterly forsaken and fell into the extremes of poverty in any tolerably well-ordered city or government. Wherefore the legislator may safely make a law applicable to such cases in the following terms: Let there be no beggars in our state; and if anybody begs, seeking to collect the means of life by perpetual prayers, let the wardens of the agora turn him out of the agora, and the wardens of the city out of the city, and the wardens of the country send him out of any other part of the country over the border, that so the country may be cleared of this sort of animal.

If a slave of either sex injure anything, which is not his or her own, through inexperience, or some improper practice, and the injured person be not in part to blame, the master of the slave who has done the harm shall either make full satisfaction, or give up the person who has done the injury. But if the master argue that the charge has arisen by collusion between the injured party and the injurer, with a view of depriving him of the slave, let him sue him who says that he has been injured for malpractices. And if he convict him let him receive double the value which the court fixes as the price of the slave; and if he lose his suit, let him make amends for the injury, and give up the slave. And if an animal, whether horse or dog, or any other beast, injure a neighbor, the owner shall in like manner pay for the injury.

If any man voluntarily refuses to be a witness, he who wants him shall summon him, and he who is summoned shall come to the trial; and if he knows and is willing to bear witness, let him bear witness, but if he says he does not know let him swear by the three divinities, Zeus, and Apollo, and Themis, that he does not know, and have done with the cause. 937 And he who is summoned to give witness and does not answer to his summoner, shall be liable for the harm which ensues according to law. And if any one summons as witness one who is a judge, let him give his witness, but he shall not afterwards vote in the cause. A free woman may give her witness and plead, if she be more than forty years of age, and may bring an action if she have no husband; but if her husband be alive she shall only be allowed to bear witness. A

slave of either sex and a child shall be allowed to give evidence and to plead, but they must produce sufficient sureties that they will certainly remain until the trial, if they are charged with false witness. And either of the parties in the cause may bring an accusation of false witness against them, touching their evidence in whole or in part, if he asserts that such evidence has been given, previous to the final decision of the cause. The magistrates shall preserve the accusations of false witness, and have them kept under the seal of both parties, and produce them on the day when the trial for false witness takes place. If a man be twice convicted of false witness, he shall not be required, and if thrice, he shall not be allowed to bear witness; and if he dare to witness after he have been convicted three times, let any one who pleases inform against him to the magistrates, and let the magistrate hand him over to the court, and if he be convicted he shall be punished with death. And in any case in which the evidence is found to be false, and yet to have given the victory to him who wins the suit, and more than half the witnesses are condemned, the decision which was gained by these means shall be rescinded, and there shall be a discussion and a decision as to whether the suit was determined by that false evidence or not; and in whichever way the decision may be given, the previous suit shall be determined accordingly.

There are many noble things in human life, but to most of them attach evils which corrupt and spoil them. Has not justice been the civilizer of humanity, and is not that noble? And must not the profession of an advocate be also noble? And yet upon this has come an evil reputation, shielded under the fair name of art. In the first place, we are told that there is a contrivance of the law, which by raising disputes and the other arts of an advocate is able to win a particular cause, whether just or unjust; and that both the art and the 938
power of speech which is thereby imparted are at the service of him who is willing to pay for them. Now, in our state this so-called art, whether really an art or only an experience and practice destitute of any art, ought if possible never to come into existence, or if existing among us should listen to the request of the legislator and go away into another land, and not speak contrary to justice. If the offenders obey we say no more; but if they disobey let them hear the voice of the law. If any one thinks that he will pervert the power of justice in the minds of the judges, and unseasonably litigate or advocate,

let any one who likes indict him for malpractices of law and pleading, and let him be judged in the court of select judges; and if he be convicted let the court determine whether he may be supposed to act from a love of money or from contentiousness. And if he be supposed to act from contentiousness, the court shall fix a time during which he shall not be allowed to institute or plead a cause; and if he be supposed to act as he does from love of money, in case he be a stranger he shall leave the country, and never return under penalty of death; but if he be a citizen he shall die, because he is a lover of money, however gained; and equally, if he be judged to have acted more than once from contentiousness, he shall die.

BOOK XII.

IF any herald or ambassador carry a false message to any other city, or bring back a false message from the city to which he is sent, or be proved to have brought back, whether from friends or enemies, in his capacity of herald or ambassador, what they have never said, let him be indicted for having offended, contrary to the law, in the sacred office and appointment of Hermes and Zeus, and let there be a penalty fixed, which he shall suffer or pay if he be convicted. 941

Theft is a mean, and robbery a shameless thing; and none of the sons of Zeus delight in fraud and violence, or ever practiced either. Wherefore let no one be deluded by poets or mythologers into a mistaken belief of such things, nor let him suppose when he thieves or is guilty of violence, that he is doing nothing base, but only what the gods themselves do. For that is untrue and improbable; and he who steals or robs contrary to the law, neither is nor ever was a god or the son of a god; of this the legislator ought to be a better judge than all the poets put together. Happy is he and may he be forever happy, who is persuaded and listens to our words; but he who disobeys shall have the following law directed against him: If a man steals anything belonging to the public, whether that which he steals be much or little, he shall have the same punishment. For he who steals a little steals with the same wish as he who steals much, but with less power. He who takes up anything more than he has deposited is unjust in the highest degree; and therefore the law is not disposed to inflict a less penalty on the one than on the other, because his theft is less, but on the ground that the thief may possibly be in the one case still curable, and in the other case is incurable. If any one convict in a court of law a stranger or a slave of a theft of public property, let the court determine what punishment he

shall suffer, or what penalty he shall pay, bearing in mind that he is probably not incurable. But the citizen who has been brought up, as our citizens will have been, if he be found guilty of robbing his country by fraud or violence, whether he be caught in the act or not, shall be punished with death; for he is incurable.

942 Now for expeditions of war much consideration and many laws are required; the great principle of all is that no one of either sex should be without a commander; nor should the mind of any one be accustomed to do anything either in jest or earnest of his own motion, but in war and in peace he should look to and follow his leader, and in the least things be under his guidance; for example, he should stand or move, or exercise, or wash, or take his meals, or get up in the night to keep guard and deliver messages when he is bidden; and in the hour of danger he should not pursue and not retreat except by order of his superior; and in a word, not teach the soul or accustom her to know or understand how to do anything apart from others. Of all soldiers the life should be in common and together; there neither is nor ever will be a higher, or better, or more scientific principle for the attainment of safety and victory than this. And from youth upwards we ought to practice this habit of commanding others, and of being commanded by others; anarchy should have no place in the life of man or of the beasts who are subject to man. I may add that all dances ought to be performed with a view to military excellence, and agility and ease should be cultivated with a similar view; and also endurance of the want of meats and drinks, and winter cold and summer heat, and hard couches; and, above all, care should be taken not to destroy the natural qualities of the head and the feet by surrounding them with extraneous coverings, and so hindering their natural growth of hair and soles. For these are the extremities, and of all the parts of the body, whether they are preserved or not is of the greatest consequence; the one is the best servant which the body has, and
943 the other is the lordly chief which by nature holds all the ruling senses. Let the young man, when I say this, imagine that he hears the praises of the military life; and the law shall be as follows: He shall serve in war who is enrolled or appointed to some special service, and if any one fails to serve from cowardice, and without the leave of the generals, he shall be indicted before the military commanders for failure of

service when the army comes home; and, in each case, the soldiers shall be the judges; the heavy-armed, and the cavalry, and the other arms of the service shall form separate courts; and they shall bring the heavy-armed before the heavy-armed, and the horsemen before the horsemen, and the others in like manner before their peers; and he who is found guilty shall never be allowed to compete for the prize of valor, or indict another for not serving on an expedition, or be an accuser at all about military matters. Moreover, the court shall determine further what punishment he shall suffer, or what penalty he shall pay. When the several suits for failure of service are completed, the generals shall once more hold an assembly, and they shall adjudge the prizes of valor; and he who likes shall give judgment in his own rank of the service, saying nothing about any former expedition, nor producing any proof or witnesses to confirm his statement, but speaking only of the actual expedition. The crown of victory shall be a branch, and the victor shall offer this up at the temple of any war god whom he likes, adding an inscription for a testimony to last during life, that such a one has received the first, the second, or the third prize. If any one goes on an expedition, and returns home before the appointed time, when the generals have not withdrawn the army, he shall be indicted for desertion before the same persons who took cognizance of failure of service, and if he be found guilty the same punishment shall be inflicted on him. Now, every man who is engaged in any suit ought to be very careful of bringing false witness against any one, either intentionally or unintentionally if he can help, for Justice is truly said to be a modest virgin,[1] and falsehood is naturally hateful to modesty and justice. A witness ought to be very careful not to sin against justice, especially in what relates to the throwing away of arms: he must distinguish the throwing them away when necessary, and not make that a reproach, or bring an action against some undeserving person on that account. To make the distinction may be difficult; but still the law must attempt to define the crime in some way. Let me endeavor to explain my meaning by the help of a story: If Patroclus had been brought to the tent still alive but without his arms (and this has happened to innumerable persons), the original arms, which the poet says were given to Peleus by the gods as a nuptial gift when he married Thetis, remaining in the

944

[1] Reading αἰδοίη.

hands of Hector, then the base spirits of that day might have reproached the son of Menoetius with having cast away his arms. Again there is the case of those who have been thrown down precipices and lost their arms; and of those who at sea, and in stormy places, have been suddenly overwhelmed by floods of water; and there are numberless things of this kind which one might adduce by way of consolation, and with the view of glossing over a misfortune which looks suspicious. We must, therefore, endeavor to divide to the utmost of our power, the greater and more serious evil from the lesser. And language admits of a distinction in the use of the opprobrious terms. A man does not always deserve to be called the thrower away of his shield; he may be only the loser of his arms. For there is a great or rather absolute difference between him who is deprived of his arms by a sufficient force, and him who voluntarily lets his shield go. Let the law then be as follows: If a person be overtaken by the enemy, having arms, and does not turn round and defend himself, but lets them go voluntarily or throws them away, choosing a base life and a swift escape rather than a courageous and noble and blessed death — in such a case of the throwing away of arms let justice be done; yet the judge should not fail to consider the previous case, for the bad man ought always to be punished, in the hope that he may be improved, but not the unfortunate, for there is no use in that. And what shall be the punishment suited to him who has thrown away his weapons of defense? Tradition says that Caeneus, the Thessalian, was changed by a god from a woman into a man; but the converse miracle cannot now be wrought, or no punishment would be more proper than that the man who throws away his shield should be changed into a woman. This, however, is impossible, and therefore let us make a law as nearly like this as possible; that he who loves his life too well shall be in no danger for the remainder of his days, but shall live forever under the stigma of cowardice. And let the law be in the following terms: When a man is found guilty of disgracefully throwing away his arms in war, no general or military officer shall allow him to
945 serve as a soldier, or give him any place at all in the ranks of soldiers; and if he give him any place, he shall suffer a penalty which the public examiner shall exact of him: If he who has placed the coward be of the highest class, he shall pay a thousand drachmas; or if he be of the second class, he shall pay five minae; or if he be of the third, three minae; or if

he be of the fourth class, one mina. And he who is found guilty, shall not only be dismissed from manly dangers, which is a disgrace appropriate to his nature, but he shall pay a penalty of a thousand drachmas if he be of the highest class, and five minae if he be of the second class, and three if he be of the third class, and a mina, like the preceding, if he be of the fourth class.

What regulations will be proper about examiners, seeing that some of our magistrates are elected by lot, and for a year, and some for a longer time and from selected persons? Of such persons who will be a sufficient censor or examiner, if any of them, weighed down by the pressure of office, and his own inability to support the dignity of his office, be guilty of any crooked practice — who will be a sufficient examiner of these things? It is by no means easy to find a ruler who excels rulers in virtue, but still we must endeavor to discover some censor or examiner who is more than man. For the truth is, that there are many elements of dissolution in a state, as there are also in a ship, or in an animal; they all have their cords, and girders, and sinews, and one nature diffused in many places, and called by many names; and the office of examiner is a most important element in the preservation and dissolution of states. For if the examiners are better than the magistrates, and their duty is fulfilled justly and without blame, then the whole state and country flourishes and is happy; but if the examination of the magistrates is carried on in a wrong way, then by the relaxation of that justice which is the uniting principle of all constitutions, every power in the state is rent asunder from each other; they no longer incline in the same direction, but fill the city with faction, and make many cities out of one, and soon bring all to destruction. Wherefore the censors ought to be admirable in every sort of virtue. Let us invent a mode of creating them, which shall be as follows: Every year after the summer solstice the whole city shall be required to meet in the common precincts of Helios and Apollo, and shall present to the God three men out of their own number, each citizen selecting, not himself, but some other citizen whom he deems in every way the best, and who is not less than fifty years of age. And out of the selected persons who have the greatest number of votes, they shall make a further selection until they reduce them to one half, if they are an even number; but if they are not an even number, they shall

946

subtract the one who has the smallest number of votes, and shall leave the rest, and then take the half which has the greater number of votes. And if two persons have an equal number of votes, and thus increase the number beyond one half, they shall deduct the younger and so do away the excess; and then including all the rest they shall again vote, until there are left three having an unequal number of votes. But if all the three, or two out of the three, have equal votes, let them commit the election to good fate and fortune, and separate off by lot the first, and the second, and the third; these they shall crown with a branch and give them the prize of excellence, at the same time proclaiming to all the world that the city of the Magnetes, by the providence of the gods, is again preserved, and presents to the Sun her three best men as the first-fruits of Apollo, dedicated, according to the ancient law, to him and to the Sun, as long as their lives answer to the judgment formed of them. And these shall appoint in their first year twelve examiners, to continue until each has completed seventy-five years; and hereafter, let three be added yearly, and let these divide all the magistracies into twelve parts, and prove the holders of them freely by every sort of test; and let them live, while they hold office, in the precinct of Helios and Apollo, in which they were chosen, and let each one form a judgment of some things individually, and of others in company with his colleagues; and let him place a writing in the agora about each magistracy, and what the magistrate ought to suffer or pay, according to the decision of the examiners. And if a magistrate does not admit that he has been justly judged, let him bring the examiners before the select judges, and, if he is acquitted by their decision, let him, if he will, accuse the examiners themselves; and if he be convicted, and have been condemned to death by the examiners, let him die (and of course he can only die once). But any other penalties which admit of being doubled, let him suffer twice over.

And now let us pass under review the examiners themselves; when are they to be examined? and what rewards or punishments are to be assigned to them? During the life of these
947 men, whom the whole state counts worthy of the rewards of virtue, they shall have the first seat at all public assemblies, and at all Hellenic sacrifices and sacred missions, and other public and holy ceremonies in which they share. The chiefs of each sacred mission shall be selected from them, and

they only of all the citizens shall be adorned with a crown of laurel; they shall all be priests of Apollo and Helios; and one of them, who is judged first of the priests created in that year, shall be chief priest; and they shall write up his name in each year to be a measure of time as long as the city lasts; and after their death the manner of laying and carrying them out, and their sepulchres, shall be different from the burial of the other citizens: They shall be decked in a robe all of white and there shall be no cryings or lamentations over them; but a chorus of fifteen youths, and another of men, shall stand around the bier on either side, hymning the praises of the dead in alternate responses, the priests blessing them in song all day long; and in the morning a hundred of the youths who practice gymnastic exercises, and whom the relations of the departed shall choose, shall carry the bier to the sepulchre, the young men, dressed in the garb of warriors, marching first, the cavalry with their horses, the heavy-armed with their arms, and the others in like manner. And the youths around the bier and in front shall sing their national hymn, and maidens shall follow behind, and with them the women who have passed the age of child-bearing; next shall follow priests and priestesses, unless the Pythian Oracle forbid them, because this burial is free from pollution, although they are interdicted from other burials. The place of burial shall be an oblong chamber constructed of porous stones, which will last forever, having stone couches placed side by side. And here they will lay the blessed person, and pile up the ground around, and plant a grove of trees on every side but one; and on that side the sepulchre shall be allowed to extend forever, and will not need a mound for those who are buried there. Every year they shall have contests in music and gymnastics, and in horsemanship, in honor of the dead. These are the honors which shall be given to those who are acquitted by the examiners; but if any of them, trusting to the scrutiny being over, should, after the judgment has been given, manifest the wickedness of human nature, let the law ordain that he who pleases shall indict him, and 948
let the cause be tried in the following manner: In the first place, the court shall be composed of the guardians of the law, and to them the surviving examiners shall be added as well as the court of select judges; and let the pursuer lay his indictment in this form: He shall say that so-and-so is unworthy of the prize of virtue and of his office; and if the defend-

ant be convicted let him be deprived of his office, and of the burial, and of the other honors given him. But if the prosecutor do not obtain a fifth part of the votes, let him, if he be of the first class, pay twelve minae, and eight if he be of the second class, and six if he be of the third class, and two minae if he be of the fourth class.

The so-called decision of Rhadamanthus is worthy of all admiration. He knew that the men of his own time believed and had no doubt that there were gods, which was a reasonable belief in those days, because most men were the sons of gods, and according to tradition he was one himself. He appears to have thought that he ought to commit judgment to no man, but to the gods only, and in this way suits were simply and speedily decided by him. For he made the two parties at issue take an oath respecting the points in dispute, and so got rid of the matter speedily and safely. But now that a certain portion of mankind do not believe at all in the existence of the gods, and others imagine that they have no care of us, and the opinion of most men and of the worst men is that in return for a small sacrifice and flattering words they will aid them in abstracting a great deal of money, and deliver them from great and divers penalties, the art of Rhadamanthus is no longer suited to the needs of justice, for as the opinions of men about the gods are changed, the laws should also be changed: In the granting of suits a rational legislation ought to do away with the oaths of the parties on either side, — he who obtains leave to bring in a lawsuit should write down the charges, but not add an oath; and the defendant in like manner should give his denial to the magistrates in writing, and not swear; for it is a dreadful thing to know, when many lawsuits are going on in a state, that almost half the people who are in the habit of meeting one another at the public meals and in other companies and relations of private life are perjured. Let the law, then, be as follows: A judge who is about to give judgment shall take an oath, and he who appoints the magistrates of the state by oaths or by the giving of votes which he carries from the temple, shall take an oath; and the judge of dances and of all music, and the
949 superintendents and umpires of gymnastic and equestrian contests, and any others in which, as far as men can judge, there is nothing to be gained by a false oath; but all cases in which a denial confirmed by an oath clearly results in a great advantage to the taker of the oath, shall be decided with

out the oath of the parties to the suit, and the presiding judges shall not permit either of them to use an oath for the sake of persuading, nor to call down curses on himself and his race, nor to use unseemly supplications or womanish laments. But he shall teach and learn what is just quietly, avoiding words of ill omen, or if he utter them, he shall be supposed to speak beside the point, and the judges shall again bring him back to the question at issue. On the other hand, strangers in their dealings with strangers shall legally give and receive oaths, for they will not grow old in the city, or leave a fry of young ones like themselves to be the sons and heirs of the land.

Let there be no difference in the mode of granting suits [1] to all persons who wish to prosecute others for offenses against the laws, where the penalty is less than stripes or imprisonment or death. But as regards the attendance at choruses or processions or any other public shows or services, or the celebration of sacrifice in time of peace, or of raising contributions in war; in all of these cases, first the necessity of providing for the loss has to be met; and by those who will not obey, there shall be security given to those who are empowered by the city and the law to exact the sum due; and if they forfeit their security, let the goods which they have pledged be sold and the money given to the city; but if they ought to pay a larger sum, the several magistrates shall impose upon the disobedient a suitable penalty, and bring them before the court, until they are willing to do what they are ordered.

Now, a state which makes money from the cultivation of the soil only, and has no foreign trade, must consider what it will do about the emigration of its own people to other countries, and the reception of strangers from elsewhere. About these matters the legislator has to consider, and he will begin by using his influence as far as he can. The intercourse of cities with one another is apt to create a confusion of manners; strangers are always suggesting novelties to strangers. When states are well governed by good laws the mixture causes the greatest possible injury; but seeing that most cities are the reverse of well ordered, the confusion which arises in them from the reception of strangers, and from the citizens themselves expatiating in other cities, whenever any one young or old desires to travel abroad at any time or to go anywhere, is of no

950

[1] Or, "let the decision in private suits be given in the same manner as in public." The passage appears to be corrupt.

consequence. And, on the other hand, the refusal to receive others and to allow their own citizens to go to other places is utterly impossible, and to the rest of the world is likely to appear ruthless and uncivilized; we call the practice by the name xenelasia or banishment of strangers, which is a hard word, and is descriptive of hard and morose ways, as men think. And to be thought or not to be thought well of by the rest of the world is no light matter; for the many are not so far wrong in their judgment of who are bad and who are good, as they are removed from the nature of virtue in themselves. Even bad men have a divine instinct which guesses rightly, and very many who are utterly depraved form correct notions and judgments about the differences of good and bad. Wherefore also the generality of cities are right in exhorting men to value a good reputation in the world, for there is no truth greater and more important than this — that he who is really good (I am speaking of him who would be perfect), seeks for reputation, with, but not without, the reality of goodness. And our Cretan colony ought also to acquire the fairest and noblest reputation for virtue from other men; and there is every reason to expect that, if the reality answers to the idea, there will be few like her among well-ordered cities, beholding the face of the sun and of the other gods. Wherefore, in the matter of emigration to other countries and the reception of strangers, we enact as follows: In the first place, let no one be allowed to go anywhere at all into a foreign country who is less than forty years of age; and no one shall go in a private capacity, but only in some public one, as a herald, or on an embassy, or on a sacred mission Foreign travel when on an expedition or in war is not to be included among travels authorized by the state. To Apollo at Delphi and to Zeus at Olympia and to Nemea and to the Isthmus citizens should be sent to take part in the sacrifices and games dedicated to these gods; and they should send as many as possible, and the best and fairest that can be found, and they
951 will make the city renowned at holy meetings in time of peace, procuring a glory which shall be the converse of that which is gained in war; and when they come home they shall teach the young that the institutions of other states are inferior to their own. And they shall send spectators of another sort, if they have the consent of the guardians, being such citizens as desire to look a little more at leisure at the doings of other men; and these no law shall hinder. For a city which

has no experience of good and bad men or intercourse with them, can never be thoroughly and perfectly civilized, nor, again, can the citizens of a city properly observe the laws by habit only, and without an intelligent understanding of them. And there always are in the world a few inspired men whose acquaintance is beyond price, and who spring up quite as much in ill-ordered as in well-ordered cities. And he who lives in a well-ordered city should be ever tracking them out, going forth by sea and land to seek after him who is incorruptible — seeking to establish more firmly the good institutions which they have, and amending what is deficient; for without this examination and inquiry a city will never continue perfect any more than if the examination is ill-conducted.

Cle. How can these two objects be attained?

Ath. In this way: In the first place, our spectator shall be of not less than fifty years of age; he shall be a man of repute, especially in military matters, who will exhibit to other cities a model of the guardians of the law, but when he is more than sixty years of age he shall no longer continue in his office of spectator. And when he has carried on his inspection during as many out of the ten years of his office as he pleases, on his return home let him go to the assembly of those who review the laws. This shall be a mixed body of young and old men, who shall be required to meet daily between the hour of dawn and the rising of the sun. They shall consist, in the first place, of the priests who have obtained the rewards of virtue; and, in the second place, of guardians of the law, choosing the ten eldest of them; the general superintendent of education shall also be a member, as well the last of them as those who have been released from the office, and each of them shall take with him as his companion a young man, whomsoever he chooses, between the ages of thirty and forty. These shall compose the assembly, and they shall always discourse about the laws of their 952
own city or any different ones of which they may hear existing elsewhere; also about kinds of knowledge which may appear to be of use, and will throw light upon the examination, or of which the want will make the subject of laws dark and uncertain to them. Any knowledge of this sort which the elders approve, the younger men shall learn with all diligence; and if any one of those who have been invited appear to be unworthy, the whole assembly shall blame him who invited him. The rest of the city shall watch over those among the young men who

distinguish themselves, having an eye upon them, and especially honoring them if they succeed, but dishonoring them above the rest if they turn out to be inferior to the rest. This is the assembly to which he who has visited the institutions of other men on his return home shall straightway go, and if he have discovered any one who has anything to say about the enactment of laws or education or nurture, or if he has himself made any observations, let him communicate his discoveries to the whole assembly. And if he be seen to have come home neither better nor worse, let him be praised at any rate for his enthusiasm; and if he be much better, let him be much praised; and not only while he lives but after his death, let the assembly honor him with fitting honors. Or if on his return home he appear to have been corrupted, pretending to be wise when he is not, let him be prohibited from speaking with any one, whether young or old; and if he will hearken to the rulers, then he shall be permitted to live as a private individual; but if he will not, let him die, if he be convicted in a court of law of interfering about education and the laws. And if he deserve to be indicted, and none of the magistrates indict him, let that be counted as a disgrace to them when the rewards of virtue are decided.

Let such be the character of the person who goes abroad, and let him go abroad under these conditions. In the next place, the stranger who comes from abroad should be received in a friendly spirit. Now, there are four kinds of strangers, of whom we must make some mention: the first is, he who comes and stays throughout the summer; this class are like birds of passage, taking wing in pursuit of commerce, and flying over the sea to other cities, while the season lasts; he shall be received in market-places and harbors and public buildings, near the city but outside, by those magistrates who are appointed to superintend these things; and they shall take care
953 that a stranger of any sort makes no innovation, and that he duly receives justice. They shall hold the intercourse with him which is necessary, but this shall be as little as possible. The second kind is just a spectator who comes to see with his eyes and hear with his ears the spectacle of the Muses; such ought to have entertainment at the temples provided them by hospitable persons, and the priests and ministers of the temple should see and attend to them. But they should not remain more than a reasonable time; let them see and hear that for the sake of which they came and then go away, neither

having suffered nor done any harm. The priests shall be their judges, if any of them receives or does any wrong up to the sum of fifty drachmas, but if any greater charge is brought against them, in such cases the suit shall come before the wardens of the agora. The third kind of stranger is he who comes on some public business from another land, and is to be received with public honors. He is to be specially received by the commanders of horse and foot, and the host by whom he is entertained, in conjunction with the prytanes, shall have a special care of what concerns him. There is a fourth class of persons answering to our spectators, who come from another land to look at ours. In the first place, such visits will be rare, and the visitor should be at least fifty years of age; he may possibly be wanting to see something that is rich and rare in other states, or himself to show something in like manner to another city. Let such a one, then, go unbidden to the doors of the wise and rich, being himself one of them: let him go, for example, to the house of the superintendent of education, confident that he is a fitting guest of such a host, or let him go to the house of some of those who have gained the prize of virtue and hold discourse with them, both learning from them, and also teaching them; and when he has seen and heard all, he shall depart, as a friend taking leave of friends, and be honored by them with gifts and suitable tributes of respect. These are the customs, according to which our city should receive all strangers of either sex who come to them from other countries, and should send forth her own citizens, showing respect to Zeus, the god of hospitality, not driving away strangers at meats and sacrifices and by savage proclamations, as is the manner which prevails among the children of the Nile.

When a man becomes surety, let him give the security in a distinct form, acknowledging the whole transaction in a written document, and in the presence of not less than three witnesses if the sum be under a thousand drachmas, and five witnesses if the sum be above a thousand drachmas. He who sells for another who sells unlawfully, and is not able to make good the loss, shall himself be responsible; the agent and the principal shall be equally liable. If a person wishes to discover anything in the house of another, he shall enter naked, or having only a short tunic and no upper girdle, having first taken an oath by the customary gods that he hopes to find it; 954

he shall then make his search, and the other shall throw open his house and allow him to search things both sealed and unsealed. And if a person will not allow the searcher to make his search, he who is prevented shall go to law with him, estimating the value of the goods after which he is searching, and if he be convicted he shall pay twice the value of the article. If the master be absent from home, the dwellers in the house shall let him search the unsealed property, and on the sealed property the searcher shall set another seal, and shall appoint any one whom he likes, to guard them during five days; and if the master of the house be absent during a longer time, he shall take with him the wardens of the city, and so make his search, opening the sealed property as well as the unsealed, and then, together with the members of the family and the wardens of the city, he shall seal them up again as they were before. There shall be a limit of time in the case of disputed things, and he who has had possession of them during a certain time shall no longer be liable to be disturbed. This shall not, however, apply to houses and lands; but if a man has any other possessions which he has used and openly shown in the city and in the agora, and no one has put in a claim to them, and the other says that he was looking for the goods at the time, and the owner is proved to have made no concealment, if they have continued for a year, the one having the goods and the other looking for them, no one shall be permitted to claim them after the expiration of a year; or if he does not use or show the lost property in the market, but only in the country, and no one offers himself as the owner during five years, at the expiration of the five years the claim shall be barred forever after; or if he uses them in the city, but in his own house, then the appointed time of claiming the goods shall be three years, or ten years if he has them in the country in private. And if he has them in another land, there shall be no limit of time or prescription, and whenever any one finds them he may claim them.

If any one prevents another by force from being present at a trial, whether a principal party or his witnesses; if the witness prevented be a slave, whether his own or belonging to another, the suit shall be incomplete and invalid; but if he
955 who is prevented be a freeman, besides the suit being incomplete the other who has prevented him shall be imprisoned for a year, and may be made a slave by any one

who pleases. And if any one hinders by force a competitor in gymnastic or music, or some other sort of contest, from being present at the contest, let him who has a mind inform the judges of the contest, and they shall liberate him who is desirous of contending; and if they are not able, and he who hinders the other from contending wins the prize, then they shall give the prize of victory to him who is prevented, and inscribe him as the conqueror in any temples which he pleases, and he who hinders the other shall not be permitted to make any offering or inscription having reference to that contest, and he shall be liable for the injury done, whether he be defeated or whether he conquer.

If any one knowingly receives anything which has been stolen, he shall undergo the same punishment as the thief, and if a man receives an exile he shall be punished with death. Every man should regard the friend and enemy of the state as his own friend or enemy; and if any one makes peace or war with any on his own account, and without the authority of the state, he shall in like manner undergo the penalty of death. And if any fraction of the city declare war or peace against any, the generals shall indict the authors of this proceeding, and if they are convicted death shall be the penalty. Those who serve their country ought to serve without receiving gifts, and there ought to be no excusing or approving the saying, "Men should receive gifts as the reward of good, but not of evil deeds;" for to know what is good and to persevere in what we know is no easy matter. The safest course is to obey the law which says, "Do no service for a bribe;" and let him who disobeys, if he be convicted, simply die. With a view to taxation, and for many reasons, every man ought to have his property valued: the tribesmen ought to bring in a register of the yearly produce to the wardens of the country, that in this way there may be two valuations; and the public officers may use annually whichever on consideration they deem the best, whether they prefer to take a certain proportion of the whole value, or of the annual revenue, after subtracting what is paid to the common tables.

Touching offerings to the gods, the moderate man should offer moderate ornaments. Now the land and the hearth of the house of all men is sacred to all gods; wherefore let no man dedicate a second shrine to the gods. In other cities, gold and silver, whether possessed by private persons or in

956 temples, is an invidious thing, and ivory, the product of a dead body, is not a proper offering; brass and iron, again, are instruments of war — let a man, therefore, offer what he likes which is made of wood only, and in like manner of stone to the public temples, but of woven work let him not offer more than one woman can execute in a month. White colors are suitable to the gods, especially in woven works, but dyes should only be used for the adornments of war. The most divine of gifts are birds and images, and they should be such as one sculptor can execute in a single day, and let other offerings follow the same rule or pattern.

Now that the whole city has been divided into parts of which the nature and number have been described, and laws have been given about all the most important contracts as far as this was possible, the next thing will be to have justice done. In the first place, there shall be elected judges in the courts, who shall be chosen by the plaintiff and defendant in common: these shall be called arbiters rather than judges. And in the second place there shall be judges taken from the village and tribe, a twelfth part of whom will be selected, and before these the litigants shall go to contend for greater damages, if the suit be not decided before the first judges, and the defendant, if he be defeated the second time, shall pay the fifth part of the damages mentioned in the indictment; and if some one finds fault with his judges and would try a third time, let him carry the suit before the select judges, and if he be again defeated, let him pay the whole of the damages and half as much again. And if the plaintiff when defeated before the first judges will persist in going on to the second, if he wins he shall receive a fifth part of the damages, and if he be defeated he shall pay in a similar proportion; but if he is not satisfied with the previous decision, and will insist on proceeding to a third court, then the defendant, if he be beaten, shall pay the damages and, as I said before, as much again, and the plaintiff shall pay half the damages. Now of the assignation of courts and completion of the number of the judges and the appointment of servants to the different magistrates, and the times at which the several causes should be heard, and the votings and delays and all the things that necessarily concern suits and the order of causes and the time in which answer is to be given and parties are to appear — of these and other things akin to these we have indeed already spoken, but there is no harm in repeating what is right twice or

thrice: All lesser and easier matters which the elder legislator has omitted may be supplied by the younger one. Private courts will be sufficiently regulated in this way, and the public and state courts, and those which the magistrates must use in the administration of their several offices, exist in many other states. Many very respectable institutions of this sort have been framed by good men, and from them the guardians of the law may by reflection derive what is necessary for the order of our new state, considering and correcting them, and bringing them to the test of experience, until every detail appears to be satisfactorily determined; and then putting the final seal upon them, and making them irreversible, they shall use them forever afterwards. As to what relates to the silence of judges and the abstinence from words of evil omen and the reverse, and the differences that there are in the notions of the just and good and honorable which exist in other states, they have been partly mentioned already, and another part of them will be mentioned in their place toward the end. To all these matters he who would be an equal judge shall justly look, and he shall possess writings about them that he may learn them. For of all kinds of knowledge the knowledge of good laws has the greatest power of improving the learner; otherwise there there would be no meaning in the divine and admirable law possessing a name akin to mind (τοὺς νόμους). And of all other words, such as the praises and censures of individuals which occur in poetry and also in prose, whether written down or uttered in daily conversation, whether men dispute about them in the spirit of contention or weakly assent to them, as is often the case — of all these the one sure test is the writings of the legislator, which the righteous judge ought to have in his mind as the antidote of all other words, and thus make himself and the city stand upright, procuring for the good the continuance and increase of justice, and for the bad, on the other hand, a conversion from ignorance and intemperance, and in general from all unrighteousness, as far as their minds can be healed, but to those whose web of life is in reality finished, giving death, which is the only remedy for souls in their condition, as I may truly say again and again. And such judges and chiefs of judges will be worthy of receiving praise from the whole city. 957 958

When the suits of the year are completed the following laws shall regulate their execution: In the first place, the judge shall assign to the party who wins the suit the whole property of him

who loses, with the exception of mere necessaries, after the votes have been announced by the herald in the hearing of the judges, and when the month arrives following the month in which the courts are sitting (unless the gainer of the suit has been previously satisfied), the court shall follow up the case, and hand over to the winner the goods of the loser; but if they find that he has not the means of paying, and the sum deficient is not less than a drachma, the insolvent person shall not have any right of going to law with any other man until he have satisfied the debt of the winning party; but other persons shall still have the right of bringing suits against him. And if any one after he is condemned refuses to acknowledge the authority which condemned him, let the magistrates who are thus deprived of their authority bring him before the court of the guardians of the law, and if he be cast, let him be punished with death, as a subverter of the whole state and of the laws.

Thus is a man born and brought up and begets and brings up his own children, and has his share of dealings with other men, and suffers if he has done wrong to any one, and receives satisfaction if he has been wronged, and so at the appointed time, under the dominion of the laws, he grows old, and meets his end in the order of nature. Concerning the dead of either sex, the religious ceremonies which may fittingly be performed, whether appertaining to the gods of the under world or of this, shall be decided by the interpreters with absolute authority. Their sepulchres are to be in places which are not cultivated, and there shall be no monuments to them, either large or small, but they shall occupy that part of the country which is naturally adapted for receiving and concealing the bodies of the dead with as little hurt as possible to the living. No man, living or dead, shall deprive the living of the sustenance which the earth, our mother, is naturally inclined to bear to them. And let not the mound be piled higher than would be the work of five men completed in five days; nor shall the stone which is placed over the spot be larger than would be sufficient to receive the praises of the dead included in four heroic lines. Nor shall the laying-out
959 of the dead continue for a longer time than is sufficient to distinguish between him who is in a trance only and him who is really dead, and speaking generally, the third day after death will be a fair time for carrying out the body to the sepulchre. Now we must believe the legislator when he tells us that the soul is in all respects superior to the body, and that

even in life what makes each one of us to be what we are is only the soul; and that the body follows us about in the likeness of each of us, and therefore, when we are dead, the bodies of the dead are rightly said to be our shades or images; for that the true and immortal being of each one of us which is called the soul goes on her way to other gods — that before them she may give an account — an inspiring hope to the good, but very terrible to the bad, as the laws of our fathers tell us, which also say that not much can be done in the way of helping a man after he is dead. But the living — he should be helped by all his kindred, that while in life he may be the holiest and justest of men, and after death may have no great sins to be punished in the world below. If this be true, a man ought not to waste his substance under the idea that all this lifeless mass of flesh which is in process of burial is connected with him; he should consider that the son, or brother, or the beloved one, whoever he may be, whom he thinks he is laying in the earth, has gone away to complete and fulfill his own destiny, and that his duty is rightly to order the present, and to spend moderately on the lifeless altar of the gods below. But the legislator does not intend moderation to be taken in the sense of meanness. Let the law, then, be as follows: The expenditure on the entire funeral, of him who is of the highest class, shall not exceed five minae; and for him who is of the second class, three minae; and for him who is of the third class, two minae; and for him who is of the fourth class one mina will be a fair limit of expense. The guardians of the law ought to take especial care of the different ages of life, whether childhood or manhood, or any other age. And at the end of all, let there be some one guardian of the law presiding, who shall be chosen by the friends of the deceased to superintend, and let it be glory to him to fulfill well and with moderation the offices of the dead, and a discredit to him if they are not well fulfilled. Let the laying-out and other ceremonies be in accordance with the law, and the lawgiver who is also a citizen may concede something to custom. It would be monstrous to command any man to weep or abstain from weeping over the dead, but he may forbid cries of lamentation, and not allow the voice of the mourner to be heard 960
outside the house; also, he may forbid the bringing of the dead body into the open streets, or the processions of mourners in the streets, and may require that before daybreak they should be outside the city. Let these, then, be our laws relating to

such matters, and let him who obeys be free from penalty; but he who disobeys even a single guardian of the law shall be punished by them all in a fitting penalty. Other modes of burial, or again of denial of burial, which is to be refused in the case of robbers of temples and parricides and the like, have been described and embodied in the preceding laws, so that now our work of legislation is pretty near an end; but in all cases the end does not consist in doing something or acquiring something or building something, but the end should be considered to be attained and finally accomplished, when we have provided for the perfect and lasting continuance of our institutions; until then the work is incomplete.

Cle. That is very good, Stranger; but I wish you would tell me more clearly what your meaning is in saying this.

Ath. O Cleinias, many things of old time were well said and sung; and the saying about the Fates was one of them.

Cle. What is that?

Ath. The saying that Lachesis or the giver of the lots is the first of them, and that Clotho or the weaver is the second of them, and that Atropos or the unchanging one is the third of them; and that she is the preserver of the things which are woven [which may be compared in a figure to the welding power of fire], working[1] an unchangeable force in them. I am speaking of the things which in a state and government give not only health and salvation to the body, but law, or rather preservation of the law in the soul, and, if I am not mistaken, this seems to be still wanting in our laws; we have still to see how we can implant in them this irreversible power.

Cle. That will be a great matter, if there is any way of discovering how such a power can be implanted in anything.

Ath. But that is not impossible; so much I can quite clearly see.

Cle. Then let us not think of desisting until we have imparted this quality to our laws; for it is ridiculous, after a great deal of labor has been spent, to place a thing at last on an insecure foundation.

Meg. I approve of your suggestion, and am quite of the same mind with you.

Cle. Very good: And now what, according to you, is to be the salvation of our government and of these laws, and how is this to be effected?

[1] Reading ἀνεργαζομένην, as in Stallbaum's note.

Ath. Were we not saying that there must be in our city a council which was to be of this sort: Ten of the oldest guardians of the law, and all those who have obtained prizes of virtue, were to meet, and the council was also to include those who had visited foreign countries, in the hope of hearing something that might be of use in the preservation of the laws, and who having come safely home, and having been tested in these same matters, proved themselves to be worthy to take part in the meeting; each of the members was to select some young man of not less than thirty years of age, he himself judging in the first instance whether the young man is worthy by nature and education, and then introducing him to the others, and if he seem to them also to be worthy he was to be adopted by them; but if not, they are forbidden to elect him, and still more is he forbidden to accept their nomination. The meeting of the council was to be held early in the morning, when everybody was at leisure from all other business, whether public or private, — something of that sort was said by us before. 961

Cle. True.

Ath. Then now returning to the council, I would say further, — that this institution having all the required conditions, might save us all, and be the anchor of the state, if let down into the sea.

Cle. How is that?

Ath. Now is the time for me to speak the truth in all earnestness.

Cle. Well said, and I hope that you will fulfill your intention.

Ath. Know, Cleinias, that every work has a savior, as of the animal the life and the head are the chief savior.

Cle. Once more, what do you mean?

Ath. Their virtue is obviously the preservation of every living thing?

Cle. How is that?

Ath. The soul, besides other things, contains mind, and the head, besides other things, contains sight and hearing; and the mind, mingling with the noblest of the senses, and becoming one with them, may be truly called the salvation of all things.

Cle. That seems reasonable.

Ath. Yes, quite reasonable; but with what is that intellect concerned which, mingling with the senses, is the salvation of ships in storms as well as in fair weather? In the ship, is not

that the mind of the pilot; and the sailors uniting their perceptions with the piloting mind, preserve themselves and the ship?

Cle. Very true.

Ath. We do not want many illustrations about such matters let us take the example of armies. What aim would the general or the physician purpose to himself, if he were seeking to attain salvation?

Cle. Very good.

962 *Ath.* Does not the general aim at victory and superiority in war, and do not the physician and his underlings aim at producing health in the body?

Cle. Certainly.

Ath. And a physician who is ignorant about the body, that is to say, who knows not that which we just now called health, or a general who knows not victory, or any others who are ignorant of the particulars of the arts which we mentioned, cannot be said to have understanding about any of these matters?

Cle. Impossible.

Ath. And what would you say of the state, if a person proves to be ignorant of the aim to which the statesman should look? Ought he to be called a ruler at all; and further, will he ever be able to preserve that of which he does not even know the aim?

Cle. Impossible.

Ath. And therefore, if our settlement of the country is to be perfect, we ought to have some institution, which, as I was saying, will tell what is the aim of the state, and will inform us how we are to attain this, and what law or what man will advise us with that view. Any state which has no such institution is likely to be devoid of mind and sense, and in all her actions will proceed by mere chance.

Cle. Very true.

Ath. In which, then, of the parts or institutions of the state is any such guardian power to be found. Can we say?

Cle. I am not quite certain, Stranger; but I have a suspicion that you are referring to the assembly which you just now said was to meet at night.

Ath. You have answered rightly, Cleinias; and we must assume as the argument implies that this council possesses all virtue; and the beginning of virtue is not to make mistakes by guessing many things, but to look at one thing, and on this to fix all our aims.

Cle. Quite true.

Ath. Then now we shall see why there is nothing wonderful in states going astray — the reason is that their legislators have such different aims, nor is there anything wonderful in some laying down as their rule of justice, that certain individuals should bear rule in the state, whether they be good or bad, and others that the citizens should be rich, not caring whether they are the slaves of other men or not. The tendency of others, again, is towards freedom, and some legislate with a view to both at once; they want to be at the same time free and the lords of other states; but the wisest men, as they deem themselves to be, look to all these and similar aims, and there is no one of them which they exclusively honor, and to which they would have all things look. 963

Cle. Then, Stranger, our old assertion will hold, for we were saying that laws generally should look to one thing only; and this, as we admitted, was rightly said to be virtue.

Ath. Yes.

Cle. And we said that virtue was of four kinds?

Ath. Quite true.

Cle. And that mind was the leader of all four, and to her the three other virtues and all other things ought to have regard.

Ath. You follow me capitally, Cleinias, and I would ask you to follow me to the end, for we have said that the pilot, and the general, and the physician have a single aim to which they ought to look; and now we turn to the statesman and are about to interrogate him, as though he were a living man: To him we say, O wonderful being, and to what are you looking? The physician is able to tell his single aim in life, but you, the superior, as you declare yourself to be of all intelligent beings, when you are asked are not able to tell. Can you, Megillus, and you, Cleinias, say distinctly what the aim of the statesman is, in return for the many explanations of things which I have given you?

Cle. We cannot, Stranger.

Ath. Well, but ought we not to desire to see it, and to see in what it is found?

Cle. For example, in what?

Ath. For example, we were saying that there are four kinds of virtue, and as there are four of them, each of them must be one.

Cle. Certainly.

Ath. And further, all four of them we call one; for we say that courage is a virtue, and that prudence is a virtue, and the same of two others, as if they were in reality not many but one.

Cle. Certainly.

Ath. There is no difficulty in seeing in what way the two differ from one another, and have received two names, and so of the rest. But there is more difficulty in explaining why we call these two and the rest of them by the single name of virtue.

Cle. How do you mean?

Ath. I have no difficulty in explaining what I mean. Let us distribute the subject into questions and answers.

Cle. Once more, what do you mean?

Ath. Do you ask me what is that one thing which I call virtue, and then again speak of as two — that is to say, courage and wisdom? I will tell you how that occurs: One of them has to do with fear; in this the beasts also participate, and quite young children, — I mean in courage; for a courageous temper is a gift of nature and not of reason. But without reason there never has been, or is, or will be a wise and understanding soul; and this implies that courage and wisdom are different.

Cle. That is true.

964 *Ath.* I have now told you in what way the two are different, and do you in return tell me in what way they are one and the same. Conceive of me as asking you in what way the four are one, and when you have shown that, you will have a right to ask of me in return in what way they are four; and then let us proceed to inquire whether, in the case of things which have a name and also a definition to them, true knowledge consists in knowing the name only and not the definition? Can he who is good for anything be ignorant about great and glorious matters without discredit?

Cle. I suppose not.

Ath. And is there anything greater to the legislator and the guardian of the law, and to him who thinks that he excels all other men in virtue, and has the rewards of virtues, than these very qualities of which we are now speaking, — courage, temperance, wisdom, justice?

Cle. How can there be anything greater?

Ath. And ought not the interpreters, the teachers, the lawgivers, the guardians of others to excel all other men, and perfectly to show him who desires to learn and know, or whose

evil actions require to be punished and reproved, what is the nature of virtue and vice — shall the teacher be some poet who may find his way into the city, or some chance instructor of youth who professes to be better than him who has won the palm in every virtue? And can we wonder that when the guardians are not adequate in speech or action, and have no adequate knowledge of virtue, the city, being unguarded, should experience the common fate of cities in our day?

Cle. That is not wonderful.

Ath. Well, then, as I was saying just now, what are we to do? How can we provide our guardians with a more excellent virtue in speech or action than is usual, or in what way can our city be truly likened to the head and senses of rational beings because possessing such a guardian power?

Cle. What, Stranger, is the meaning of this comparison?

Ath. Do we not see that the city is the trunk, and are not the younger guardians, who are chosen for their natural gifts, placed in the head of the state, having their souls all full of eyes, with which they look around the whole city? They keep watch and hand over their perceptions to the memory, and inform the elders of all that happens in the city; and those whom we compared to the mind, because they have many wise thoughts — that is to say, the old men — take counsel, and making use of the younger men as their ministers, and advising with them; in this way both together truly preserve the whole state: Shall this be the order of our state, or shall we have some other order? Shall we say that they are all alike the owners of the state, and not merely individuals among them who have had the most careful training and education? 965

Cle. That, my good sir, is impossible.

Ath. Then we ought to proceed to some more exact training than that which has preceded.

Cle. Certainly.

Ath. And must not that of which we are in need be the one to which we were just now alluding?

Cle. Very true.

Ath. Did we not say that the workman or guardian, if he be perfect in every respect, ought not only to be able to see the many aims, but he should press onward to the one which he should know, and knowing, order all things with a view to that?

Cle. True.

Ath. And can any one have a more exact way of considering or contemplating anything, than the being able to look at one idea gathered from many different things?

Cle. Perhaps.

Ath. Not "perhaps," but "yes, truly," my good sir, is the right answer. There never has been a truer method than this discovered by any man.

Cle. I bow to your authority, Stranger: let us proceed in the way which you propose.

Ath. Then, as would appear, we must compel the guardians of our divine state to perceive, in the first place, what that principle is which is the same in all the four — the same, as we affirm, in courage and in temperance, and in justice and in prudence, and which being one, we call as we ought by the single name of virtue. To this, my friends, we will, if you please, hold fast, and not let go until we have sufficiently explained what that is to which we are to look, whether to be regarded as one or as a whole, or as both, or in whatever way. Are we likely ever to be in a virtuous condition, if we cannot tell whether virtue is many, or four, or one? Certainly, if you will take our advice, we shall in some way contrive that this principle has a place amongst us; but if you have made up your mind that we should let the matter alone, we will.

Cle. We must not, Stranger, I swear by the God of strangers that we must not; for in our opinion you speak most truly, but we should like to know how you will accomplish your purpose.

966 *Ath.* Wait a little before you ask that; and let us, first of all, be quite agreed with one another that the purpose has to be accomplished.

Cle. Certainly, if that is possible.

Ath. Well, and about the good and the honorable, are we to take the same view — that each of them are many, but that our guardians are to regard them as in some sense one?

Cle. We must endeavor to ascertain in what sense.

Ath. And are we only to consider that, and be unable to set forth our conceptions in words?

Cle. Certainly not; that would be the state of a slave.

Ath. And may not the same be said of all good men, — that the true guardians of the laws ought to know their truth, and to be able to interpret them in words, and carry them out

in action, judging of what is and of what is not well, according to nature?

Cle. Certainly.

Ath. Is not the knowledge of the gods one of the noblest sorts of knowledge; to know that they are and know how great is their power, as far as in man lies? We do indeed excuse the majority of mankind, who only follow the voice of the laws, but refuse to admit as guardians any who do not labor to obtain every possible evidence that there is respecting the gods; they are forbidden and not allowed to choose as a guardian of the law, or to place in the select order of virtue, him who is not an inspired man, and has not labored at these things.

Cle. It is certainly just, as you say, that he who is indolent about such matters or incapable should be rejected, and that things honorable should be put away from him.

Ath. Are we assured that there are two things which lead men to believe in the gods, as we previously stated?

Cle. What are they?

Ath. One is the argument about the soul, which has been already mentioned — that it is the eldest and most divine of all things, to which motion attaining generation gives perpetual existence; the other was an argument from the order of motion of the heavens, and of all things of which the mind that ordered the universe is the author. If a man look upon the world not lightly or foolishly, there was never any one so godless who did not experience an effect opposite to that 967
which the many imagine. For they think that those who handle these matters by the help of astronomy, and the accompanying arts of demonstration, may become godless; because they see, as far as they can see, things happening by necessity, and not by an intelligent will accomplishing good.

Cle. But what, then, is the fact?

Ath. Just the opposite of that opinion which once prevailed among men, that the sun and stars are without soul. Even at that time men wondered about them, and that which is now ascertained was then conjectured by those who attained exact knowledge of them — that, if they had been things without soul, and had no mind, they could never have moved according to such exact calculations; and even at that time some ventured to hazard the conjecture that mind was the orderer of all things that there are in heaven. But these same persons, again mistaking the nature of the soul, which they conceived to be

younger and not older than the body, once more overturned the universe, or rather, I should say, themselves, for what they saw before their eyes in heaven, all appeared to be full of stones, and earth, and many other lifeless bodies, which divided between them the causes of the world. Such studies gave rise to much atheism and perplexity, and the poets took occasion to be abusive, — comparing the philosophers to she-dogs, uttering vain howlings, and saying other nonsense of the same sort. But now, as I said, the case is reversed.

Cle. How is that?

Ath. No man can be a true worshipper of the gods who does not know these two principles — that the soul is the eldest of all things which are born, and is immortal and rules over all bodies; moreover, as I have now said several times, he who has not contemplated the mind of nature which is said to exist in the stars, and acquired the previous knowledge, and seen the connection of them with music, and harmonized them all with laws and institutions, is not able to give a reason of such things as have a reason. And he who is unable to acquire this in addition to the ordinary virtues of a citizen, can
968 hardly be a good ruler of a whole state; but he should be the subordinate of other rulers. Wherefore, Cleinias and Megillus, let us consider whether we may not add to all the other laws which we have discussed this further one, — that the nocturnal assembly of the magistrates, which has also been associated with us in our whole scheme of education, shall be a guard set according to law for the salvation of the state. Shall we propose this?

Cle. Certainly, my good friend, we will make that addition, if possible.

Ath. Let us strive to the utmost that we may succeed in this; I shall be eager to give you assistance. Of these matters I have had much experience, and have often considered them, and I dare say that I shall be able to find others who will also help.

Cle. I agree, Stranger, that we should proceed along the road in which God is guiding us; and how we can proceed rightly has now to be investigated and explained.

Ath. O, Megillus and Cleinias, about these matters we cannot legislate further until the city is established; when that is done, then we will determine what authority the citizens shal

have of their own; but the explanation of how this is all to be ordered would only be given rightly in a long discourse.

Cle. What is the meaning of this?

Ath. In the first place, a list would have to be made out of those who by their ages and studies, and dispositions and habits, are well fitted for the duty of a guardian. In the next place, it will not be easy for them to discover themselves what they ought to learn, or become the disciple of one who has already made the discovery. Furthermore, to write down the times at which, and during which, they ought to receive the several kinds of instruction, would be a vain thing; for the learners themselves do not know what is learned to advantage until the knowledge which is the result of learning has found a place in the soul of each. Hence what relates to these matters, although they would not be truly said to be secret, might be said to be incapable of being stated beforehand, because when stated they would have no meaning.

Cle. What then are we to do, Stranger, under these circumstances?

Ath. There is a proverb of universal application which may also be applied to us: We must risk the whole constitution on the chance of throwing thrice six or thrice ace, and I am willing to share with you the danger of stating and explaining
969 to you my views about education and nurture, which is the question coming to the surface again: The danger is not a slight or ordinary danger, and I would advise you, Cleinias, in particular, to see to the matter; for if you order rightly the city of the Magnetes, or whatever name God may give it, you will obtain the greatest glory; or at any rate you will be thought the most courageous of men in the estimation of posterity. Dear companions, if this our divine assembly can only be established, to them we will hand over the city; none of the present company of legislators, as I may call them, would hesitate about that. And the state will be perfected and become a waking reality, which a little while ago we attempted to create as a dream and in idea only, mingling together reason and mind in one image, in the hope that our citizens might be duly mingled and rightly educated; and being educated, and dwelling in the citadel of the land, might become perfect guardians, such as we have never seen in all our previous life, for their saving virtue.

Meg. Dear Cleinias, after all that has been said, either we

must detain the Stranger, and by supplications and in all manner of ways make him share in the foundation of the city, or we must give up the undertaking.

Cle. That is very true, Megillus; and you must join with me in detaining him.

Meg. I will.

APPENDIX.

APPENDIX.

It seems impossible to separate by any exact line the genuine writings of Plato from the spurious. The only external evidence to them which is of much value is that of Aristotle; for the Alexandrian catalogues of a century later include manifest forgeries. And several of the citations of Aristotle omit the name of Plato, and some of them omit the name of the dialogue from which they are taken. Prior, however, to the inquiry about the writings of a particular author, general considerations which equally affect all evidence to the genuineness of ancient writings are the following: Shorter works are more likely to have been forged, or to have received an erroneous designation, than longer ones; and some kinds of composition, such as epistles or panegyrical orations, are more liable to suspicion than others; those, again, which have a taste of sophistry in them, or the ring of a later age, or the slighter character of a rhetorical exercise, or in which a motive or some affinity to spurious writings can be detected, or which seem to have originated in a name or statement really occurring in some classical author, are also of doubtful credit; while, perhaps, there is no instance of any ancient writing proved to be a forgery, which combines great excellence with considerable length. A really great writer would have no object in fathering his works on Plato; and to the forger or imitator, the "literary hack" of Alexandria and Athens, the gods did not grant original genius. Further in attempting to balance the evidence for and against a Platonic Dialogue, we must not forget that the form of the Platonic writing was common to several of his contemporaries. Aeschines, Euclid, Phaedo, Antisthenes, and in the next generation Aristotle, are all said to have composed dialogues; and therefore mistakes may have sometimes happened. Greek literature in the third century before Christ, was almost as voluminous as our own, and without the safeguards of regular publication, or printing, or binding, or even of distinct titles. An unknown writing was naturally attributed to a known writer whose works bore the same character; and the name once appended easily obtained authority. A tendency may also be observed to blend the works

and opinions of the master with those of his scholars. To a later Platonist, the difference between Plato and his imitators was not so perceptible as to ourselves. The Memorabilia of Xenophon, and the Dialogues of Plato, are but a part of a considerable Socratic literature which has passed away. And we must consider how we should regard the question of the genuineness of a particular writing, if this lost literature had been preserved to us.

These considerations lead us to adopt the following criteria of genuineness: (1) That is most certainly Plato's which Aristotle attributes to him by name, which (2) is of considerable length, of (3) great excellence, and also (4) in harmony with the general spirit of the Platonic writings. But the testimony of Aristotle has various degrees of importance. Those writings which he cites without mentioning Plato, under their own names, *e. g.* the Hippias, the funeral oration, the Phaedo, etc., have an inferior degree of evidence in their favor. They may have been supposed by him to be the writings of another, although in the case of really great works, *e. g.* the Phaedo, this is not credible; those again which are quoted but not named, are still more defective in their external credentials. There may be also a possibility that Aristotle was mistaken, or may have confused the master and his scholars in the case of a short writing; but this is inconceivable about a more important work, *e. g.* the Laws, especially when we remember that he was living at Athens, and a frequenter of the groves of the academy, during the last twenty years of Plato's life. Nor must we forget that in all his numerous citations from the Platonic writings, he never attributes any passage found in the extant dialogues to any one but Plato. And lastly, we may remark that one or two great writings, such as the Parmenides and the Politicus, which are wholly devoid of Aristotelian (1) credentials may be fairly attributed to Plato, on the ground of (2) length, (3) excellence, and (4) accordance with the general spirit of his writings.

Proceeding upon these principles, we appear to arrive at the conclusion that nine tenths of all the writings which have ever been ascribed to Plato, are undoubtedly genuine. There is another portion of them, including the Epistles, the Epinomis, the Dialogues rejected by the ancients themselves, namely the Axiochus, De justo, De virtute, Demodocus, Sisyphus, Eryxias, which on grounds, both of internal and external evidence, we are able with equal certainty to reject. But there still remains a small portion of which we are unable to affirm either that they are genuine or spurious. They may have been written in youth, or possibly like the works of some painters, may be partly or wholly the compositions of scholars; or they may have been the writings of some contemporary transferred by accident to the more celebrated name of Plato, or of some Platonist in the next generation who aspired to imitate his master. Not

that on grounds either of language or philosophy we should lightly reject them. Some difference of style, or inferiority of execution, or inconsistency of thought, can hardly be considered decisive of their spurious character. For who always does justice to his own powers, or writes with equal care at all times? Certainly not Plato, who exhibits the greatest differences in dramatic power, in the formation of sentences, and in the use of words, if his earlier writings are compared with his later ones, say the Protagoras or Phaedrus, with the Laws. Or who can be expected to think always like himself during a period of authorship extending over above fifty years, in an age of great intellectual activity, as well as of political and literary transition? Certainly not Plato, whose earlier writings are separated from his later ones by as wide an interval of philosophical speculation as that which separates his later writings from Aristotle.

The works of Plato which have been translated in the Appendix, as appearing to have the next claim to genuineness among the Platonic writings, are the Lesser Hippias, the First Alcibiades, the Menexenus, or funeral oration. Of these, the Lesser Hippias and the funeral oration are cited by Aristotle; the first in the Metaphysics, iv. 29, 5, the latter in the Rhetoric, iii. 14, 11. Neither of them are expressly attributed to Plato, and in his citation of both of them he seems to be referring to passages in the extant dialogues. From the mention of "Hippias" in the singular by Aristotle, we may, perhaps, infer that he was unacquainted with a second dialogue bearing the same name. On the other hand, the mere existence of a Greater and Lesser Hippias, and of a First and Second Alcibiades, does to a certain extent throw a doubt upon both of them. Though a very clever and ingenious work, the Lesser Hippias does not appear to contain anything beyond the power of an imitator, who was also a careful student of the earlier Platonic writings, to invent. The motive or leading thought of the dialogue may be detected in Xen. Mem. iv. 2, 21, and there is no similar instance of a "motive" in an undoubted dialogue of Plato, which is taken from Xenophon. On the other hand, the upholders of the genuineness of the dialogue will find in the Hippias a true Socratic spirit; they will compare the Io as being akin both in subject and treatment; they will urge the authority of Aristotle; and they will detect in the treatment of the Sophist, in the satirical reasoning upon Homer, in the *reductio ad absurdum* of the doctrine that vice is ignorance, traces of a Platonic authorship. In reference to the last point we are doubtful, as in some of the other dialogues, whether the author is asserting or overthrowing the paradox of Socrates, or merely following the argument "whither the wind blows." That no conclusion is arrived at is also in accordance with the character of the earlier dialogues. The resemblances or imitations of the Gorgias, Protagoras

and Euthydemus, which have been observed in the Hippias, cannot with certainty be adduced on either side of the argument.

The Menexenus or funeral oration is cited by Aristotle, and is interesting as supplying an example of the manner in which the orators praised "the Athenians among the Athenians," falsifying persons and dates, and casting a veil over the gloomier events of Athenian history. It exhibits an acquaintance with the funeral oration of Thucydides, and was, perhaps, intended to rival that great work. If genuine, the proper place of the Menexenus would be at the end of the Phaedrus. The satirical opening, and the concluding words, bear a great resemblance to the earlier dialogues; the oration itself is professedly a mimetic work, like the speeches in the Phaedrus, and cannot therefore be tested by a comparison of the other writings of Plato. The funeral oration of Pericles is expressly mentioned in the Phaedrus, and this may have suggested the subject, in the same manner that the Cleitophon appears to be suggested by the slight mention of Cleitophon, and his attachment to Thrasymachus in the Republic, cp. 465 A; and the Theages by the mention of Theages in the Apology and Republic; or as the Second Alcibiades seems to be founded upon the text of Xenophon, Mem. I. 3, 1. A similar taste for parody appears not only in the Phaedrus, but in the Protagoras, in the Symposium, and to a certain extent in the Parmenides.

To these two doubtful writings of Plato I have added the First Alcibiades, which, of all the disputed Dialogues of Plato, has the greatest merit, and is a work of somewhat greater length, though not verified by the testimony of Aristotle, and greatly at variance with the Symposium in the description of the relations of Socrates and Alcibiades. Like the two preceding works, if genuine it is to be compared to the earlier writings of Plato. The motive of the piece may, perhaps, be found in that passage of the Symposium in which Alcibiades describes himself as self-convicted by the words of Socrates, 216 B, C. There seems to be no ground for the disparaging manner in which Schleiermacher has spoken of this dialogue. At the same time, the lesson imparted appears to be simple, and the irony more transparent than in the undoubted Dialogues of Plato. We know, too, that Alcibiades was a favorite thesis, and that at least five or six dialogues bearing this name passed current in antiquity, and are attributed to contemporaries of Socrates and Plato In the entire absence of real external evidence (for the catalogues of the Alexandrian librarians cannot be regarded as trustworthy); and (2) in the absence of the highest marks either of poetical or philosophical excellence; and (3) considering that we have express testimony to the existence of contemporary writings bearing the name of Alcibiades, we are compelled to suspend our judgment on the genuiness of the extant dialogue.

Neither at this point, nor at any other, do we propose to draw an absolute line of demarcation between genuine and spurious writings of Plato. They fade off imperceptibly from one class to another. There may have been degrees of genuineness in the Dialogues themselves, as there are certainly degrees of evidence by which they are supported. The traditions of the oral discourses both of Socrates and Plato, may have formed the basis of semi-Platonic writings; some of them may be of the same mixed character which is apparent in Aristotle and Hippocrates, although the form of them is different. The three Dialogues which we have offered in the Appendix to the criticism of the reader may possibly be spurious; that is an alternative which must be frankly admitted. Nor can we maintain of some other Dialogues, such as the Parmenides, and the Sophist, and Politicus, that no considerable objection can be urged against them, though greatly overbalanced by the weight (chiefly) of internal evidence in their favor. On the other hand, we do not exclude the possibility that the Greater Hippias and the Cleitophon may be genuine. The nature and object of these semi-Platonic writings require more careful study and more comparison of them with one another, and with forged writings in general, than they have yet received, before we can finally decide on their character. We do not consider them all as genuine until they can be proved to be spurious, as is often maintained and still more often implied in this and similar discussions; but should say of some of them, that they are neither proven nor unproven until further evidence about them can be adduced. And we are as confident that the Epistles are spurious, as that the Republic, the Timaeus, and the Laws are genuine.

On the whole, not a sixteenth part of the writings which pass under the name of Plato, if we exclude the works rejected by the ancients themselves, can be fairly doubted by those who are willing to allow that a considerable change and growth may have taken place in his philosophy. That sixteenth debatable portion scarcely in any degree affects our judgment of Plato, either as a thinker or a writer, and though suggesting some interesting questions to the scholar and critic, is of little importance to the general reader.

LESSER HIPPIAS.

INTRODUCTION.

THE Lesser Hippias may be compared with the earlier Dialogues of Plato, in which the contrast of Socrates and the Sophists is most strongly exhibited. Hippias, like Protagoras and Gorgias, though civil, is vain and boastful: he knows all things; he can make anything, including his own clothes; he is a manufacturer of poems and declamations, and also of seal-rings, shoes, strigils; his girdle which he has woven himself is of a finer than Persian quality. He is a vainer, lighter nature than the two great Sophists (cp. Protag. 314, 337), but of the same character with them, and equally impatient of the short cut-and-thrust method of Socrates, whom he endeavors to draw into a long oration. At last, he gets tired of being defeated at every point by Socrates, and is with difficulty induced to proceed (compare Thrasymachus, Protagoras, Callicles, and others, to whom the same reluctance is ascribed).

Hippias like Protagoras has common sense on his side, when he argues, citing passages of the Iliad in support of his view, that Homer intended Achilles to be the bravest, Odysseus the wisest of the Greeks. But he is easily overthrown by the superior dialectics of Socrates, who pretends to show that Achilles is not true to his word, and that no similar inconsistency is to be found in Odysseus. Hippias replies that Achilles unintentionally but Odysseus intentionally speaks falsehood. But is it better to do wrong intentionally or unintentionally? Socrates relying on the analogy of the arts maintains the former, Hippias the latter of the two alternatives. All this is quite conceived in the spirit of Plato, who is very far from making Socrates always argue on the side of truth. The over-reasoning on Homer, which is of course satirical, is also in the spirit of Plato. Poetry turned logic is more ridiculous than "rhetoric turned logic," and equally fallacious. There were reasoners in ancient as well as in modern times, who could never receive the natural impression of Homer, or of any other book which they read. The argument of Socrates, in which he picks out the apparent inconsistencies and discrepancies in the speech and actions of Achilles, and the final paradox, "that he who is true is also false," remind us of

the explanation of Pittacus in the Protagoras, and of similar reasonings in the first book of the Republic. The discrepancies which Socrates discovers in the words of Achilles are perhaps as great as those discovered by some of the modern separatists of the Homeric poems.

At last, Socrates having caught Hippias in the toils of the voluntary and involuntary, is obliged to confess that he is wandering about in the same labyrinth; he makes the reflection on himself which others would make upon him (cp. Protagoras, *sub fin.*). He does not wonder that he should be in a difficulty, but he wonders at Hippias, and he becomes sensible of the gravity of the situation, when ordinary men like himself can no longer go to the wise and be taught by them.

LESSER HIPPIAS.

PERSONS OF THE DIALOGUE.

EUDICUS, SOCRATES, HIPPIAS.

Eud. WHY are you silent, Socrates, after the magnificent display which Hippias has been making? 363
Why do you not either refute his words, if he seems to you to have been wrong in any point, or join with us in commending him? There is the more reason why you should speak, because we are now alone, and the audience is confined to those who may fairly claim to take part in a philosophical discussion.

Socrates. I should much like, Eudicus, to question Hippias about what he was just now saying of Homer. I have heard your father, Apemantus, declare that the Iliad of Homer is a finer poem than the Odyssey in the same degree that Achilles was a better man than Odysseus; for, as he said, Odysseus is the central figure of the one poem and Achilles of the other. Now, I should like to know, if Hippias has no objection to tell me, what is his opinion about these two heroes, and which of them he maintains to be the better; he has already told us in his exhibition many things of various kinds about Homer and divers other poets.

Eud. I am sure that Hippias will have no objection to answer anything that you ask him; tell me, Hippias, if Socrates asks you a question, will you answer him?

Hippias. Indeed, Eudicus, I should be strangely inconsistent if I refused to answer Socrates, when at each Olympic festival, as I went up from my house at Elis to the temple of Olympia, where all the Hellenes were assembled, I continually professed my willingness to perform any of the exhibitions which I had prepared, and to answer any questions which any one had to ask.

364 *Soc.* Truly, Hippias, a happy man are you, if at every Olympic festival you have such an encouraging opinion of your own powers when you go up to the temple. I doubt whether any muscular hero would be as fearless and confident in offering his body to the combat at Olympia, as you are in offering your mind.

Hip. And with good reason, Socrates; for since the day when I first entered the lists at Olympia I never found any one who was my superior in anything.

Soc. What an ornament, Hippias, will the reputation of your wisdom be to the city of Elis and to your parents! But to return: what do you say of Odysseus and Achilles? Which of the two is the better of them? and in what particular does either surpass the other? For when you were exhibiting in public and company was in the room, though I could not follow you, I did not like to ask what you meant, because there were other people present, and I was afraid that the question might interrupt your exhibition. But, now that there are not so many of us, and my friend Eudicus bids me ask, I wish you would tell me what you were saying about these two heroes, so that I may clearly understand; how did you distinguish them?

Hip. I shall have much pleasure, Socrates, in explaining to you more clearly than I could in public my views about these and also about other heroes. I say that Homer intended Achilles to be the bravest of those who went to Troy, and Nestor the wisest, and Odysseus the wiliest.

Soc. O rare Hippias, will you be so good as not to laugh, if I find a difficulty in following you, and repeat my questions several times over? Please to answer me kindly and gently.

Hip. I should be greatly ashamed of myself, Socrates, if I, who teach others and take money of them, could not, when I was asked by you, answer in a civil and agreeable manner.

Soc. Thank you: the fact is, that I seemed to understand what you meant when you said that the poet intended Achilles to be the bravest of men, and also that he intended Nestor to be the wisest; but when you said that he meant Odysseus to be the wiliest, I must confess that I could not understand what you said. Will you tell me, and then I shall perhaps understand you better; has not Homer made Achilles equally wily?

Hip. Certainly not, Socrates; he is the most straightforward of mankind, and in the passage called the Prayers, when he

makes them talking with one another, Achilles is supposed by the poet to say to Odysseus: —

"Son of Laertes, sprung from heaven, crafty Odysseus, I will speak out plainly the word which I intend to act, and which I believe will be accomplished. For I hate him like the gates of death, who thinks one thing and says another. But I will speak that which shall be accomplished." 365

Now, in these verses he clearly indicates the character of the two men; he shows Achilles to be true and simple, and Odysseus to be wily and false; for he supposes Achilles to be addressing Odysseus in these lines.

Soc. Now, Hippias, I think that I understand your meaning; when you say that Odysseus is wily, you clearly mean that he is false?

Hip. Exactly, Socrates, and that is the character of Odysseus, as represented by Homer in many passages both of the Iliad and Odyssey.

Soc. And Homer must be presumed to have meant that the true man is not the same as the false?

Hip. Of course, Socrates.

Soc. And is that your own opinion, Hippias?

Hip. Certainly; how can I have any other?

Soc. Well, then, as there is no possibility of asking Homer what he meant in these verses of his, let us leave him; but as you are a friend of his, and are ready to take up his cause, will you answer on behalf of yourself and him?

Hip. I will; ask shortly anything that you like.

Soc. Do you say that the false like the sick have no power to do things, or that they have power to do things?

Hip. I should say that they have power to do many things, and in particular to deceive mankind.

Soc. Then, according to you, they are both powerful and wily, are they not? And are they wily, and do they deceive by reason of their simplicity and folly, or by reason of their cunning and a certain sort of prudence?

Hip. By reason of their cunning and prudence, I should say.

Soc. Then they are prudent, I suppose?

Hip. That they are — very.

Soc. And if they are prudent, do they know or do they not know what they do?

Hip. Of course, they know very well indeed; and that is why they do mischief to others.

Soc. And having this knowledge, are they ignorant, or are they wise?

Hip. Wise, certainly; at least, in so far as they can deceive.

866 *Soc.* Stop, and let us recall to mind what you are saying; are you not saying that the false are powerful and prudent and knowing and wise in those things about which they are false?

Hip. That is what I am saying.

Soc. And the true are different from the false; and the true and the false are the very opposite of each other?

Hip. That is my view.

Soc. Then, according to your view, it would seem that the false are to be ranked among the powerful and wise?

Hip. Assuredly.

Soc. And when you say that the false are powerful and wise in so far as they are false, do you mean that they have or have not the power of uttering their falsehoods if they like?

Hip. I mean to say that they have the power.

Soc. In a word, then; the false are they who are wise and have the power to speak falsely?

Hip. Yes.

Soc. Then a man who has not the power of speaking falsely and is ignorant cannot be false?

Hip. You are right.

Soc. And every man has power who does that which he wishes at the time when he wishes: I am not speaking in any special case of his being prevented by disease or something of that sort, but I am speaking generally, as I might say of you, that you are able to write my name when you like. Would you not call a man able who could do that?

Hip. Yes.

Soc. And tell me, Hippias, are you not a skilful calculator and arithmetician?

Hip. Yes, Socrates, assuredly I am.

Soc. And if some one were to ask you what is the sum of 8 multiplied by 700, you would tell him the true answer in a moment, if you pleased?

Hip. Certainly, I could.

Soc. Is not that because you are the wisest and ablest of men in these matters?

Hip. Yes.

Soc. And are you only the wisest and ablest of men, and not also the best in these matters of calculation in which you are the ablest and wisest?

Hip. To be sure, Socrates, I am the best.

Soc. And you would be the best able to tell the truth about these matters, would you not?

Hip. Yes, I should.

Soc. And could you speak falsehoods about them equally well? I must beg, Hippias, that you will answer me with the same frankness and magnanimity which you have hitherto shown. If a person were to ask you what is the sum of 3 multiplied by 700, would you not be the best teller of a falsehood, having always the power of speaking falsely as you have of speaking truly, about these same matters, if you wanted to tell a falsehood, and not to answer truly? Would the ignorant man be better able to tell a falsehood in matters of calculation than you would be, if you chose? Might he not sometimes stumble upon the truth, when he wanted to tell a lie, because he did not know, whereas you who are the wise man, if you wanted to tell a lie would always and uniformly lie? 367

Hip. Yes; you are quite right in that.

Soc. Does the false man tell lies about other things, but not about number, or when he is making a calculation?

Hip. To be sure; he would speak falsely about number as about all other things.

Soc. Then may we further assume, Hippias, that there are men who are false about calculation and number?

Hip. Yes.

Soc. Who can they be? For you have already admitted that he who is false must have the ability to be false: you said, as you will remember, that he who is unable to be false will not be false.

Hip. Yes, I remember, that was certainly said.

Soc. And were you not yourself just now shown to be best able to speak falsely about calculation?

Hip. Yes; that was also said.

Soc. And are you not likewise said to speak truly about calculation?

Hip. Certainly.

Soc. Then is not the same person able to speak both falsely and truly about calculation? And that person is he who is good at calculation or the arithmetician?

Hip. Yes.

Soc. Who, then, Hippias, is discovered to be false at calcula-

tion? Is he not the good man? For the good man is the able man, and he is the true man.

Hip. That is evident.

Soc. Do you not see, then, that the same man is false and also true about these matters? And the true man is not a whit better than the false; for indeed he is the same with him and not the very opposite, as you were just now imagining.

Hip. That appears to be the case in that instance.

Soc. Shall we examine other instances?

Hip. Certainly, if you are disposed.

Soc. Are you not also skilled in geometry?

Hip. I am.

Soc. Well, and does not the same hold in that? Is not the same person best able to speak falsely or to speak truly about diagrams; and he is the geometrician?

Hip. Yes.

Soc. And he and no one else is good at that?

Hip. Yes, he and no one else.

Soc. Then the good and wise geometer has this double power in the highest degree; and if there be a man who is false about diagrams the good man will be the man, for he is able to be false; whereas the bad was unable, and for this reason was not false, as has been acknowledged.

Hip. True.

Soc. Once more — let us examine a third case; that of the astronomer, in whose art, again, you, Hippias, are a still greater proficient than in the previous arts — are you not?

Hip. Yes, I am.

368 *Soc.* And does not the same hold of astronomy?

Hip. True. Socrates.

Soc. And in astronomy, too, if any man be able to speak falsely he will be the good astronomer, but he who is not able will not speak falsely, for he has no knowledge.

Hip. That appears to be true.

Soc. Then in astronomy also, the same man will be true and false?

Hip. That seems to be the case.

Soc. And now, Hippias, consider the question at large about all the sciences, and see whether the same principle does not always hold. I know that in most arts you are the wisest of men, as I have heard you boasting in the agora at the tables of the money-changers, when you were setting forth the great and

enviable stores of your wisdom; and you said that upon one occasion, when you went to the Olympic games, all that you had on your person was made by yourself. In the first place, there was your ring; you began with that, which, you said, was of your own workmanship, and that you could engrave rings; and you had another seal which was also of your own workmanship, and a strigil and an oil flask, which you made yourself; you said also that you had made the shoes which you had on your feet, and the cloak and the tunic; but what appeared to us all most extraordinary and a proof of singular art — you showed us the girdle of your tunic, which, you said, was as fine as the most costly Persian fabric, and of your own weaving; moreover, you said that you came, bringing with you poems, epic, tragic, and dithyrambic, as well as prose writings of the most various kinds; and you said that your skill was also pre-eminent in the arts which I was just now mentioning, and in the true principles of rhythm and harmony and of orthography; and if I remember rightly, there were a great many other accomplishments in which you excelled. I have forgotten to mention your art of memory, which you regard as your special glory, and I dare say that I have forgotten many other things; but, as I was saying, only look to your own arts — and there are plenty of them — and to those of others; and tell me, having regard to the admissions which you and I have made, whether you discover in any department of art that the true and false are different and not the same — I include any sort of wisdom or cunning, or however you please to call them; nay, you cannot, for there is no such thing — tell me if there is. 369

Hip. I cannot tell you, Socrates, without consideration.

Soc. Nor will consideration help you, Hippias, as I believe; but then if I am right, remember what the consequence will be.

Hip. I do not know what you mean, Socrates.

Soc. I suppose that you are not using your art of memory, doubtless because you think that such an accomplishment is not needed on the present occasion. I will therefore remind you of what you were saying: were you not saying that Achilles was a true man, and Odysseus false and wily?

Hip. Yes, I was saying that.

Soc. And now do you perceive that the same person has turned out to be false as well as true? And if Odysseus is false he is also true, and if Achilles is true he is also false, and

the two men are not different from one another, but they are the same.

Hip. O Socrates, you are always weaving the meshes of an argument, selecting the most difficult point, and fastening upon details instead of grappling with the matter in hand as a whole Come now, and I will demonstrate to you, if you will allow me, by many satisfactory proofs, that Homer has made Achilles a better man than Odysseus, and a truthful man too; and that he has made the other crafty, and a teller of many untruths, and inferior to Achilles. And then, if you please, you shall make a speech on the other side, in order to prove that Odysseus is the better man; and this may be compared to mine, and then the company will know which of us is the better speaker.

Soc. O Hippias, I do not doubt that you are wiser than I am. But I have a way, when anybody says anything, of giving close attention to him, especially if the speaker appears to me to be a wise man; having a desire to understand, I question him, and I examine, and analyze, and compare what he says, in order that I may understand; but if the speaker appears to me to be little worth, I do not interrogate him, or trouble myself about him, and you may know by this who they are whom I deem to be wise men, for you will see that when I am talking with a wise man, I am very attentive to what he says; and I ask questions of him, in order that I may learn, and be improved by him. And I could not help remarking while you were speaking, that in the verses which you recited in order to show that Achilles attacked Odysseus as a deceiver, I thought you must be wrong, because Odysseus, the man of wiles, is never found to tell a lie; but Achilles is found to be wily on your own showing. At any rate he speaks falsely; for first he utters these words, which you just now repeated, —

370

"He is hateful to me even as the gates of death, who thinks one thing and says another."

And then he says, a little while afterwards, he will not be persuaded by Odysseus and Agamemnon, neither will he remain at Troy; but, says he, —

"To-morrow, when I have offered sacrifices to Zeus and all the gods, I will drag my ships down into the deep, and will load them well; and then you shall see, if you have a mind, and if such things are a care to you, early in the morning my ships sailing over the fishy Hellespont, and my men eagerly pulling the oar; and, if the illustrious shaker of the earth gives me a good voyage, on the third day I shall reach the fertile Phthia."

And before that, when he was reviling Agamemnon, he said, —

"And now to Phthia I will go, since to return home in the beaked ships is far better, nor do I think that you remaining here, while I am dishonored, will receive riches and wealth."

But although on that occasion, in the presence of the whole army, he said this, and on the other occasion to his companions, he appears never to have made any preparation or attempt to draw down the ships, as if he had the least intention of sailing home; so entirely regardless is he of speaking truth. Now I, Hippias, originally asked you the question, because I was in doubt as to which of the two heroes was intended by the poet to be the best, and because I thought that both of them were the best, and it was difficult to decide which was the better of them, not only in respect of truth and falsehood, but of virtue generally, for even in this matter of speaking the truth they are much upon a par.

Hip. In that you take a wrong view, Socrates, for in as far as Achilles speaks falsely there is evidently no intention on his part of uttering a falsehood. He is compelled against his will to remain and rescue the army in their misfortune; but when Odysseus speaks falsely he is voluntarily and intentionally false.

Soc. You, sweet Hippias, like Odysseus, are a deceiver yourself.

Hip. Certainly not, Socrates; what makes you say that?

Soc. Because you say that Achilles does not speak falsely 371
from design, when he is not only a deceiver, but in the picture which Homer has drawn of him, a master in the art of falsehood, and so far superior to Odysseus in lying and deception, that he dares to contradict himself, and Odysseus does not find him out; at any rate he does not appear to say anything to him which would imply that he perceived his falsehood.

Hip. What do you mean, Socrates?

Soc. Did you not observe that afterwards, when he is speaking to Odysseus, he says that he will sail away with the early dawn; but to Ajax he tells quite a different story.

Hip. Where is that?

Soc. Where he says, —

"I will not think about bloody war until the son of warlike Priam, illustrious Hector, comes to the tents and ships of the Myrmidons, slaughtering the Argives, and burning the ships with fire; and I suspect that about my tent and dark ship, Hector, although eager for the battle, will yet stay his hand."

Now, do you really think, Hippias, that the son of Thetis and the pupil of the sage Chiron had such a bad memory, considering that he had been assailing liars in the most violent terms

only the instant before, or that he would have carried lying so far, as to say to Odysseus that he would sail away, and to Ajax that he would remain, and that he was not rather practicing upon the simplicity of Odysseus, and thinking that he would get the better of him by his cunning and falsehood?

Hip. No, I do not think that, Socrates; but I believe that Achilles is induced to say one thing to Ajax, and another to Odysseus in the innocence of his heart, whereas Odysseus, whether he speaks falsely or truly, speaks always out of design.

Soc. Then Odysseus would appear after all to be better than Achilles?

Hip. Certainly not, Socrates.

Soc. Why, were not the voluntary liars only just now shown to be better than the involuntary?

Hip. And how, Socrates, can those who intentionally err, and voluntarily and designedly commit iniquities, be better than those
372 who err and do wrong involuntarily? Surely there is a great excuse to be made for a man telling a falsehood, or doing an injury or any sort of harm to another in ignorance. And the laws are obviously far more severe on those who lie, or do evil voluntarily, than on those who do evil involuntarily.

Soc. You see, Hippias, as I was truly saying, how pertinacious I am in asking questions of a wise man. And I think that this is the only good point about me, for I am full of defects, and always getting wrong in some way or other. And this is proved to me by the fact that when I meet one of you who are famous for wisdom, and to whose wisdom all the Hellenes are witnesses, I am found out to know nothing, For speaking generally, I hardly ever have the same opinion about anything which you have, and what proof of ignorance can be greater than to differ from wise men? But I have one singular good quality, which is my salvation; I am not ashamed to learn, and I ask and inquire, and am very grateful to those who answer me, and never fail to give them my grateful thanks; and when I learn a thing I never deny my teacher, or pretend that the lesson is a discovery of my own; but I praise his wisdom, and proclaim what I have learned from him. And now I cannot agree in what you are saying, but I strongly disagree. Well I know that this is my own fault, and is a defect in my character, but I will not pretend to be more than I am; and my opinion, Hippias, is the very contrary of what you are saying. For I maintain that those who hurt or injure

mankind, and speak falsely and deceive, and err voluntarily are better far than those who do wrong involuntarily. Sometimes, however, I am of the opposite opinion; for I am all abroad in my ideas about this matter, and my perplexity is obviously occasioned by my not knowing. And just at this moment I am in a crisis of my disorder at which those who err voluntarily appear to me to be better than those who err involuntarily. And I should ascribe my present state to our previous argument, which inclines me to believe that in general those who do wrong involuntarily are worse than those who do wrong voluntarily, and therefore I hope that you will be good to me, and not refuse to heal me; for you will do me a much greater benefit if you cure my soul of ignorance, than you would if you were to cure my body of disease. I must, however, tell you beforehand, that if you make a long oration to me you will not cure me, for I shall not be able to follow you; but if you will answer me, as you did just now, you will do me a great deal of good, and I do not think you will be any the worse yourself. And I have some claim upon you also, O son of Apemantus, for you incited me to converse with Hippias; and now, if Hippias will not answer me, you must entreat him on my behalf. 373

Eud. But I do not think, Socrates, that Hippias will require any entreaty of mine; for his profession is that he will refuse to answer no man: Did you not say that, Hippias?

Hip. Yes, I did: but then, Eudicus, Socrates is always troublesome in an argument, and appears to be dishonest.

Soc. Excellent Hippias, that is not intentional on my part (that would show me to be a wise man and a master of wiles, as you would argue), but unintentional, and therefore you must pardon me; for, as you say, he who is unintentionally dishonest should be pardoned.

Eud. Yes, Hippias, do as he says; and for our sake, and also that you may not belie your profession, answer whatever Socrates asks you.

Hip. I will answer, as you wish; and do you ask whatever you like.

Soc. I am very desirous, Hippias, of examining this question, as to which are the better — those who err voluntarily or involuntarily? And if you will answer me, I think that I can put you in the way of approaching the subject: You would admit, would you not, that there are good runners?

Hip. Yes.

Soc. And there are bad runners?

Hip. Yes.

Soc. And he who runs well is a good runner, and he who runs ill is a bad runner?

Hip. Very true.

Soc. And he who runs slowly runs ill, and he who runs quickly runs well?

Hip. Yes.

Soc. Then in a race, and in running, swiftness is a good and slowness is an evil?

Hip. To be sure.

Soc. Which of the two then is a better runner? He who runs slowly voluntarily, or he who runs slowly involuntarily?

Hip. He who runs slowly voluntarily.

Soc. And is not running a species of doing?

Hip. Certainly.

Soc. And if a species of doing, also a species of action?

Hip. Yes.

Soc. Then he who runs badly does a bad and dishonorable action in a race?

Hip. Yes; a bad action, certainly.

Soc. And he who runs slowly runs badly?

Hip. Yes.

Soc. Then the good runner does this bad and disgraceful action voluntarily, and the bad involuntarily?

Hip. That is to be inferred.

Soc. Then he who involuntarily does evil actions, is worse at a race than he who does them voluntarily?

Hip. Yes, in a race.

374 *Soc.* Well; but at a wrestling match — which is the better wrestler, he who falls voluntarily or involuntarily?

Hip. He who falls voluntarily, doubtless.

Soc. And is it worse or more dishonorable at a wrestling match to fall or to throw another?

Hip. To fall.

Soc. Then, at a wrestling match, he who voluntarily does base and dishonorable actions is a better wrestler than he who does them involuntarily?

Hip. That appears to be the truth.

Soc. And what would you say of any other bodily exercise — is not he who has the stronger frame able to do both the

which is strong and that which is weak — that which is honorable and that which is dishonorable — so that when he does bad actions with the body, he who has the better frame does them voluntarily, and he who has the worse frame does them involuntarily?

Hip. Yes, that appears to be true about strength.

Soc. And what do you say about grace, Hippias? Is not the better frame able to make evil and disgraceful figures and postures voluntarily, as he who has the worse frame makes them involuntarily?

Hip. True.

Soc. Then voluntary ungracefulness comes from excellence of the bodily frame, and involuntary from the defect of the bodily frame?

Hip. True.

Soc. And what would you say of an unmusical voice; would you prefer the voice which is voluntarily or involuntarily out of tune?

Hip. That which is voluntarily out of tune.

Soc. The involuntary is the worse of the two?

Hip. Yes.

Soc. And would you choose to possess goods or evils?

Hip. Goods.

Soc. And would you rather have feet which are voluntarily or involuntarily lame?

Hip. Feet which are voluntarily lame.

Soc. But is not lameness a defect or deformity?

Hip. Yes.

Soc. And is not blinking a defect in the eyes?

Hip. Yes.

Soc. And would you rather always have eyes with which you might voluntarily blink and not see, or with which you might involuntarily blink?

Hip. I would rather have eyes which voluntarily blink.

Soc. Then in your own case you deem that which voluntarily acts ill, better than that which involuntarily acts ill?

Hip. Yes, certainly, in such cases as that.

Soc. And does not the same hold of ears or nostrils, mouth, and all the senses — that those which involuntarily act ill are not to be desired, as being defective; and that those which voluntarily act ill are to be desired as being good?

Hip. I think that is true.

Soc. And what would you say of instruments: which are the better sort of instruments — those with which a man acts ill voluntarily or involuntarily? For example, had a man better have a rudder with which he will steer ill, voluntarily or involuntarily?

Hip. He had better have a rudder with which he will steer ill, voluntarily.

Soc. And does not the same hold of the bow and the lyre, the flute and all other things?

Hip. Very true.

Soc. And would you rather have a horse of such a temper that you may ride him ill, voluntarily or involuntarily?

375 *Hip.* I would rather have a horse which I could ride ill, voluntarily.

Soc. That would be the better temper?

Hip. Yes.

Soc. Then with a horse of better temper a man would voluntarily perform the vicious actions of that temper; and with a horse of bad temper he would involuntarily perform them?

Hip. Certainly.

Soc. And that would be true of a dog, or of any other animal?

Hip. Yes.

Soc. And is it better to possess the mind of an archer who voluntarily or involuntarily misses the mark?

Hip. Of him who voluntarily misses.

Soc. That would be the better mind for the purpose of archery?

Hip. Yes.

Soc. Then the mind which involuntarily errs is worse than that which errs voluntarily?

Hip. Yes, certainly, in the use of the bow.

Soc. And what would you say of the art of medicine: has not the mind which works harms to the body voluntarily, more of the healing art?

Hip. Yes.

Soc. Then in the art of medicine the voluntary is better than the involuntary?

Hip. Yes.

Soc. Well, and in lute-playing and in flute-playing, and in all arts and sciences, is not that mind the better which voluntarily does what is evil and dishonorable, and goes wrong, and is not the worse that which does all this involuntarily?

Hip. That is evident.

Soc. But what would you say of the characters of slaves? Should we not prefer to have those who voluntarily do wrong and make mistakes, and are they not better in their mistakes than those who commit them involuntarily?

Hip. Yes.

Soc. And should we not desire to have our own minds in the best state possible?

Hip. Yes.

Soc. And will our minds be better if they do wrong and make mistakes voluntarily or involuntarily?

Hip. O, Socrates, it would be a monstrous thing to say that those who do wrong voluntarily are better than those who do wrong involuntarily!

Soc. And yet that appears to be the inference.

Hip. I do not agree to that.

Soc. But I thought, Hippias, that you did agree to that. Please to answer once more: Is not justice a power, or knowledge, or both? Must not justice, at all events, be one of these?

Hip. Yes.

Soc. And if justice is a power of the soul, then the soul which has the greater power is also the more just; for that which has the greater power, my good friend, has been proved by us to be the better.

Hip. Yes, that has been proved.

Soc. And if justice is knowledge, then the wiser soul will be the juster soul, and the more ignorant the more unjust.

Hip. Yes.

Soc. But if justice be power as well as knowledge — then will not that soul which has both knowledge and power be the more just, and that which is the more ignorant [and weaker] be the more unjust? Must not that be so?

Hip. That is evident.

Soc. And is not that soul which has the greater power and wisdom also better, and better able to do both good and evil in every action?

Hip. Certainly.

Soc. The soul, then which acts ill, acts involuntarily by power and art — and these either one or both of them are elements of justice? 376

Hip. That seems to be true.

Soc. And to do injustice is to do ill, and not to do injustice is to do well?

Hip. Yes.

Soc. And will not the better and abler soul when it does wrong, do wrong voluntarily, and the bad soul involuntarily?

Hip. That is plain.

Soc. And the good man is he who has the good soul, and the bad man is he who has the bad one?

Hip. Yes.

Soc. Then the good man will voluntarily do wrong, and the bad man involuntarily, if the good man is he who has the good soul?

Hip. He certainly has.

Soc. Then, Hippias, he who voluntarily does wrong and disgraceful things, if there be such a man, will be the good man?

Hip. There I cannot agree with you.

Soc. Nor can I agree with myself, Hippias; and yet that seems to be the necessary deduction which at this moment must follow from our argument. As I was saying before, I wander up and down, and being in perplexity am always changing my opinion. Now, that I or any ordinary man should wander in perplexity is not surprising; but if you wise men also wander, that seems to be a serious matter to us as well as to you, for in that case we cannot go to you and cease from our wandering.

FIRST ALCIBIADES.

INTRODUCTION.

THE First Alcibiades is a conversation between Socrates and Alcibiades. Socrates is represented in the character which he attributes to himself in the Apology of a know-nothing who detects the conceit of knowledge in others. The two have met already in the Protagoras and in the Symposium; in the latter Dialogue, as in this, the relation between them is that of a lover and his beloved. But the narrative of their loves is told differently in different places: for in the Symposium Alcibiades is depicted as the impassioned but rejected lover; here, as coldly receiving the advances of Socrates, who, for the best of purposes, lies in wait for the aspiring and ambitious youth.

Alcibiades, who is described as a very young man, is about to enter on public life, having an inordinate opinion of himself, and an extravagant ambition. Socrates, "who knows what is in man," astonishes him by a revelation of his designs. But has he the knowledge which is necessary for carrying them out? He is going to persuade the Athenians — about what? Not about any particular art, but about politics — when to fight, and when to make peace. Now, men should fight and make peace on just grounds, and therefore the question of justice and injustice must enter into peace and war; and he who advises the Athenians must know the difference between them. Does Alcibiades know? If he does, he must either have been taught by some master, or he must have discovered the nature of them himself. If he has had a master, Socrates would like to be informed who he is, that he may go and learn of him also. Alcibiades admits that he has never learned. Then has he inquired for himself? He may have, if he was ever aware of a time when he was ignorant. But he never was ignorant; for when he played with other boys at dice, he charged them with cheating, and this implied a knowledge of just and unjust. He learned of the multitude — that is his own explanation. And why should he not learn of them the nature of justice, as he has learned the Greek language of them? To this Socrates answers, that they can teach Greek, but they cannot teach justice; for they are agreed about the one, but they are not agreed about the other: and therefore Alcibiades, who has ad-

mitted that if he knows he must either have learned from a master or have discovered for himself the nature of justice, is convicted out of his own mouth.

Alcibiades rejoins, that the Athenians debate not about what is just and unjust, but about what is expedient and inexpedient; these he affirms to be different and opposed. Socrates, by a series of questions, compels him to admit that the just and the expedient coincide. Alcibiades is thus reduced to the humiliating conclusion that he knows nothing of politics, even if, as he says, they are concerned with the expedient.

However, he is no worse than other Athenian statesmen; and he will not need training, for others are as ignorant as he is. Socrates reminds him that he has to contend, not only with his own countrymen, but with their enemies — with the Spartan kings and with the great king of Persia; and he can only attain this higher aim of ambition by the assistance of Socrates. Not that he himself professes to have attained but the questions which he asks bring others to a knowledge of themselves, and this is the first step in the practice of virtue.

The Dialogue continues: We wish to become as good as possible. But to be good in what? Alcibiades replies — "Good in transacting business." But what business? "The business of the most intelligent men at Athens." The cobbler is intelligent in shoemaking, and is therefore good in that; he is not intelligent, and therefore not good, in weaving. Is he good in the sense which Alcibiades means, who is also bad? "I mean," replies Alcibiades, "the man who is able to command in the city." But to command what — horses or men? and if men, under what circumstances? "I mean to say, that he is able to command men living in social and political relations." And what is their aim? "The better preservation of the city." But when is a city better? "When there is unanimity, such as exists between husband and wife." Then, when husbands and wives perform their own special duties, there can be no unanimity between them; nor can a city be well ordered when each citizen does his own work only. Alcibiades, having stated first that goodness consists in the unanimity of citizens, and then in each of them doing his own separate work, is brought to the required point of self-contradiction, leading him to confess his own ignorance.

But he is not too old to learn, and may still arrive at the truth, if he is willing to be cross-examined by Socrates. He must know himself; that is to say, not his body, or the things of the body, but his mind, or truer self. The physician knows the body, and the tradesman knows his own business, but they do not necessarily know themselves. Self-knowledge can be obtained only by looking into the mind and virtue of the soul, which is the diviner part of a man, as we see our own image in another's eye. And if we do not know ourselves, we cannot know what belongs to ourselves or belongs to

others, and are unfit to take a part in political affairs. Both for the sake of the individual and of the state, we ought to aim at justice and temperance, not at wealth or power. The evil and unjust should have no power, — they should be the slaves of better men than themselves. None but the virtuous are deserving of freedom.

And are you, Alcibiades, a freeman? "I feel that I am not but I hope, Socrates, that by your aid I may become free, and from this day forward I will never leave you."

The Alcibiades has several points of resemblance to the other Dialogues. The process of interrogation is of the same kind as that which Socrates practices upon the youthful Cleinias in the Euthydemus; and he characteristically attributes to Alcibiades the answers which he has elicited from him. The definition of good is narrowed by successive questions, and virtue is shown to be identical with knowledge. Here, as elsewhere, Socrates awakens the consciousness not of sin but of ignorance. Self-humiliation is the first step to knowledge, even of the commonest things. No man knows how ignorant he is, and no man can arrive at virtue and wisdom who has not once in his life, at least, been convicted of error. The process by which the soul is elevated is not unlike that which religious writers describe under the name of "conversion," if we substitute the sense of ignorance for the consciousness of sin.

In some respects, the Dialogue differs from any other Platonic composition. The name is more directly ethical and hortatory, the process by which the antagonist is undermined is simpler than in other Platonic writings, and the conclusion more decided. There is a good deal of humor in the manner in which the pride of Alcibiades, and of the Greeks generally, is supposed to be taken down by the Spartan and Persian queens; and the Dialogue has considerable dialectical merit. But we have a difficulty in supposing that the same writer, who has given so profound and complex a notion of the characters both of Alcibiades and Socrates in the Symposium, should have treated them in so thin and superficial a manner in the Alcibiades, or that he should have imagined that a mighty nature like his could have been reformed by a few not very conclusive words of Socrates. For the arguments by which Alcibiades is reformed are exceedingly unsound; as in the Gorgias, Plato seems to arrive at his idealism by crooked and tortuous paths, in which many pitfalls are concealed. The anachronism of making Alcibiades about twenty years old during the life of his uncle, Pericles, may be noted; also the repetition of the favorite observation, which occurs in the Laches and elsewhere, that great Athenian statesmen, like Pericles, failed in the education of their sons. On the whole, there is none of the Dialogues of Plato in which there is so little dramatic verisimilitude.

ALCIBIADES I.

PERSONS OF THE DIALOGUE.

ALCIBIADES, SOCRATES.

Soc. I DARE say that you may be surprised to find, O son of Cleinias, that I, who am your first lover, 103
not having spoken to you for many years, when the rest of the world were wearying you with their attentions, am the last of your lovers who still speaks to you. The reason was, that I was hindered from speaking to you by a power — not human but divine, the nature of which I will some day explain to you; that impediment has been now removed, and I present myself before you, hoping that the hinderance will not again occur. Meanwhile, I have observed that your pride has been too much for the pride of your admirers; they were very numerous, but they have all run away, overpowered by your superior force of character; not one of them remains. And I want you to understand the nature of this ascendency which you 104
exercise over them. You imagine that you have no need of any other man at all, as you have great possessions and abundance of all things, beginning with the body, and ending with the soul. In the first place, you think that you are the fairest and tallest of the citizens, and this every one who has eyes sees to be true; in the second place, that you are among the noblest of them, highly connected both on the father's and the mother's side, and sprung from one of the greatest families in your own state, which is the greatest in Hellas, and having many friends and kinsmen of the best sort, who can assist you when in need; and there is one potent relative, who is more to you than all the rest, Pericles, the son of Xanthippus, whom your father left guardian of you and your brother, and who cannot only do as

he pleases in this city, but in all Hellas, and among many and mighty barbarous nations. Moreover, you are rich; but I must say that you value yourself least of all upon your possessions. And all these things have lifted you up, and you have overcome your lovers, and they have acknowledged that you were too much for them. Have you not remarked their absence? And now I know that you wonder why I have not gone away like the rest of them, and what can be my motive in remaining.

Alcibiades. Perhaps, Socrates, you are not aware that I was just coming to ask you the same question — What do you want? And what is your motive in annoying me, and always, wherever I am, making a point of coming? I do really wonder what you mean, and should greatly like to know.

Soc. Then, if you desire to know, I suppose that you will be willing to hear, and I may consider myself to be speaking to an auditor who will remain, and will not run away?

Al. Certainly: let me hear.

Soc. You had better be careful, for I may very likely be as unwilling to end as I have hitherto been to begin.

Al. Proceed, my good man, and I will listen.

Soc. I will proceed; and, although no lover likes to speak with one who has no feeling of love in him, I will make an
105 effort, and tell you what I meant: My love, Alcibiades, which I hardly like to confess, would long ago have passed away, as I flatter myself, if I saw you loving your good things, or thinking that you ought to live in the enjoyment of them. But I know that you entertain other thoughts; and I will prove to you that I have always had my eye on you by declaring them. Suppose that at this moment some god came to you and said: O Alcibiades, will you live as you are, or die in an instant if you are forbidden to make any further acquisition? — I verily believe that you would choose death. And I will tell you the hope in which you are at present living: Before many days have elapsed, you think that you will come before the Athenian assembly, and will try to prove to them that you are more worthy of honor than Pericles, or any other man that ever lived, and having proved this, you will have the greatest power in the state; and when you have got the greatest power among us, you will go on to other Hellenic states, and not only to Hellenes, but to all the barbarians who inhabit the same continent with us. And if the God were then to say to you again: Here in Europe is to be your seat of empire, and you must not cross

over into Asia or meddle with Asiatic affairs, I do not believe that you would choose to live upon these terms; but the world, as I may say, must be fulfilled with your power and name — no man less than Cyrus and Xerxes is of any account with you. Now, I am quite sure that this is your hope — I am not guessing only — and very likely you, who know that I am saying the truth, will reply, Well, Socrates, but what has all this to do with the explanation which you promised of your unwillingness to leave me? And that is what I am going to tell you, sweet son of Cleinias and Dinomachè. The explanation is, that all these designs of yours cannot be accomplished by you without my help; such is the power which I believe myself to have over you and your concerns; and this I conceive to be the reason why the God has hitherto forbidden me to converse with you, and I have been long expecting his permission. For, as you hope to prove your own great value to the state, and having proved this, to attain at once absolute power, so do I indulge hope that I shall have the supreme power over you, if I am able to prove my own great value to you, and to show you that neither guardian, nor kinsman, nor any one is able to deliver into your hands the power which you desire, but I only, God being my helper. Now, when you were young and your hopes were not yet matured, I should have wasted my time, and this, as I conceive, was the reason why the God forbade me converse with you; but now, having his permission, I will speak, for now you will listen to me. 106

Al. Your silence, Socrates, was always a marvel to me. I never could understand why you followed me about, and now that you have begun to speak again, I am still more amazed. Whether I think all this or not, is a matter about which you seem to have already made up your mind, and therefore my denial will have no effect upon you. But granting, if I must, that you have perfectly divined my intentions, why is your assistance necessary to the attainment of them? Can you tell me why?

Soc. I suppose that you want to know whether I can make a long speech, such as you are in the habit of hearing; but that is not my way. I think, however, that I can prove to you the truth of what I am saying, if you will grant me one little favor.

Al. Yes, if the favor which you mean be not a troublesome one.

Soc. Will you be troubled at having questions to answer?

Al. No.

Soc. Then please to answer.

Al. Ask me.

Soc. Have you not the intention which I attribute to you?

Al. I say "Yes," in the hope of hearing what more you have to say.

Soc. You do, then, mean, as I was saying, to come forward in a little while in the character of an adviser of the Athenians? And suppose that when you are ascending the bema, I pull you by the sleeve and say, Alcibiades, you are getting up to advise the Athenians; about what are they going to deliberate, and do you know that matter better than they? How would you answer me?

Al. I should reply, that I was going to advise them about what I do know better than they.

Soc. Then you are a good adviser about the things which you know?

Al. Certainly.

Soc. And do you know anything but what you have learned of others, or found out yourself?

Al. That is all.

Soc. And would you have ever learned or discovered if you had not been willing either to learn of others or to examine yourself?

Al. I should not.

Soc. And would you have been willing to learn or to examine what you supposed that you knew?

Al. Certainly not.

Soc. Then there was a time when you thought that you did not know what you are now supposed to know?

Al. Certainly.

Soc. I think that I know the extent of what you know; and you must tell me if I forget anything: if I remember rightly, you learned the art of writing and playing on the lyre and wrestling; the flute you never would learn; this is the sum of your accomplishments, unless there were some which you acquired in secret; and I think that secrecy was hardly possible, as you could not have come out of your door, either by day or night, without my seeing you.

Al. Yes, that was the whole of my schooling.

107 *Soc.* And are you going to get up in the Athenian assembly, and give them advice about writing?

Al. No, indeed.

Soc. Or about the touch of the lyre?

Al. Certainly not.

Soc. And they are not in the habit of deliberating about wrestling in the assembly?

Al. Hardly.

Soc. Then what are the deliberations in which you propose to advise them? Surely not about building?

Al. No.

Soc. For the builder will advise about that better than you will?

Al. Yes.

Soc. Nor about divination?

Al. No.

Soc. The diviner, again, will advise about that better than you will?

Al. True.

Soc. Whether he be little or great, good or ill-looking, noble or ignoble — that makes no difference?

Al. Certainly not.

Soc. A man is a good adviser about anything, not in proportion to his wealth, but in proportion to his knowledge?

Al. Assuredly.

Soc. Whether their counselor is rich or poor, is not a matter which will make any difference to the Athenians when they are deliberating about the health of the citizens; they only require that he should be a physician.

Al. That is reasonable.

Soc. Then what will be the subject of deliberation about which you will be justified in getting up and advising them?

Al. About their own concerns, Socrates.

Soc. You mean about shipbuilding, for example, when the question is what sort of ships they ought to build?

Al. No, I do not mean that.

Soc. I suppose, because you do not understand shipbuilding: is that the reason?

Al. Yes, that is the reason.

Soc. Then about what concerns of theirs will you advise them?

Al. About war, Socrates, or about peace, or about any other concerns of the state.

Soc. You mean, when they deliberate with whom they ought

to make peace, and with whom they ought to go to war, and in what manner?

Al. Yes.

Soc. And they ought to go to war with those against whom it is better to go to war?

Al. Yes.

Soc. And when it is better?

Al. Certainly.

Soc. And for as long a time as is better?

Al. Yes.

Soc. But suppose the Athenians to deliberate with whom they ought to close in wrestling, and whom they shall seize by the hand, would you, or the master of gymnastics, be a better adviser of them?

Al. I should say, the master of gymnastics.

Soc. And can you tell me with a view to what, the master of gymnastics would judge, with whom they ought or ought not to close, and when and how? I mean to say this sort of thing: Would he not say that they should wrestle with those against whom it is best to wrestle?

Al. Yes.

Soc. And as much as is best?

108 *Al.* Yes.

Soc. And at such times as are best?

Al. Yes.

Soc. Again; you sometimes accompany the lyre with the song and dance?

Al. Yes.

Soc. When this is well?

Al. Yes.

Soc. And as much as is well?

Al. Just that.

Soc. And as you speak of an excellence of playing the lyre, and of an excellence or art of the best in wrestling, I wish you would tell me what you call the excellence of playing the lyre; when I speak of the excellence of wrestling, I call that the art of gymnastic, and I want to know what you call the other.

Al. I do not understand you.

Soc. Then try to do as I do; for I answered that which is always right, and when I say right, I mean that which is in accordance with the rules of art.

Al. Yes.

Soc. And was not the art of which I spoke gymnastic?

Al. Certainly.

Soc. And I called the excellence in wrestling gymnastic?

Al. You did.

Soc. And I was right?

Al. I think that you were.

Soc. Well, now, as you ought to learn to argue prettily, I ask you in return to tell me, first of all, what is that art of which playing and singing, and the corresponding motion of the dance are parts, what is the name of the whole? I think that by this time you must be able to tell.

Al. Indeed I cannot.

Soc. Then let me put the matter in another way: what do you call the goddesses who are the patronesses of the arts?

Al. The Muses, do you mean, Socrates?

Soc. Very good; and what is the name of the art which is called after them?

Al. I suppose that you mean music.

Soc. Yes, that is my meaning; and what is the excellence of the art of music, as I told you truly that the excellence of wrestling was the art of gymnastic — what is the excellence of music — to be what?

Al. To be musical, I suppose.

Soc. Very good; and now please to tell me what is the excellence of war and peace; as the more musical was the more excellent, or the more gymnastical was the more excellent; tell me, what name do you give to the more excellent in war and peace?

Al. But I cannot.

Soc. But if you, offering advice to another, said to him: This food is better than that, at this time and in this quantity, and he said to you: What do you mean, Alcibiades, by the word "better?" you would have no difficulty in replying that you meant "more wholesome," although you do not profess to be a physician; and when the subject is one on which you profess to have knowledge, and about which you are ready to get up and advise as if you knew, are you not ashamed of having nothing to say, as appears to be the case? Is not that disgraceful? 109

Al. Very.

Soc. Well, then, consider and try to explain what is the meaning of "better," in the matter of making peace and going to war with those against whom you ought to go to war? To what does that refer?

Al. I am thinking, and I cannot tell.

Soc. But you surely know what are the charges which we bring against one another, when we arrive at the point of making war, and what name we give them?

Al. Yes, certainly; we say that we have been deceived, or forced, or defrauded.

Soc. And how does this happen? Will you tell me that? For there may be a difference in the manner.

Al. Do you mean by how, Socrates, whether we suffered these things justly or unjustly?

Soc. Exactly.

Al. There can be no greater difference than between just and unjust.

Soc. And would you advise the Athenians to go to war with the just or with the unjust?

Al. That is an awkward question; for certainly, even if a person did intend to go to war with the just, he would not admit that they were just.

Soc. He would not go to war, because that would be unlawful?

Al. Yes; and not honorable.

Soc. Then you, too, would address them on principles of justice?

Al. Certainly.

Soc. What, then, is justice but that better, of which I spoke, in going to war or not going to war with those against whom we ought or ought not, and when we ought or ought not to go to war?

Al. Clearly.

Soc. But how is this, friend Alcibiades? Have you forgotten that you do not know this, or have you been to the schoolmaster without my knowledge, and has he taught you to discern the just from the unjust? I wish you would tell me who he is, that I may go and learn of him — you shall introduce me.

Al. You are mocking, Socrates.

Soc. No, indeed; I most solemnly declare to you by Zeus, who is the god of our common friendship, and whom I never will forswear, that I am not; tell me, then, who this instructor is, if he exists?

Al. But, perhaps, he does not exist; may I not have acquired the knowledge of just and unjust in some other way?

Soc. Yes; if you have discovered them.

Al. But do you not think that I could discover them?

Soc. I am sure that you might, if you inquired about them.

Al. And do you not think that I would inquire?

Soc. Yes; if you thought that you did not know them.

Al. And was there never a time when I did not know them?

Soc. Very good; then can you tell me the time when you thought that you did not know the nature of the just and the unjust? What do you say to last year? Were you in the state of conscious ignorance and inquiry? or did you think that you knew? And please to answer truly, that our discussion may not be in vain. 110

Al. Well, I thought that I knew.

Soc. And two years ago, and three years ago, and four years ago, you knew all the same?

Al. I did.

Soc. And more than four years ago you were a child — were you not?

Al. Yes.

Soc. And then I am quite sure you thought you knew.

Al. And why are you sure of that?

Soc. Because I often heard you when a child, in your teacher's house, or elsewhere, playing at dice or some other game with the boys, not hesitating at all about the nature of the just and unjust; but very confident — crying and shouting that one of the boys was a rogue and a cheat, and had been cheating. Is not that true?

Al. But what was I to do, Socrates, when anybody cheated me?

Soc. Yes; and that very question implies that you knew the nature of just and unjust.

Al. To be sure I knew; I was quite aware that I was being cheated.

Soc. Then you suppose yourself when a child to have known the nature of just and unjust?

Al. Certainly.

Soc. And when did you discover them — not, surely, at the time at which you thought that you knew them?

Al. Certainly not.

Soc. And when did you think that you were ignorant; if you consider, you will find that there never was such a time.

Al. Really, Socrates, I cannot say.

Soc. Then you did not learn them by discovering them?

Al. That is plainly the inference.

Soc. But just now you said that you did not know them by learning; now, if you have neither discovered nor learned them, how and whence do you come to know them?

Al. I suppose that I was mistaken in saying that I knew them through my own discovery of them; whereas, in truth, I learned them in the same way that other people learn.

Soc. That is what you said before, and I must again ask, of whom? Answer that.

Al. Of the many.

Soc. I cannot say that I have a high opinion of your teachers.

Al. Why, are they not able to teach?

Soc. They could not teach you how to play at draughts, and yet that is a much smaller matter than justice—do you not admit that?

Al. Yes.

Soc. And can they teach the better who are unable to teach the worse?

Al. I think that they can; at any rate, they can teach many far better things than to play at draughts.

111 *Soc.* What things?

Al. Why, for example, I learned to speak Greek of them, and I cannot say who was my teacher, or to whom I am to attribute my knowledge of Greek, if not to those good-for-nothing teachers, as you call them.

Soc. Why, yes, my friend; and the many are good enough teachers of Greek, and their instructions in that line may be justly praised.

Al. Why is that?

Soc. Why, because they have the qualities of good teachers.

Al. What qualities?

Soc. Why, you know that knowledge is the first qualification of any teacher?

Al. Certainly.

Soc. And if they know, they must agree together and not differ?

Al. Yes.

Soc. And would you say that they knew the things about which they differ?

Al. No.

Soc. Then how can they teach them?

Al. They cannot.

Soc. Well, but do you imagine that the many would differ about the nature of wood and stone — if you ask any one about them are they not agreed, and go to fetch the same thing, when they want a piece of wood or a stone, or anything else of the sort; for that, if I am not mistaken, is pretty nearly all that you mean by speaking Greek.

Al. True.

Soc. But then, as we were saying, these are matters about which they are agreed with one another and with themselves; both individuals and states use the same words about them; they do not use some one word and some another.

Al. They do not.

Soc. Then they may be expected to be good teachers of these things?

Al. Yes.

Soc. And if we want to instruct any one in them, we shall be right in sending him to be taught by our friends the many?

Al. Very true.

Soc. But if we wanted further to know not only which are men and which are horses, but which men or horses have powers of running, will the many be able to inform us of this?

Al. Certainly not.

Soc. And a sufficient proof that they do not know these things and are not true teachers of them is, that they are never agreed about them?

Al. Yes.

Soc. And suppose that we wanted to know not only what men are like, but what healthy or diseased men are like — would the many be able to teach us this?

Al. They would not.

Soc. And you would have a proof that they were bad teachers of these matters, if you saw them at variance?

Al. I should.

Soc. Well, but are the many agreed with themselves, or with one another, about the justice or injustice of men and things? 112

Al. Assuredly not, Socrates.

Soc. There is no subject about which they are more at variance?

Al. None.

Soc. I do not suppose that you ever saw or heard of men quarreling over the principles of health and disease to such an

extent as to go to war and kill one another for the sake of them.

Al. No, indeed.

Soc. But of the quarrels about justice and injustice, you have certainly heard, even if you have never seen them; for you have heard recitations of the Iliad and Odyssey.

Al. To be sure, Socrates.

Soc. A difference of just and unjust is the argument of the poems?

Al. True.

Soc. And this difference caused all the wars and deaths of Trojans and Achaeans, and the deaths of the suitors of Penelope in their quarrel with Odysseus.

Al. Very true.

Soc. And when the Athenians and Lacedaemonians and Boeotians fell at Tanagra, and afterwards in the battle of Coronea, at which your father, Cleinias, met his end, the question was one of justice — this was the sole cause of the battles, and of their deaths?

Al. Very true.

Soc. But can we suppose that they understand that about which they are quarreling to the death?

Al. Clearly not.

Soc. And yet those whom you thus allow to be ignorant are the teachers to whom you are appealing.

Al. Very true.

Soc. But how are you ever likely to know the nature of justice and injustice, about which you are so perplexed, if you have neither learned them of others nor discovered them yourself?

Al. From what you say, I suppose not.

Soc. See, again, how inaccurately you speak, Alcibiades!

Al. In what respect?

Soc. In saying that I say this.

Al. Why, did you not say that I know nothing of the just and unjust?

Soc. No; I did not.

Al. Did I, then?

Soc. Yes.

Al. How was that?

Soc. Let me explain. Suppose I were to ask you which is the greater number, two or one; you would reply, 'two?'

Al. I should.

Soc. And by how much greater?

Al. By one.

Soc. Which of us now says that two is more than one?

Al. I do.

Soc. Did not I ask, and you answer the question?

Al. Yes.

Soc. Then who is speaking? I who put the question, or you who answer me? 113

Al. I am.

Soc. Or suppose that I ask and you tell me the letters which make up the name Socrates, which of us is the speaker?

Al. I am.

Soc. Now let us put the case generally: whenever there is a question and answer, who is the speaker, the questioner or the answerer?

Al. I should say, Socrates, that the answerer was the speaker.

Soc. And have I not been the questioner all through?

Al. Yes.

Soc. And you the answerer?

Al. Certainly.

Soc. Which of us, then, was the speaker?

Al. The inference is, Socrates, that I was the speaker.

Soc. Did not some one say that Alcibiades, the fair son of Cleinias, not understanding about just and unjust, but thinking that he did understand, was going to the assembly to advise the Athenians about what he did not know? Was not that said?

Al. That is true.

Soc. Then, Alcibiades, the result may be expressed in the language of Euripides. I think that you have heard all this "from yourself, and not from me;" nor did I say this, which you erroneously attribute to me, but you yourself, and what you said was very true. For indeed, my dear fellow, the design which you meditate of teaching what you do not know, and have not taken any pains to learn, is downright insanity.

Al. But, Socrates, I think that the Athenians and the rest of the Hellenes do not often advise as to the more just or unjust; for they see no difficulty in them, and therefore they leave them, and consider which course of action will be most expedient; for there is a great difference between justice and expediency. Many persons have done great wrong and profited by their injustice; others have done rightly and suffered.

Soc. Well, but supposing the opposition to exist ever so much between the just and the expedient, you surely do not suppose that you know what is expedient for mankind, or why a thing is expedient?

Al. Why not, Socrates? But I am not going to be asked again from whom I learned, or how I discover them.

Soc. What a way you have! When you make a mistake which has been already detected, you want to have a new and different demonstration of the mistake; the old argument is a worn-out garment which you will no longer put on, but some one must produce another which is clean and new. Now
114 I, without regarding this sally of yours, shall repeat the question, — Where did you learn and how do you know the nature of the expedient, and who is your teacher? I shall resume all the previous argument in a word; then, as is obvious, you will be in the old difficulty, and will not be able to show that you know the expedient, either because you learned or because you discovered it yourself. But, as I perceive that you are dainty, and dislike the taste of an argument which you have heard before, I will inquire no further into your knowledge of what is expedient or what is not expedient for the Athenian people, simply asking, why do you not explain whether justice or expediency are same or different? And if you like you may examine me as I have examined you, or if you please, carry on the discussion by yourself.

Al. But I am not certain, Socrates, whether I shall be able to discuss the matter with you.

Soc. Then imagine, my dear fellow, that I am the demus and the ecclesia; for in the ecclesia, too, you will have to persuade men individually.

Al. Yes.

Soc. And is not the same person able to persuade one individual singly and many individuals of the things which he knows? The grammarian, for example, can persuade one and he can persuade many about letters.

Al. True.

Soc. And about number, will not the same person persuade one and persuade many?

Al. Yes.

Soc. And this will be he who knows number, or the arithmetician?

Al. Quite true.

Soc. And cannot you persuade one man about that of which you can persuade many?

Al. I suppose that I can.

Soc. And that is clearly what you know?

Al. Yes.

Soc. And the only difference between one who argues as we are doing, and the orator who is addressing an assembly, is that the one seeks to persuade a number, and the other an individual, of the same things.

Al. That may be supposed.

Soc. Well, then, since the same person who can persuade a multitude can persuade individuals, try conclusions upon me, and prove to me that the just is not always expedient.

Al. You take liberties, Socrates.

Soc. I shall take the liberty of proving to you the opposite of that which you will not prove to me.

Al. Proceed.

Soc. Answer my questions — that is all.

Al. Nay, I should like you to be the speaker.

Soc. What, do you not wish to be persuaded?

Al. Certainly I do.

Soc. And can you be persuaded better than out of your own mouth?

Al. I should say not.

Soc. Then you shall answer; and if you do not hear the words, that the just is the expedient, coming out of your own lips, never believe another man again.

Al. No, indeed; and answer I will, for I do not see how that can do me any harm.

Soc. I perceive that you are a prophet: Let me begin by asking whether you allow that the just is sometimes expedient and sometimes not? 115

Al. Yes.

Soc. And sometimes honorable and sometimes not?

Al. What do you mean?

Soc. I am asking if you ever knew any one who did what was dishonorable and yet just?

Al. I never did.

Soc. All just things are honorable?

Al. Yes.

Soc. And are honorable things sometimes good and sometimes not good, or are they always good?

Al. I rather think, Socrates, that some honorable things are evil.

Soc. And are some dishonorable things good?

Al. Yes.

Soc. You mean in such a case as the following: In time of war, men have been wounded or have died in rescuing a companion or kinsman, when others who have neglected the duty of rescuing them have escaped in safety?

Al. True.

Soc. And to rescue another under such circumstances is honorable, in respect of the attempt to save those whom we ought to save; and this is courage?

Al. True.

Soc. But evil in respect of death and wounds?

Al. Yes.

Soc. And the courage which is shown in the rescue is one thing, and the death another.

Al. Certainly.

Soc. Then the rescue of one's friends is not honorable, and yet evil in the same point of view?

Al. No.

Soc. And yet if honorable, then also good: Will you consider whether this may not be true, for you were acknowledging that the courage which is shown in the rescue is honorable? Now is this courage good or evil? Look at the matter in this light: which would you rather choose, good or evil?

Al. Good.

Soc. And the greatest goods you would be most ready to choose, and would least like to be deprived of them?

Al. Certainly.

Soc. What would you say of courage? At what price would you be willing to be deprived of courage?

Al. I would rather die than be a coward.

Soc. Then you think that cowardice is the worst of evils?

Al. I do.

Soc. As bad as death, I suppose?

Al. Yes.

Soc. And life and courage are the extreme opposites of death and cowardice?

Al. Yes.

Soc. And they are the qualities which you would most desire to have, and the others you would least desire?

Al. Yes.

Soc. Is this because you think life and courage the best, and death and cowardice the worst?

Al. Yes.

Soc. And you would regard the rescue of a friend in battle as good, in respect of the courage which is there shown?

Al. I should.

Soc. But evil in respect of the death which ensues?

Al. Yes.

Soc. Might we not describe the different effects in this way: You may call either of them evil in respect of the evil which is the effect, and good in respect of the good which is the effect of either of them? 116

Al. Yes.

Soc. And they are honorable in as far as they are good, and dishonorable in as far as they are evil?

Al. True.

Soc. Then when you say that the rescue of a friend in battle is honorable and yet evil, that is equivalent to saying that the rescue is good and yet evil?

Al. I believe that you are right, Socrates.

Soc. Nothing honorable, regarded as honorable, is evil; nor anything base, regarded as base, good.

Al. Clearly not.

Soc. Look at the matter yet once more in a further light: he who acts honorably acts well?

Al. Yes.

Soc. And he who acts well is happy?

Al. Of course.

Soc. And the happy are those who obtain good?

Al. True.

Soc. And they obtain good by acting well and honorably?

Al. Yes.

Soc. Then acting well is a good?

Al. Certainly.

Soc. And happiness is a good?

Al. Yes.

Soc. Then the good and the honorable are again identified?

Al. That is evident.

Soc. Then, according to the argument, that which we find to be honorable we shall also find to be good?

Al. Certainly.

Soc. And is the good expedient or not?

Al. Expedient.

Soc. Do you remember our admissions about the just?

Al. Yes; if I am not mistaken, we said that those who acted justly must also act honorably.

Soc. And the honorable is the good?

Al. Yes

Soc. And the good is expedient?

Al. Yes.

Soc. Then, Alcibades, the just is expedient?

Al. I should infer that.

Soc. And all this I prove out of your own mouth, for I ask and you answer?

Al. I must acknowledge that you do.

Soc. And having acknowledged that the just is the same as the expedient, are you not (let me ask) prepared to ridicule any one who, pretending to understand the principles of justice and injustice, gets up to advise the noble Athenians or the ignoble Peparethians, that the just may be the evil?

Al. Indeed, Socrates, I know not what I am saying. Verily, I am in a strange state, for when you put questions to me I am of different minds in successive instants.

Soc. And are you not aware of the nature of this perplexity, my friend?

Al. Indeed I am not.

Soc. Do you suppose that if some one were to ask you whether you have two eyes or three, or two hands or four, or anything of that sort, you would then be of different minds in successive instants?

117 *Al.* I begin to distrust myself, but I do not suppose that I should be of different minds about that.

Soc. You would feel no doubt, because you know? — that would be the case?

Al. I suppose so.

Soc. And the reason why you involuntarily contradict yourself is clearly that you are ignorant?

Al. Very likely.

Soc. And if you feel this perplexity in answering about just and unjust, honorable and dishonorable, good and evil, expedient and inexpedient, the reason is that you are ignorant of them, and therefore in perplexity. Is not that clear?

Al. I agree.

Soc. But is this always the case, and is a man necessarily perplexed about that of which he has no knowledge?

Al. Certainly he is.

Soc. And do you know how to ascend into heaven?

Al. Certainly not.

Soc. And in this case, too, is your judgment perplexed?

Al. No.

Soc. Do you see the reason of this, or shall I tell you?

Al. Tell me.

Soc. The reason is, that you not only do not know, my friend, but you do not think that you know.

Al. What do you mean by that?

Soc. Think for yourself; are you in any perplexity about things of which you are ignorant? You know, for example, that you know nothing about the preparation of food.

Al. Very true.

Soc. And do you think and perplex yourself about the preparation of food; or do you leave that to some one who understands the art?

Al. The latter.

Soc. Or if you are on a voyage, do you bewilder yourself by considering whether the rudder is to be drawn inwards or outwards, or do you leave that to the pilot, and do nothing?

Al. That would be the concern of the pilot.

Soc. Then you are not perplexed about what you do not know, if you know that you do not know it?

Al. I imagine not.

Soc. Do you see, then, that mistakes in life and practice are also to be attributed to the ignorance which has conceit of knowledge?

Al. What do you mean by that, again?

Soc. I suppose that we begin to act when we think that we know what we are doing?

Al. Yes.

Soc. But when people think that they do not know, they intrust their business to others?

Al. Yes.

Soc. And so there is a class of ignorant persons who do not make mistakes in life, because they trust others?

Al. True.

Soc. Who, then, are the persons who make mistakes? They cannot, of course, be those who know?

Al. Certainly not.

Soc. But if neither those who know, nor those who know
118 that they do not know, make mistakes, there remain those only who do not know and think that they know.

Al. Yes, only those.

Soc. Then this is ignorance of the disgraceful sort which is mischievous?

Al. Yes.

Soc. And most mischievous and most disgraceful when having to do with the greatest matters?

Al. By far.

Soc. And can there be any matters greater than the just, the honorable, the good, and the expedient?

Al. Certainly not.

Soc. And these, as you were saying, are what perplex you?

Al. Yes.

Soc. But if you are perplexed, then, as the previous argument has shown, you are not only ignorant of the greatest matters, but being ignorant you fancy that you know them?

Al. I fear that you are right.

Soc. And now see what has happened to you, Alcibiades! I hardly like to speak of your evil case, but as we are alone, I will: you are living, my good friend, in the most disgraceful state of ignorance, of which you are convicted, not by me, but by the argument, and out of your own mouth — this is what makes you rush into politics before you are educated. Neither is your case singular. For I might say the same of almost all our statesmen, perhaps with the exception of your guardian, Pericles.

Al. Yes, Socrates; and Pericles is said not to have got his wisdom by the light of nature, but to have associated with several of the philosophers; with Pythocleides, for example, and with Anaxagoras, and now in advanced life with Damon, having this in view.

Soc. Well, but did you ever know a man wise in anything who was unable to impart his particular wisdom? For example, he who taught you letters was not only wise, but he made you and any others whom he liked wise.

Al. Yes.

Soc. And you, whom he taught, can do the same?

Al. True.

Soc. And the same is true of the harper and the gymnastic master?

Al. Certainly.

Soc. When a person is enabled to impart his knowledge to another, that surely proves his own understanding of any matter?

Al. I agree.

Soc. Well, and did Pericles make any one wise; did he begin at home and make his sons wise?

Al. But, Socrates, if the two sons of Pericles were simpletons, what has that to do with the matter?

Soc. Well, but did he make your brother, Cleinias, wise?

Al. Cleinias was a madman; there is no use in talking of him.

Soc. But if Cleinias was a madman and his two sons were simpletons, what reason can be given why he neglects you, and lets you be as you are?

Al. I believe that I am to blame for not attending.

Soc. But did you ever hear of any other Athenian or foreigner, bond or free, who is deemed to have grown wiser in the society of Pericles? — as I might cite Pythodorus 119
the son of Isolochus, and Callias the son of Calliades, who have grown wiser in the society of Zeno, for which privilege they have each of them paid him the sum of a hundred minae to the increase of their wisdom and name.

Al. I certainly never did hear of any one.

Soc. Well, and in reference to your own case, do you mean to remain as you are, or will you take pains about yourself?

Al. With your aid, Socrates, I will. And indeed, when I hear you speak, the truth of what you are saying strikes home to me, and I agree with you, for our statesmen, all but a few, do appear to be quite uneducated.

Soc. What is the inference from this?

Al. Why, that if they were educated they would be trained athletes, and he who means to rival them ought to have knowledge and experience in assailing them; but now, as they have come to politics utterly without any special training, why should I have the trouble of learning and practicing? For I know well that by the light of nature I shall get the better of them.

Soc. My dear friend, what a sentiment! And how unworthy of your noble form and your high estate!

Al. What makes you say that, Socrates?

Soc. I am grieved when I think of our mutual love.

Al. At what?

Soc. At your fancying that the contest on which you are entering is with people here.

Al. Why, what others are there?

Soc. Is that a question which a magnanimous soul should ask?

Al. Do you mean to say that the contest is not with these?

Soc. And suppose that you were going to steer a ship into action, would you only aim at being the best pilot on board? Would you not, while acknowledging that you must attain this degree of excellence, rather look to your true antagonists, and not as you are now doing, to your fellows? You ought to be so far above these, that, instead of regarding them as rivals, you would rather not have them serving in the same ranks with you against the enemy, if you meant to accomplish any noble action really worthy of yourself and of the state.

Al. That would certainly be my aim.

Soc. Great reason, then, have you to be satisfied, if you are better than the soldiers — having become[1] their superior, and training yourself with an eye to them, you have no need to look so high as the generals of the enemy.

120 *Al.* But who are they, Socrates?

Soc. Why, you surely know that our city goes to war now and then with the Lacedaemonians and with the great king?

Al. True enough.

Soc. And if you meant to be the ruler of this city, would you not be right in considering that the Lacedaemonian and Persian kings are your true rivals?

Al. I believe that you are right.

Soc. O no, my friend, I am quite wrong, and I think that you ought rather to turn your attention to Midias the quail-breeder and others like him, who manage our politics; in whom, as the women would remark, you may still see the slaves' cut of hair, cropping out in their minds as well as on their pates; and they come with their barbarous lingo to flatter us and not to rule us. To these, I say, you should look, and then you will have no need to take any heed of yourself in this noble contest; you will not have to trouble yourself either with learning what has to be learned, or practicing what has to be practiced, or with any other sort of preparation for a political career.

[1] Reading with the MSS. ὑπὲρ γέγονας.

Al. I think, Socrates, that you are right in that; I do not suppose, however, that the Spartan generals or the great king are really different from anybody else.

Soc. But, my dear friend, do consider what this is which you are saying.

Al. What shall I consider?

Soc. In the first place, will you be more likely to take care of yourself, if you are in a wholesome fear and dread of them, or if you are not?

Al. Clearly, if I have such a fear of them.

Soc. And do you think that you will sustain any injury if you take any care of yourself?

Al. No, I shall be greatly benefited.

Soc. And this is one very important respect in which that notion of yours is bad.

Al. True.

Soc. In the next place, consider that what you say is probably false.

Al. How is that?

Soc. Let me ask you whether better natures are likely to be found in noble races or not in noble races?

Al. Clearly in noble races.

Soc. Are not those who are well born and well bred most likely to be perfect in nature?

Al. Certainly.

Soc. Then let us compare our antecedents with those of the Lacedaemonian and Persian kings; are they inferior to us in descent? Have we not heard that the former are sprung from Heracles, and the latter from Achaemenes, and that the race of Heracles and the race of Achaemenes go back to Perseus son of Zeus?

Al. Why, so does mine go back to Eurysaces, and he to Zeus! 121

Soc. And mine, noble Alcibiades, to Daedalus, who, by the way of Hephaestus, also goes back to Zeus. But, for all this, we are far inferior to them. For they are descended "from Zeus," through a line of kings — either kings of Argos and Lacedaemon, or kings of Persia, which they have always possessed, and at various times have been sovereigns of Asia, as they now are; whereas, we and our fathers were but private persons. How ridiculous would you be thought for making a parade of your ancestors and of Salamis the island of Eury-

saces, or of Aegina, the habitation of the still more ancient Aeacus, to Artaxerxes son of Xerxes. You should consider how inferior we are to them both in the derivation of our birth and in other particulars. Did you never observe how great is the property of the Spartan kings? And their wives are under the guardianship of the Ephori, who are public officers, and watch over them, in order to preserve the purity of the Heracleid blood: And the Persian king far surpasses them; for no one ever entertains a suspicion that a prince of Persia can have any other father. Such is the awe which invests the person of the queen, that she needs no other guard. And when the heir of the kingdom is born, all the subjects of the king feast; and the day of his birth is forever afterwards kept as a holiday and time of sacrifice by all Asia; whereas, when you and I were born, Alcibiades, as the comic poet says, the neighbors hardly knew of the important event. After the birth of the royal child, he is tended, not by a good-for-nothing woman-nurse, but by the best of the royal eunuchs, who are charged with the care of the child, and especially with the fashioning and formation of his limbs, in order that he may be as fair as possible; and this being their calling, they are held in great honor. And when the young prince is seven years old he is put upon a horse and taken to the riding-masters and begins to go out hunting. And at fourteen years of age he is handed over to the royal schoolmasters, as they are termed: these are four chosen men, reputed to be the best among the Persians of a certain age; and one of them is the wisest, another the justest, a third the most temperate, and a fourth the most valiant.
122 The first instructs him in the magianism of Zoroaster the son of Oromasus, which is the worship of the gods, and teaches him also the duties of his royal office; the second, who is the justest, teaches him always to speak the truth; the third, who is most temperate, forbids him to allow any pleasure to be lord over him, that he may be accustomed to be a freeman and king indeed, — lord of himself first, and not a slave; the most valiant makes him bold and fearless, telling him that if he fears he is to deem himself a slave; whereas Pericles gave you, Alcibiades, for a tutor Zophyrus the Thracian, a slave of his with whom he could do nothing else. I might enlarge on the nurture and education of your rivals, but that would be tedious; and what I have said is a sufficient sample of what remains to be said. I have only to remark, by way of contrast, that no

one cares about your birth or nurture or education, or, I may say, about that of any other Athenian, unless he has a lover who takes care of him. And if you cast an eye on the wealth, the luxury, the garments with their flowing trains, the anointings with myrrh, the multitudes of attendants, and all the other bravery of the Persians, you will be ashamed when you discern your own inferiority; or if you would look at the temperance and orderliness and ease and grace and magnanimity and courage and endurance and love of toil and desire of glory and ambition of the Lacedaemonians — in all these respects you will regard yourself as a child in comparison of them. Nay, even in wealth, if you are inclined to think much of that, I must reveal to you the true state of the case; for if you form an estimate of the wealth of the Lacedaemonians, you will see that our possessions fall far short of theirs. For no one here can compete with them either in the extent and fertility of their own and the Messenian territory, or in the number of their slaves, and especially of the Helots, or of their horses, or of the animals which feed on the Messenian pastures. But I have said enough of this: and as to gold and silver, there is more of them in Lacedaemon than in all the rest of Hellas, for during many generations gold has been always flowing in to them from the whole Hellenic world, and often from the barbarian also, and never flowing out, as in the fable of Aesop, the fox said to lion, "The prints of the feet of 123
those going in are distinct enough;" but who ever saw the trace of money going out of Lacedaemon? and therefore you may safely infer that the inhabitants are the richest of the Hellenes in gold and silver, and their kings are the richest of them, for the greater part of this harvest goes to their kings, and they have also a tribute paid to them, which is very considerable. Yet the Spartan wealth, though great in comparison of the wealth of the other Hellenes, is as nothing in comparison of that of the Persians and their kings. Why, I have been informed by a credible person who went up to the king [at Susa], that he passed through a large tract of excellent land, extending for nearly a day's journey, which the people of the country called the queen's girdle, and another, which they called her veil; and several other fair and fertile districts, which were reserved for the adornment of the queen, and are named after her several habiliments. Now, I cannot help thinking to myself, What, if some one were to go to Amestris, the wife of

Xerxes and mother of Artaxerxes, and say to her: There is a certain Dinomachè, whose whole wardrobe is not worth fifty minae — and that will be more than the value — and she has a son who is possessed of a three-hundred acre patch at Erchiae, and he has a mind to go to war with your son — would she not wonder to what this Alcibiades trusts for success in the conflict? "He must rely," she would say to herself, "upon his training and wisdom — these are the things which Hellenes value." And if she heard that this Alcibiades who is making the attempt is not as yet twenty years old, and is wholly uneducated, and that when his lover tells him that he ought to get education and training first, and then go and fight the king, he refuses, and says that he is well enough as he is, would she not be amazed, and ask, "On what, then, does the youth rely?" And if we reply that he relies on his beauty, and stature, and birth, and mental endowments, she would think that we were
124 mad, Alcibiades, when she compared the advantages which you possess with those of her own people. And I believe that Lampido the daughter of Leotychides, the wife of Archidamus and mother of Agis, all of whom were kings, would have the same feeling; if, in your present uneducated state, you were to turn your thoughts against her son, she, too, would be equally astonished. But how disgraceful that we should not have as high a notion of what is required in us as our enemies' wives have of the qualities which are required in their assailants! O my friend, be persuaded by me, and hear the Delphian inscription, "Know thyself;" deem these kings to be our antagonists, who are not such as you think, but quite of another sort, and we can only overcome them by pains and skill. And if you fail in the required qualities, you will fail also in becoming renowned among Hellenes and Barbarians, which you seem to desire, as no other man ever desired anything.

Al. I entirely believe you; but what are the sort of pains which are required, Socrates? Can you tell me that?

Soc. Yes, I can; but, as you say, with your aid; we will inquire how we may be most improved; for what I am telling you of the necessity of education applies to myself as well as to you; and there is only one point in which I have an advantage over you.

Al. What is that?

Soc. I have a guardian who is better and wiser than Pericles, who is your guardian.

Al. Who is that, Socrates?

Soc. God, Alcibiades, who up to this day has not allowed me to converse with you; and that inspires in me the faith that I am especially designed to bring you to honor.

Al. You are jesting, Socrates.

Soc. Perhaps; at any rate, I am right in saying that all men greatly need pains and care, and you and I above all men.

Al. You are not far wrong about me.

Soc. And certainly not about myself.

Al. But what can we do?

Soc. There must be no hesitation or cowardice, my friend.

Al. Certainly not, Socrates.

Soc. No, indeed, and we ought to take counsel together: for we wish to be as good as possible; do we not?

Al. Certainly, we do.

Soc. In what sort of virtue?

Al. Plainly, in the virtue of good men.

Soc. Who are good in what?

Al. Those, clearly, who are good in the management of affairs.

Soc. What sort of affairs? Equestrian affairs?

Al. Certainly not.

Soc. You mean that for them we should have recourse to horsemen?

Al. Yes.

Soc. Well; naval affairs?

Al. No.

Soc. You mean that we should have recourse to sailors for them?

Al. Yes.

Soc. Then what affairs? And who do them?

Al. The affairs which occupy Athenian gentlemen.

Soc. And when you speak of gentlemen, do you mean the wise or the unwise? 125

Al. The wise.

Soc. And a man is good in respect of that in which he is wise?

Al. Yes.

Soc. And evil in respect of that in which he is unwise?

Al. Certainly.

Soc. The shoemaker, for example, is wise in respect of the making of shoes?

Al. Yes.

Soc. Then in that he is good?

Al. He is.

Soc. But in respect of the making of garments he is unwise

Al. Yes.

Soc. Then in that he is bad?

Al. Yes.

Soc. Then upon this view of the matter the same man is good and also bad?

Al. True.

Soc. But would you say that the good are the same as the bad?

Al. Certainly not.

Soc. Then whom do you call the good?

Al. I mean by the good those who are able to rule in the city.

Soc. Not, surely, over horses?

Al. Certainly not.

Soc. But over men?

Al. Yes.

Soc. When they are sick?

Al. No.

Soc. Or on a voyage?

Al. No.

Soc. Or reaping the harvest?

Al. No.

Soc. When they are doing something or nothing?

Al. When they are doing something, I should say.

Soc. I wish that you would explain to me what that is.

Al. When they are engaged in having dealings with one another, and in using one another's services, as is the way of our city life.

Soc. Those of whom you speak are ruling over men who are using the services of other men?

Al. Yes.

Soc. Are they ruling over the signal-men who use the services of the rowers?

Al. No; they are not.

Soc. That would be the office of the pilot?

Al. Yes.

Soc. But, perhaps you mean that they rule over flute-players, who lead the singers and use the services of the dancers?

Al. Certainly not.

Soc. That would be the business of the teacher of the chorus?

Al. Yes.

Soc. Then what is the meaning of being able to rule over men who use other men?

Al. I mean that they rule over men who have common rights of citizenship, and dealings with one another.

Soc. And what sort of an art is this? Suppose that I were to ask you again, as I did just now, What art makes men know how to rule over their fellow-sailors?

Al. The art of the pilot.

Soc. And, if I may recur to another old instance, what art enables them to rule over their fellow-singers?

Al. The art of the teacher of the chorus, which you were just now mentioning.

Soc. And what do you call the art of fellow-citizens?

Al. I should say, good counsel, Socrates.

Soc. And is the art of the pilot evil counsel?

Al. No.

Soc. But good counsel?

Al. Yes, that is what I should say, — good counsel, of which the aim is the preservation of the voyagers. 126

Soc. True. And what is the aim of that other good counsel of which you speak?

Al. The aim is the better order and preservation of the city.

Soc. And what is that of which the absence or presence improves and preserves the order of the city? Suppose you were to ask me, what is that of which the presence or absence improves or preserves the order of the body? I should reply, the presence of health and the absence of disease. You would agree to that?

Al. Yes.

Soc. And if you were to ask me the same question about the eyes, I should reply in the same way, "The presence of sight and the absence of blindness;" or about the ears, I should reply, that they were improved and were in better case, when deafness was absent, and hearing was present in them?

Al. True.

Soc. And what would you say of a state? What is that by the presence or absence of which the state is improved and better managed and ordered?

Al. I should say, Socrates, that this was the presence of friendship and the absence of hatred and division.

Soc. And do you mean by friendship agreement or disagreement?

Al. Agreement.

Soc. What art makes cities agree about numbers?

Al. Arithmetic.

Soc. And private individuals?

Al. The same.

Soc. And what art makes each individual agree with himself?

Al. The same.

Soc. And what art makes each of us agree with himself about the comparative length of the span and of the cubit? Does not the art of measure?

Al. Yes.

Soc. Individuals and states are equally agreed about this?

Al. Yes.

Soc. And the same holds of the balance?

Al. True.

Soc. But what is that agreement of which you speak, and about what? what art can give that agreement? And does that which gives it to the state give it also to the individual, so as to make him consistent with himself and with another?

Al. I should suppose so.

Soc. But what is the nature of this agreement? answer, and faint not.

Al. I mean to say that there should be such friendship and agreement as exists between an affectionate father and mother and their son, or between brothers, or between husband and wife.

Soc. But can a man, Alcibiades, agree with a woman about the spinning of wool, which she understands and he does not?

Al. No, truly.

Soc. Nor has he any need, for this is a female accomplishment.

Al. Yes.

Soc. And would a woman agree with a man about the science of arms, which she has never learned?

127 *Al.* Certainly not.

Soc. I suppose that this you would rather regard as a male accomplishment?

Al. I should.

Soc. Then, upon your view, women and men have two sorts of knowledge?

Al. Certainly.

Soc. Then in their knowledge there is no agreement of women and men?

Al. There is not.

Soc. Nor can there be friendship, if friendship is agreement?

Al. Plainly not.

Soc. Then women are not loved by men when they do their own work?

Al. I suppose not.

Soc. Nor men by women when they do their own work?

Al. No.

Soc. Nor are states well administered, when individuals do their own work?

Al. I should rather think, Socrates, that the reverse is the truth.

Soc. What! do you mean to say that states are well administered when friendship is absent, the presence of which, as we were saying, alone secures their good order?

Al. But I should say that there is friendship among them, for this very reason, that the two parties respectively do their own work.

Soc. That was not what you were saying just now; and what do you mean by affirming that friendship exists when there is no agreement? Can there be agreement about matters which the one party knows, and of which the other is in ignorance?

Al. Impossible.

Soc. And when individuals are doing their own work, are they doing what is just or unjust?

Al. What is just, certainly.

Soc. And when individuals do what is just in the state, is there no friendship among them?

Al. I suppose that there must be, Socrates.

Soc. Then what do you mean by this friendship or agreement about which we must be wise and discreet in order that we may be good men? I cannot make out where it exists or among whom; according to you, the same persons may sometimes have it, and sometimes not.

Al. But, indeed, Socrates, I do not know what I am saying and I have long been, unconsciously to myself, in a most reprehensible condition.

Soc. Nevertheless, cheer up; at fifty, if you had discovered your deficiency, you would have been too old, and the time for

taking care of yourself would have passed away, but yours is just the age at which the discovery should be made.

Al. And what should he do, Socrates, who would make the discovery?

Soc. Answer questions, Alcibiades; and that is a process which, by the grace of God, if I may put any faith in my oracle, will be very improving to both of us.

Al. If I can be improved by answering, I will answer.

128 *Soc.* And first of all, that we may not be deceived by appearance, fancying, perhaps, that we are taking care of ourselves when we are not, what is the meaning of a man taking care of himself? and when does he take care? Does he not take care of himself when he takes care of what belongs to him?

Al. I should think so.

Soc. When does a man take care of his feet? Does he not take care of them when he takes care of that which belongs to his feet?

Al. I do not understand.

Soc. Let me take the hand as an illustration; does not a ring belong to the finger, and to the finger only?

Al. Yes.

Soc. And the shoe in like manner to the foot?

Al. Yes.

Soc. And when we take care of our shoes, do we not take care of our feet?

Al. I do not comprehend, Socrates.

Soc. But you acknowledge, Alcibiades, that there is such a thing as taking care?

Al. Yes.

Soc. And taking proper care means improving?

Al. Yes.

Soc. And what is the art which improves our shoes?

Al. Shoemaking.

Soc. Then by shoemaking we take care of our shoes?

Al. Yes.

Soc. And do we by shoemaking take care of our feet, or by some other art which improves the feet?

Al. By some other art.

Soc. And the same art improves the feet which improves the rest of the body?

Al. Very true.

Soc. And that is gymnastic?

Al. Certainly.

Soc. Then by gymnastic we take care of our feet, and by shoemaking of that which belongs to our feet?

Al. Very true.

Soc. And by gymnastic we take care of our hands, and by the art of graving rings of that which belongs to our hands?

Al. Yes.

Soc. And by gymnastic we take care of the body, and by the art of weaving and the other arts we take care of the things of the body?

Al. Clearly.

Soc. Then the art which takes care of each thing is different from that which takes care of the belongings of each thing?

Al. True.

Soc. Then in taking care of what belongs to you, you do not take care of yourself?

Al. Certainly not.

Soc. For the art which takes care of our belongings appears not to be the same as that which takes care of ourselves?

Al. Clearly not.

Soc. And now let me ask you what is the art with which we take care of ourselves?

Al. I cannot say.

Soc. At any rate, thus much has been admitted, that the art is not one which makes any of our belongings, but which makes ourselves better?

Al. True.

Soc. But should we ever have known what art makes a shoe better, if we did not know a shoe?

Al. Impossible.

Soc. Nor should we know what art makes a ring better, if we did not know a ring?

Al. That is true.

Soc. And can we ever know what art makes a man better, if we do not know what we are ourselves?

Al. Impossible. 129

Soc. And is self-knowledge an easy thing, and was he to be lightly esteemed who inscribed the text on the temple at Delphi? Or is self-knowledge a difficult thing, which few are able to attain?

Al. At times, I fancy, Socrates, that anybody can know himself; at other times, the task appears to be very difficult.

Soc. But whether easy or difficult, Alcibiades, still there is no other way; knowing what we are, we shall know how to take care of ourselves, and if we are ignorant we shall not know.

Al. That is true.

Soc. Well, then, let us see in what way the self-existent can be discovered by us; that will give us a chance of discovering our own existence, which without that we can never know.

Al. You say truly.

Soc. Come, now, I beseech you, tell me with whom you are conversing? — with whom but with me?

Al. Yes.

Soc. As I am with you?

Al. Yes.

Soc. That is to say, I, Socrates, am talking?

Al. Yes.

Soc. And I in talking use words?

Al. Certainly.

Soc. And talking and using words are, as you would say, the same?

Al. Very true.

Soc. And the user is not the same as the thing which he uses?

Al. What do you mean?

Soc. I will explain: the shoemaker, for example, uses a square tool, and a circular tool, and other tools for cutting?

Al. Yes.

Soc. But the tool is not the same as the cutter and user of the tool?

Al. Of course not.

Soc. And in the same way the instrument of the harper is to be distinguished from the harper himself?

Al. He is.

Soc. Now the question which I asked was whether you conceive the user to be always different from that which he uses?

Al. I do.

Soc. Then what shall we say of the shoemaker? Does he cut with his tools only or with his hands?

Al. With his hands as well.

Soc. He uses his hands too?

Al. Yes.

Soc. And does he use his eyes in cutting leather?

Al. He does.

Soc. And we admit that the user is not the same with the things which he uses?

Al. Yes.

Soc. Then the shoemaker and the harper are to be distinguished from the hands and feet which they use?

Al. That is clear.

Soc. And does not a man use the whole body?

Al. Certainly.

Soc. And that which uses is different from that which is used?

Al. True.

Soc. Then a man is not the same as his own body?

Al. That is the inference.

Soc. What is he, then?

Al. I cannot say.

Soc. Nay, you can say that he is the user of the body.

Al. Yes.

Soc. And the user of the body is the soul?

Al. Yes, the soul. 130

Soc. And the soul rules?

Al. Yes.

Soc. Let me make an assertion which will, I think, be universally admitted.

Al. What is that?

Soc. That man is one of three things.

Al. What are they?

Soc. Soul, body, or the union of the two.

Al. Certainly.

Soc. But did we not say that the actual ruling principle of the body is man?

Al. Yes, we did.

Soc. And does the body rule over itself?

Al. Certainly not.

Soc. It is subject, as we were saying?

Al. Yes.

Soc. Then that is not what we are seeking?

Al. It would seem not.

Soc. But may we say that the union of the two rules over the body, and consequently that this is man?

Al. Very likely.

Soc. The most unlikely of all things; for if one of the members is subject, the two united cannot possibly rule.

Al. True.

Soc. But since neither the body, nor the union of the two, is man, either man has no real existence, or the soul is man?

Al. Just so.

Soc. Would you have a more precise proof that the soul is man?

Al. No; I think that the proof is sufficient.

Soc. If the proof, although not quite precise, is fair, that is enough for us; more precise proof will be supplied when we have discovered that which we were led to omit, from a fear that the inquiry would be too much protracted.

Al. What was that?

Soc. What I meant, when I said that absolute existence must be first considered; but now, instead of absolute existence, we have been considering the nature of individual existence, and that may be sufficient; for surely there is nothing belonging to us which has more absolute existence than the soul?

Al. There is nothing.

Soc. Then we may truly conceive that you and I are conversing with one another, soul to soul?

Al. Very true.

Soc. And that is just what I was saying — that I, Socrates, am not arguing or talking with the face of Alcibiades, but with the real Alcibiades; and that is with his soul.

Al. True.

Soc. Then he who bids a man know himself, would have him know his soul?

Al. That appears to be true.

131 *Soc.* He, then, whose knowledge only extends to the body, knows the things of a man, and not the man himself?

Al. That is true.

Soc. Then neither the physician regarded as a physician, nor the trainer regarded as a trainer, knows himself?

Al. He does not.

Soc. Then the husbandmen and the other craftsmen are very far from knowing themselves, for they would seem not even to know their own belongings? When regarded in relation to the arts which they practice they are even further removed, for they only know the belongings of the body, which minister to the body.

Al. That is true.

Soc. Then if temperance is the knowledge of self, in respect of his art, none of them is temperate?

Al. I agree.

Soc. And this is the reason why their arts are accounted vulgar, and are not such as a good man would practice?

Al. Quite true.

Soc. Again, he who cherishes his body cherishes not himself, but what belongs to him?

Al. That is true.

Soc. But he who cherishes his money, cherishes neither himself nor his belongings, but is in a stage yet further removed from himself?

Al. I agree.

Soc. Then the money-maker has really ceased to be occupied with his own concerns?

Al. True.

Soc. And if any one has fallen in love with the person of Alcibiades, he loves not Alcibiades, but the belongings of Alcibiades?

Al. True.

Soc. But he who loves your soul is the true lover?

Al. That is the necessary inference.

Soc. The lover of the body goes away when the flower of youth fades?

Al. True.

Soc. But he who loves the soul goes not away, as long as the soul follows after virtue?

Al. Yes.

Soc. And I am the lover who goes not away, but remains with you, when you are no longer young and the rest are gone?

Al. Yes, Socrates; and in that you do well, and I hope that you will remain.

Soc. Then you must try to look your best.

Al. I will.

Soc. The fact is, that there is only one lover of Alcibiades the son of Cleinias; there neither is, nor ever has been, as appears, any other; and this only darling in whom he rejoices is Socrates the son of Sophroniscus and Phaenarete.

Al. True.

Soc. And did you not say, that if I had not spoken first, you were on the point of coming to me, and inquiring why I only remained?

Al. That was true.

Soc. The reason was that I only love you, whereas other

men love what belongs to you; and your beauty, which is not
132 you, is fading away, just as your true self is beginning to bloom. And I will never desert you, if you are not spoiled and deformed by the Athenian people; for the danger which I most fear is that you will become a lover of the people and be spoiled by them. Many a noble Athenian has been ruined in this way. For the demus of the great-hearted Erechtheus is of a fair countenance, but you should see them naked; wherefore, be cautious, as I bid you.

Al. How cautious?

Soc. Practice yourself, sweet friend, in learning what you ought to know, before you enter on politics; this knowledge will be an antidote and safeguard against the danger.

Al. That is good advice, Socrates; but I wish you would explain to me in what way I am to take care of myself.

Soc. At any rate, we are tolerably well agreed as to what we are; and to this extent an advance has been made — there is no longer any danger, as we once feared, that we might be taking care, not of ourselves, but of something which is not ourselves.

Al. That is true.

Soc. And our first duty will be to take care of the soul, and look to that?

Al. Certainly.

Soc. Leaving the care of our bodies and of our properties to others?

Al. Very good.

Soc. But how can we have a perfect knowledge of the things of the soul? For if we know them, the inference is that we shall know ourselves? Can we really be ignorant of the excellent meaning of the Delphian inscription, of which we were just now speaking?

Al. What have you in your thoughts, Socrates?

Soc. I will tell you what I suspect to be the meaning and lesson of that inscription. Let me take an illustration from sight, which I imagine to be the only one suitable to my purpose.

Al. What do you mean?

Soc. Consider; if some one were to say to the eye, "See thyself," as you might say to a man, "Know thyself," what is the nature and meaning of this precept? Would not his meaning be: That the eye should look at that in which it would see itself?

Al. Clearly.

Soc. And what is the object in looking at which, we see ourselves?

Al. Clearly, Socrates, in looking at mirrors and the like.

Soc. Very true; and is there not something of the nature of a mirror in our own eyes?

Al. Certainly.

Soc. Did you ever observe that the face of the person looking into the eye of another is reflected in the visual organ which is over against him, and which is called the pupil, as in a mirror — there is a sort of image of the person looking? 133

Al. That is quite true.

Soc. Then the eye looking at another eye, and at that in the eye which is most perfect, and which is the instrument of vision, will there see itself?

Al. That is evident.

Soc. But looking at anything else in man or in existence, and not to that which is like, it will not see itself?

Al. That is true.

Soc. Then if the eye is to see itself, it must look at the eye, and at that part of the eye in which the virtue of the eye resides; and this, I suppose, is sight?

Al. True.

Soc. And if the soul, my dear Alcibiades, is ever to know herself, must she not look at the soul; and especially at that part of the soul in which her virtue resides, and which is like herself?

Al. I agree, Socrates.

Soc. And do we know of any part of our souls more divine than that which has to do with wisdom and knowledge?

Al. There is none.

Soc. Then this is that part of the soul which resembles the divine, and he who looks at this and knows all that is divine, will be most likely to know himself?

Al. That is plain.

Soc. And self-knowledge we acknowledge to be wisdom?

Al. True.

Soc. And if we have no self-knowledge and no wisdom, can we ever know our own good and evil?

Al. How is that possible, Socrates?

Soc. You mean, that if you did not know, Alcibiades, there would be no possibility of your knowing that what belonged to Alcibiades was really his?

Al. That would indeed be impossible.

Soc. Nor should we know that we were the persons to whom anything belonged, if we did not know ourselves?

Al. How could we?

Soc. And if we did not know our own belongings, neither should we know the belongings of our belongings?

Al. Clearly not.

Soc. Then we were not altogether right in acknowledging just now that a man may know what belongs to him and yet not know himself; nay, rather he cannot even know the belongings of his belongings; for the discernment of the things of self, and of the things which belong to the things of self, appear all to be the business of the same man, and of the same art.

Al. That is to be supposed.

Soc. And he who knows not the things that belong to himself, will in like manner be ignorant of the things which belong to others?

Al. Very true.

Soc. And if he knows not the affairs of others, he will not know the affairs of states?

Al. Certainly not.

Soc. Then such a man can never be a statesman?

Al. He cannot.

Soc. Nor an economist?

Al. He cannot.

Soc. He will not know what he is doing?

184 *Al.* He will not.

Soc. And will not he who is ignorant fall into error?

Al. Assuredly.

Soc. And if he errs, he will fail both in his public and private capacity?

Al. Yes, indeed.

Soc. And failing, will he not be miserable?

Al. Very.

Soc. And what will become of those for whom he is acting?

Al. They will be miserable also.

Soc. Then he who is not wise and good cannot be happy?

Al. He cannot.

Soc. The bad, then, are miserable?

Al. Yes, very.

Soc. And not he who has riches, but he who has wisdom, is delivered from his misery?

Al. Clearly.

Soc. Cities, then, if they are to be happy, do not want walls, or triremes, or docks, or numbers, or size, Alcibiades, if they have no virtue?

Al. Indeed they do not.

Soc. And you must give the citizens virtue, if you mean to administer their affairs rightly or nobly?

Al. Certainly.

Soc. But can a man give that which he has not?

Al. Certainly not.

Soc. Then you or any one who means to govern and superintend, not only himself and the things of himself, but the state and the things of the state, must in the first place acquire virtue?

Al. That is true.

Soc. You have not therefore to acquire power or authority, in order to enable you to do what you wish for yourself and the state, but justice and wisdom?

Al. That is true.

Soc. You and the state, if you do wisely and justly, will do according to the will of God?

Al. That may be supposed.

Soc. As I was saying before, you will look only at what is bright and divine, and act with a view to them.

Al. Yes.

Soc. In that mirror you will see and know yourselves and your own good.

Al. Yes.

Soc. In which case, I will be security for your happiness.

Al. I accept the security.

Soc. But if you act unrighteously, your eye will turn to the dark and godless, and being in darkness and ignorance of yourselves, you will do deeds of darkness, as is probable.

Al. That is likely.

Soc. For if a man, my dear Alcibiades, has the power to do what he likes, but has no understanding, what is likely to be the result, either to him as an individual or to the state? For example, if he be sick and is able to do what he likes, not having the mind of a physician — having moreover tyrannical power, and no one daring to reprove him, what will happen to him? Will he not be likely to have his constitution ruined? 135

Al. That is true.

Soc. Or again, in a ship, if a man having the power to do what he likes, has no intelligence or skill in navigation, do you see what will happen to him and to his fellow-sailors?

Al. Yes; I see that they will all perish.

Soc. And in like manner, in a state, and where there is any power and authority which is wanting in virtue, will not the result be the same?

Al. Certainly.

Soc. Not tyrannical sway, then, my good Alcibiades, should be the aim either of individuals or states, if they would be happy, but virtue.

Al. That is true.

Soc. And before they have virtue, to be commanded by their betters, is better for men as well as for children?

Al. That is evident.

Soc. And that which is better is also nobler?

Al. True.

Soc. And what is nobler is more becoming?

Al. Certainly.

Soc. Then to the bad man slavery is more becoming, because better?

Al. True.

Soc. Then vice is slavish?

Al. Yes.

Soc. And virtue is the attribute of a freeman?

Al. Yes.

Soc. And, O my friend, is not slavery to be avoided?

Al. Certainly, Socrates.

Soc. And are you now conscious of your own state? And do you know whether you are a freeman or not?

Al. I think that I am very conscious indeed of my own state.

Soc. And do you know how to escape out of a state which I do not even like to name to my beauty?

Al. Yes, I do.

Soc. How?

Al. By your help, Socrates.

Soc. That is not well said, Alcibiades.

Al. What ought I to have said?

Soc. By the help of God

Al. I agree; and I further say, that our relations are likely

to be reversed. From this day forward, I must and will follow you as you have followed me; I will be the disciple, and you shall be my master.

Soc. O that is rare! Like the stork, then, my love will be cherished in turn by the winged love which I have hatched.

Al. Strange, but true; and henceforward I shall begin to think about justice.

Soc. And I hope that you will persist; although I have fears, not from any special distrust of your nature, but when I see the power of the state, which may be too much both for you and me.

MENEXENUS.

INTRODUCTION.

THE Menexenus has more the character of a rhetorical exercise than any other of the Platonic works. The writer seems to have wished to emulate Thucydides, and the far slighter work of Lysias. In his rivalry with the latter, to whom in the Phaedrus Plato shows a strong antipathy, he is entirely successful, but he is not equal to Thucydides. The Menexenus, though not without real Hellenic interest, falls very far short of the rugged grandeur and political insight of the great historian. The fiction of the speech having been invented by Aspasia, is well sustained, and is in the manner of Plato; notwithstanding the anachronism which puts into her mouth an allusion to the peace of Antalcidas, an event occurring forty years after the date of the supposed oration. But Plato, like Shakespeare, is careless of such anachronisms, which are not supposed to strike the mind of the reader. The effect produced by these grandiloquent orations on Socrates, who does not recover after having heard one of them for three days and more, is truly Platonic.

Such discourses, if we may form a judgment from the three which are extant (for the so-called Funeral Oration of Demosthenes is a bad and spurious imitation of Thucydides and Lysias), conformed to a regular type. They began with gods and ancestors, and the legendary history of Athens, to which succeeded an almost equally fictitious account of later times. The Persian War usually formed the centre of the narrative; in the age of Isocrates and Demosthenes the Athenians were still living on the glories of Marathon and Salamis. The Menexenus casts a veil over the weak places of Athenian history. The war of Athens and Boeotia is a war of liberation; the Athenians gave back the Spartans taken at Sphacteria out of kindness — indeed, the only fault of the city was too great kindness — their enemies were more honored than the friends of others (cp. Thucyd. ii. 41, which seems to contain the germ of the idea); we democrats are the true aristocracy of virtue. These are the platitudes and falsehoods in which Athenian history is disguised.

The author of the Menexenus, whether Plato or not, is evidently intending to ridicule the practice, and at the same time to show that

he can beat the rhetoricians in their own line, as in the Phaedrus he may be supposed to offer an example of what Lysias might have said, and of how much better he might have written in his own style. The orators had recourse to their favorite *loci communes*, one of which, as we find in Lysias, was the shortness of the time allowed them for preparation. But Socrates points out that they had them always ready for delivery, and that there was no difficulty in improvising any number of such orations. To praise the Athenians among the Athenians was easy — to praise them among the Lacedaemonians would have been a much more difficult task. Socrates himself has turned rhetorician, having learned of a woman, Aspasia, the mistress of Pericles; and any one who had had far inferior teachers to him — say, one who had learned from Antiphon the Rhamnusian — would be quite equal to the task of praising men to themselves. When we remember that Antiphon is described by Thucydides as the best pleader of his day, the satire on him and on the whole tribe of rhetoricians is transparent.

The ironical assumption of Socrates, that he must be a good orator because he had learnt of Aspasia, is not coarse, as Schleiermacher supposes, but is rather to be regarded as fanciful. Nor can we say that the offer of Socrates to dance naked out of love for Menexenus, is any more unPlatonic than the threat of physical force which Phaedrus uses towards Socrates. Nor is there any real vulgarity in the fear which Socrates expresses that he will get a beating from his mistress, Aspasia: this is the natural exaggeration of what might be expected from an imperious woman. Socrates is not to be taken seriously in all that he says, and Plato, both in the Symposium and elsewhere, is not slow to admit a sort of Aristophanic humor. How a great original genius like Plato might or might not have written, what was his conception of humor, or what limits he would have prescribed to himself, if any, in drawing the picture of the Silenus Socrates, are problems which no critical instinct can determine.

On the other hand, the Dialogue has several Platonic traits, whether original or imitated may be uncertain. The impossibility of Socrates making a speech of his own composition accords with his declaration that he knows nothing. Thus in the Cratylus he is run away with; in the Phaedrus he has heard somebody say something; he is inspired by the *genius loci*, and the like. But he does not impose on Menexenus by his dissimulation. The character of Socrates is maintained; but Plato, who knows so well how to give a hint, intimates clearly enough that both speeches are to be attributed to Socrates. The address of the dead to the living at the end of the oration may be compared to the numerous addresses of the same kind which occur in Plato, in whom the dramatic element is always tending to prevail over the rhetorical. The remark has been often made, that in the Funeral Oration of Thucydides there is no allusion

to the existence of the dead. But in the Menexenus a future state is clearly, although not strongly, asserted.

Whether the Menexenus is a mere imitation of Plato or an original work, remains uncertain; in either case, the thoughts appear to be partly borrowed from the Funeral Oration of Thucydides. Internal evidence seems to leave the question of authorship in doubt. There are merits and there are defects which might or might not be ascribed to Plato. The form of the work makes the inquiry difficult; the introduction and the finale wear the look either of Plato or of a skillful imitator of Plato. In this uncertainty, the express testimony of Aristotle, who quotes, in the Rhetoric,[1] the well-known words, "It is easy to praise the Athenians among the Athenians," from the Funeral Oration, may perhaps turn the balance in its favor. It must be remembered also that the work was famous in antiquity, and is included in the Alexandrian catalogues of Platonic writings.

[1] i. 9, 30; iii. 14, 11.

MENEXENUS.

PERSONS OF THE DIALOGUE.

SOCRATES AND MENEXENUS.

Soc. WHENCE come you, Menexenus? Are you from the agora? 234

Menexenus. Yes, Socrates; I have been at the council.

Soc. And what might you be doing at the council? And yet I need hardly ask, for I see that you believe yourself to have arrived at the end of education and of philosophy. You think that you have had enough of them, and, being now grown up, are going higher, and intend to govern us old men like the rest of your family, which has always provided some one who kindly took care of us.

Men. Yes, Socrates, I shall be ready to hold office, if you allow and advise that I should, but not if you think otherwise. I went to the council chamber because I heard that the council was about to choose some one who was to speak over the dead. For you know that there is to be a public funeral?

Soc. Yes, I know that. And whom did they choose?

Men. No one; they delayed the election until to-morrow, but I believe that either Aeschines or Dion will be chosen.

Soc. O Menexenus! death in battle is certainly in many respects a noble thing. The dead man gets a fine and costly funeral, although he may have been poor, and a speech is made over him by a wise man who weighs his words, and has long ago prepared what he has to say, although he who is praised may not have been good for much. The speakers praise him for what he has done and for what he has not done — that is the beauty of them — and they steal away our souls with their

235 embellished words; in every conceivable form they praise the city; and they praise those who died in the war, and all our ancestors who went before us; and they praise ourselves also who are still alive, until I feel quite elevated by their laudations, and I stand listening to their words, Menexenus, and become enchanted by them, and all of a sudden I imagine myself to have grown up into a greater and nobler and finer man than I was before. And if, as often happens, there are any foreigners who accompany me to the speech, I become suddenly conscious of having a sort of exaltation over them, and they seem to experience a corresponding feeling of admiration at me, and at the greatness of the city, which appears to them, when they are under the influence of the speaker, more wonderful than ever. This consciousness of dignity lasts me more than three days, and not until the fourth or fifth day do I come to my senses and know where I am; in the mean time I fancy that I am living in the Islands of the Blest. Such is the art of our rhetoricians, and in such manner does the sound of their words keep ringing in our ears.

Men. You are always making fun of the rhetoricians, Socrates; this time, however, I am inclined to think that the speaker who is chosen will not have much to say, for the choice has been quite sudden, and he will be compelled almost to improvise.

Soc. But why, my friend, should he not have plenty to say? Every rhetorician has speeches ready made; nor is there any difficulty in improvising that sort of stuff. Had the orator to praise Athenians among Peloponnesians, or Peloponnesians among Athenians, he must be a good rhetorician who could succeed and gain credit. But there is no difficulty in a man's winning applause when he is contending for fame among the persons who are being praised.

Men. Do you think not, Socrates?

Soc. Indeed "not."

Men. Do you think that you could speak yourself if there was a necessity, and if the council was to choose you?

Soc. That I should be able to speak is no great wonder, Menexenus, considering that I had an excellent mistress in the art of rhetoric; she who made so many good speakers, and one who was the best among all Hellenes — Pericles the son of Xanthippus.

Men And who was she? I suppose that you mean Aspasia.

Soc. Yes, that I do; and I had also Connus the son of Metrobius, as a master, and he was my master in music, as she was in rhetoric. No wonder that a man who has received such an education should be a finished speaker; even the pupil of very inferior masters, say, for example, one who had learned music of Lamprus, and rhetoric of Antiphon the Rhamnusian, might make a figure if he were to praise the Athenians among the Athenians. 236

Men. And what would you be able to say if you had to speak?

Soc. Of my own wit, most likely nothing; but yesterday I heard Aspasia composing a funeral oration about these very dead. For she had been told, as you were saying, that the Athenians were going to choose a speaker, and she repeated to me the sort of speech which he should deliver, partly improvising and partly from previous thought, putting together fragments of the funeral oration which Pericles spoke, and, I believe, she composed.

Men. And can you remember what Aspasia said?

Soc. I ought to be able, for she taught me, and I was all but beaten because I had a bad memory.

Men. Then why will you not rehearse what she said?

Soc. Because I am afraid that my mistress may be angry with me if I publish her speech.

Men. Nay, Socrates, let us have the speech, whether Aspasia's or any one else's, no matter about that. I hope that you will oblige me.

Soc. But I am afraid that you will laugh at me if I continue the games of youth in old age.

Men. Far otherwise, Socrates: let us by all means have the speech.

Soc. Truly I have such a disposition to oblige you, that if you bid me dance naked I should not like to refuse, since we are alone. Listen, then. If I remember rightly, she began as follows, with the mention of the dead: —

There is a tribute of deeds and of words. The departed have already had the first, when going forth on their destined journey they were attended on their way by the state and by their friends; the tribute of words remains to be given to them, as is meet and by law ordained. For noble words are a memory and crown of noble actions, which is given to the doers of them by the hearers. A word is needed which will duly

praise the dead and gently admonish the living, exhorting the brethren and descendants of the departed to imitate their virtue, and consoling their fathers and mothers and the survivors, if any, who may chance to be alive of the previous genera-
237 tion. What sort of a word will this be, and how shall we rightly begin the praises of these brave men? In their life they rejoiced their own friends with their virtue, and their death they gave in exchange for the salvation of the living. And I think that we should praise them in the order in which nature made them good, for they were good because they were sprung from good fathers. Wherefore let us first of all praise the goodness of their birth; secondly, their nurture and education; and then let us set forth how noble their actions were, and how worthy of the education which they had received.

And first as to their birth. Their ancestors were not strangers, nor are these their descendants sojourners only, whose fathers have come from another country; but they are the children of the soil, dwelling and living in their own land. And the country which brought them up is not like other countries, a step-mother to her children, but their own true mother; she bore them and nourished them and received them, and in her bosom they now repose. It is meet and right, therefore, that we should begin by praising the land which is their mother, and that will be a way of praising their noble birth.

The country is worthy to be praised, not only by us, but by all mankind; first, and above all, as being dear to the gods. This is proved by the strife and contention of the gods respecting her. And ought not that country which the gods praise to be praised by all mankind? The second praise which may be fairly claimed by her, is that at the time when the whole earth was sending forth and creating diverse animals, tame and wild, this our mother was free and pure from savage monsters, and out of all animals selected and brought forth man, who is superior to the rest in understanding, and alone has justice and religion. And a great proof that she was the mother of us and of our ancestors, is that she provided the means of support for her offspring. For as a woman proves her motherhood by giving milk to her young ones (and she who has no fountain of milk is not a mother), so did this our land prove that she was going to be the mother of men, for in those days she alone and
238 first of all brought forth wheat and barley for human food, which is the best and noblest sustenance for man

whom she regarded as her true offspring. And these are truer proofs of motherhood in a country than in a woman, for the woman in her conception and generation is but the imitation of the earth, and not the earth of the woman. And of the fruit of the earth she gave a plenteous supply, not only to her off spring, but to others also; and after that she made the olive to spring up as a boon to their descendants, and to be the help of their toils. And when she had herself nursed them and brought them up to manhood, she gave them gods to be their rulers and teachers. Their names are known, and need not now be repeated; they are the gods who first ordered our lives, and taught us the arts of daily existence, and the possession and use of arms for the guardianship of the country.

Thus born into the world and thus educated, the ancestors of the departed lived and made themselves a government, which I ought briefly to commemorate. For government is the nurture of man, and the government of good men is good, and of bad men bad. And I must show that our ancestors were trained under a good government, and for this reason were good, as our contemporaries are good, among whom our departed friends are to be reckoned. Then as now, and indeed always, from that time to this, speaking generally, our government was an aristocracy — a form of government which receives various names, according to the fancies of men, and is sometimes called democracy, being really an aristocracy of the many who love virtue. For kings we have always had, once hereditary and now elected, and authority is mostly in the hands of the people, who dispense offices and power to those who appear to be most deserving of them. Neither is a man rejected from weakness or poverty or obscurity of origin, nor honored by reason of the opposite, as in other states, but there is one principle — he who appears to be wise and good is a governor and ruler. The basis of this our government is equality of birth; for other states are made up of all sorts and unequal conditions of men, and therefore their governments are unequal; there are tyrannies and there are oligarchies, in which the one party are slaves and the others masters. But we and our citizens are brethren, the children all of one mother, and we do not claim to be one 239
another's masters or servants; but the natural equality of birth compels us to seek for legal equality, and to recognize no superiority except in the reputation of virtue and wisdom.

And so their and our fathers, and these, too, our brethren,

having been brought up in all freedom, and nobly born, did both in their public and private capacity many noble deeds famous over the whole world. They were the deeds of men who thought that they ought to fight both against Hellenes for the sake of Hellenes and on behalf of freedom, and against barbarians in the common interest of Hellas. The time would fail me to tell of their defense of their country against the invasion of Eumolpus and the Amazons, or of their defense of the Argives against the Cadmeians, or of the Heraclids against the Argives; besides, the poets have already declared in song their glory to all mankind, and therefore any commemoration of them in prose which we might attempt would hold a second place. They have their reward, and I say no more of them; but there are other worthy deeds of which no poet has worthily sung, and which are still wooing the poet's favor. Of these I am bound to make honorable mention, and shall invoke others to sing of them also in lyric and other strains, in a manner worthy of the actors. And first I will tell how the Persians, lords of Asia, were enslaving Europe, and how the children of this land, who were our fathers, held them back. Of these I will speak first, and praise their valor, as is meet and fitting. He who would rightly estimate them should place himself in thought at that time, when the whole of Asia was subject to the third king of Persia. The first king, Cyrus, by his valor freed the Persians, who were his countrymen, and subjected the Medes, who were their lords, and he ruled over the rest of Asia, as far as Egypt; and after him came his son, who ruled all the accessible part of Egypt and Libya; the third king was Darius, who extended the land boundaries of the empire to Scythia, and with
240 his fleet held the sea and the islands. None presumed to be his equal; the minds of all men were enthralled by him —so many and mighty and warlike nations had the power of Persia subdued. Now Darius had a quarrel against us and the Eretrians, because, as he said, we had conspired against Sardis, and he sent 500,000 men in transports and vessels of war, and 300 ships, and Datis as commander, telling him to bring the Eretrians and Athenians to the king, if he wished to keep his head on his shoulders. They sailed against the Eretrians, who were reputed to be amongst the noblest and most warlike of the Hellenes of that day, and they were numerous, but he conquered them all in three days; and when he had conquered them, in order that no one might escape, he searched the whole

country after this manner: his soldiers, coming to the borders of Eretria and spreading from sea to sea, joined hands and passed through the whole country, in order that they might be able to tell the king that no one had escaped them. And from Eretria they went to Marathon, expecting to bind the Athenians in the same yoke of necessity in which they had bound the Eretrians. Having effected one half of their purpose, they were in the act of attempting the other, and none of the Hellenes dared to assist either the Eretrians or the Athenians, except the Lacedaemonians, and they only came the day after the battle; but the rest were panic-stricken and remained quiet, happy that they had escaped for a time. He who has present to him that conflict, would know what manner of men they were who received the onset of the barbarians at Marathon, and chastened the pride of the whole of Asia, and by the victory which they gained over the barbarians first taught other men that the power of the Persians was not invincible, but that hosts of men and the multitude of riches alike yield to virtue. And I assert that those men are the fathers not only of ourselves, but of our liberties and of the liberties of all who are on the continent, for that was the action to which the Hellenes looked back when they ventured to fight for their own safety in the battles which followed: they became disciples of the men of Marathon. To them, therefore, I assign the first place in my speech, and the second to those who fought and conquered in the sea fights 241
at Salamis and Artemisium, for of them, too, one might have many things to say; of the assaults which they endured by sea and land, and how they repelled them. But I will mention that act of theirs only which appears to me to be the noblest, and which was next in order of succession to Marathon, for the men of Marathon only showed the Hellenes that it was possible to ward off the barbarians by land, the many by the few; but there was no proof that they could be defeated by ships, and at sea the Persians retained the reputation of being invincible in numbers and wealth and skill and strength. This is the glory of the men who fought at sea, that they dispelled the second fear which had hitherto possessed the Hellenes, and made the fear of numbers, whether of men or ships, to cease among them. This was the effect, and thus the soldiers of Marathon and the sailors of Salamis became the schoolmasters of Hellas; the one teaching and habituating the Hellenes not to fear the barbarians at sea, and the others by land. Third is

order, and third in the work of the salvation of Hellas, I place the battle of Plataea. And now the Athenians and Lacedaemonians shared in the struggle; all of them were united in this greatest and most terrible conflict of all, and for this their virtue will be celebrated in times to come, as they are now celebrated by us. But at a later period many Hellenic tribes were still on the side of the barbarians, and there was a report that the great king was going to make a new attempt upon the Hellenes, and therefore justice requires that we should also make mention of those who crowned the previous work of our salvation, and drove and purged away all barbarians from the sea. These were the men who fought by sea at the river Eurymedon, and who went on the expedition to Cyprus, and who sailed to Egypt and divers other places; and they should be gratefully remembered by us, because they compelled the king to look at home instead of plotting the destruction of Hellas.

242 And so this war against the barbarians was fought by the whole city on their own behalf, and on behalf of their countrymen, and brought to a conclusion. There was peace, and our city was held in honor; and then, as prosperity makes men jealous, there succeeded a jealousy of her, and jealousy begat envy, and so she became engaged against her will in a war with the Hellenes. On the breaking out of war, our citizens met the Lacedaemonians at Tanagra, and fought for the freedom of the Boeotians; the issue was doubtful, and was decided by the engagement which followed. For when the Lacedaemonians had gone on their way, leaving the Boeotians, whom they were aiding, on the third day after the battle at Tanagra, our countrymen conquered at Oenophyta, and righteously restored those who had been unrighteously exiled. And they were the first after the Persian War who fought on behalf of liberty in aid of Hellenes against Hellenes; they were brave men, and freed those whom they aided, and were the first, too, who were honorably interred in this sepulchre by the state After this there was a mighty war, in which all the Hellenes joined, and devastated our country, which was very ungrateful of them; and our countrymen, after defeating them in a naval engagement and taking their leaders, the Spartans, at Sphagia, when they might have destroyed them, spared their lives, and gave them back, and made peace, considering that they should war with their fellow-countrymen only until they gained a victory over them, and not because of the private anger of the

state destroy the common interest of Hellas; but that with barbarians they should war to the death. Worthy of praise are they, also, who waged this war, and are here interred, for they proved, if any one doubted the superior prowess of the Athenians in the former war with the barbarians, that their doubts had no foundation — showing by their victory in the civil war of Hellas, in which they subdued the other chief state of the Hellenes, that they could conquer single-handed those with whom they had been allied in the war against the barbarians. After the peace there followed a third war, which was of a terrible and desperate nature, and in this many brave men who are here interred lost their lives — many of them in Sicily, whither they had gone to fight over the seas for the liberties of the Leontines, to whom they were bound by oaths, and on whose behalf many trophies were raised by them; but, owing to the distance, the city was unable to help them, and they lost heart and came to misfortune, their very enemies and opponents winning more renown for virtue and temperance than the friends of others. Many also fell in naval engagements at the Hellespont, after having in one day taken all the ships of the enemy, and defeated them in other naval engagements. And what I call the terrible and desperate nature of this war, is that the other Hellenes, in their extreme animosity towards the city, should have entered into negotiations with their bitterest enemy, the king of Persia, whom they, together with us, had expelled; him, without us, they again brought back, barbarian against Hellenes, and all the hosts, both of Hellenes and barbarians, were united against Athens. And then shone forth the power and valor of this city. Her enemies had supposed that she was exhausted by the war, and her ships blockaded at Mitylene. But the citizens themselves embarked, and came to their rescue with sixty other ships, and their valor was confessed of all men, for they conquered their enemies and delivered their friends. And yet by some evil fortune they were left to perish at sea, and therefore are [1] not interred here. Ever to be remembered and honored are they, for by their valor not only that sea fight was won for us, but the entire war was decided by them, and through them the city gained the reputation of being invincible, even when attacked by all mankind. And that reputation was a true one, for the defeat which came upon us was our own doing. We were

243

[1] Reading οὐ κεῖνται.

never conquered by others, and to this day we are still uncon quered by them; but we were our own conquerors, and received defeat at our own hands. After this there was quiet and peace abroad, but there sprang up war at home; and, if men are destined to have civil war, no one could have desired that his city should have the disorder in a milder form. How joyful and natural was the reconciliation of those who came from the Piraeus and those who came from the city; with what moderation did they order the war against the tyrants in Eleusis, and how differently from what the other Hellenes
244 expected! And the reason of this was the veritable tie of blood, which created among them a friendship as of kinsmen, faithful not in word only, but in deed. And we ought also to remember those who fell in this war by one another's hands, and on such occasions as these to reconcile them with sacrifices and prayers, praying to those who have power over them, that they may be reconciled even as we are reconciled. For they did not assail one another out of malice or enmity, but they were unfortunate. And of these things we ourselves are the witnesses, who are of the same race with them, and have mutually received and granted forgiveness of what we have done and suffered. After this there was perfect peace, and the city had rest; and her feeling was that she forgave the barbarians, who had severely suffered at her hands and severely retaliated, but she was indignant at the ingratitude of the Hellenes, when she remembered how they had received good from her and returned evil, having made common cause with the barbarians, depriving her of the ships which had once been their salvation, and dismantling the walls which had prevented their walls from falling. She thought that she would no longer defend the Hellenes, when enslaved either by one another or by the barbarians, and did accordingly. This was our feeling, while the Lacedaemonians were thinking that the champions of liberty had fallen, and that their business was to subject the remaining Hellenes. And why should I say more? for the events of which I am speaking happened not long ago, and we can all of us remember how the chief peoples of Hellas, Argives and Boeotians and Corinthians, came to feel the need of us, and, what is the greatest miracle of all, the Persian king himself was driven to such extremity as to come round to the opinion that from this city, of which he was the destroyer, and from no other, his salvation would proceed.

And if a person desired to bring a deserved accusation against this city, he would find only this which he could justly say — that she was too compassionate and too much inclined to favor the weak. And in this instance she was not able to hold out or keep her resolution of refusing aid to her injurers when they were being enslaved, but she was softened, and did in fact send out aid, and delivered the Hellenes from slavery, and they were free until they afterwards enslaved themselves. Whereas, to the great king she refused to give the assistance of the state, for she could not forget the trophies of Marathon and Salamis and Plataea; and she would only allow exiles and volunteers to assist him, and they were his salvation. And she herself, when she was compelled, entered into the war, and built walls and ships, and fought with the Lacedaemonians on behalf of the Parians. Now the king fearing this city, when he saw the Lacedaemonians giving up the war at sea, asked, as the price of his alliance with us and the other allies, the Hellenes on the continent, whom the Lacedaemonians had already given up to him, he thinking that we should refuse, and then he might have a pretense for being quit of us. About the other allies he was mistaken, for the Corinthians and Argives and Boeotians, and the other states, were quite willing to give them up, and swore and covenanted, that if he would give them money, they would leave the Hellenes of the continent in his hands, and we alone refused to give them up and swear. Such was the noble disposition of this city, so sound and healthy was the spirit of freedom among us, which is the natural enemy of the barbarian, because we are pure Hellenes, having no mixture of barbarians. For we are not like many others, descendants of Pelops or Cadmus or Egyptus or Danaus, who are by nature barbarians, and yet pass for Hellenes, and dwell among us; but we are pure Hellenes, having no admixture of foreigners, and therefore the hatred of the foreigner has passed unadulterated into the life-blood of the city. The result of our refusal was that we were again isolated, because we were unwilling to be guilty of he base and unholy act of giving up Hellenes to barbarians. And now we were in the same case as when we were subdued before; but, by the favor of Heaven, we managed the war better than before, for we got out of the war without the loss of our ships and walls and colonies, and the enemy were glad to escape on these terms. Yet in this war we lost many brave men, such as were those who fell owing to the ruggedness of

245

the ground at the battle of Corinth, or to treason at Lechaeum. Brave men, too, were those who delivered the Persian king, and
246 drove the Lacedaemonians from the sea. I remind you of them, and you must celebrate them together with me, and do honor to their memories.

Such were the actions of the men who are here interred, and of others who have died on behalf of their country; many and glorious things I have told of them, and there are yet many more and more glorious things remaining to be told, which many days and nights would not suffice to tell; let these not be forgotten, and let every man remind his descendants that they also are soldiers who must not desert the ranks of their ancestors, or fall behind from cowardice. As I also exhort you this day, and in all future time, and on every occasion on which I meet with any of you shall continue to remind and exhort you, O ye sons of heroes, that you strive to be the bravest of men. And I think that I ought now to repeat to you what your fathers desired to have said to you who are their survivors, when they went out to battle, in case anything happened to them. I will tell you what I heard them say, and what, if they had only speech, they would fain be saying, judging from what they then said. And you must imagine that you hear them saying what I now repeat to you; and that their words were as follows: —

Sons, the event proves that you are the sons of brave men; for we might have lived dishonorably, but preferred to die honorably rather than bring you and your children into disgrace, and rather than dishonor our fathers and forefathers; considering that life is not life to one who is a dishonor to his race, and that to such a one neither men nor gods are friendly, either while he is on the earth or after death in the world below. Remember our words, then, and whatever is your aim let virtue be the condition of the attainment of your aim, and know that without this all possessions and pursuits are dishonorable and evil. For neither does wealth bring honor to the owner, if he be a coward; of such a one the wealth belongs to another, and not to himself. Nor does beauty and strength of body, when dwelling in a base and cowardly man, appear comely, but the reverse of comely, making the possessor more conspicuous, and manifesting forth his cowardice. And all knowledge, when separated from justice and virtue, is seen to be cunning and not
247 wisdom; wherefore make this your first and last and only and everlasting desire, that if possible you may exceed not

only us but all your ancestors in virtue; and know that to excel you in virtue only brings us shame, but that to be excelled by you is a source of joy to us. And we shall be most likely to be defeated, and you will be most likely to be victors in the contest, if you so order your lives as not to misuse or waste the reputation of your ancestors, knowing that to a man who has any self-respect, nothing is more dishonorable than to be honored, not for his own sake, but on account of the reputation of his ancestors. The honor of parents is a fair and noble treasure to their posterity, but to have the use of a treasure of wealth and honor, and to leave none to posterity, because you have neither money nor reputation of your own, is alike base and dishonorable. And if you follow our precepts you will be received by us as friends, when the hour of destiny brings you hither; but if you neglect our words and are disgraced in your lives, no one will receive you friendly. This is the message which is to be delivered to our children.

Some of us have fathers and mothers still living, and we would urge them, if our death is to be the event, to bear the calamity as lightly as possible, and not to commiserate one another; for they have sorrows enough, and will not need any one to stimulate them. While we gently heal their wounds, let us remind them that the gods have heard the chief part of their prayers; for they prayed, not that their children might live forever, but that they might be famous and brave. And this which is the greatest good, they have attained. A mortal man cannot expect to have everything in his own life turning out according to his will; and they, if they bear their misfortunes bravely, will be truly deemed brave fathers of the brave. But if they give way to their sorrows, either they will be suspected of not being our parents, or we of not being such as our panegyrists declare. Let not either of the two alternatives happen, but rather let them be our chief and true panegyrists, who show in their lives that they are men, and had men for their sons. The ancient saying, "never too much," appears to be, and really is, well said. For he whose happiness rests with himself, if possible, wholly, and if not, as far as is possible, — who is not hanging in suspense on other men, or changing with the vicissitude of their fortune, — has his life ordered for 248
the best. He is the temperate and valiant and wise; and when his riches come and go, when his children are given and taken away, he will remember the proverb, "Neither rejoicing over-

much nor grieving overmuch," because he has confidence in himself. And such we would have our parents to be — that is our word and wish, and as such we now offer ourselves, neither lamenting overmuch, nor fearing overmuch, if we are to die at this instant. And we entreat our fathers and mothers to retain these feelings throughout their future life, and to be assured that they will not please us by sorrowing and lamenting over us. But, if the dead have any knowledge of the living, they will displease us most by making themselves miserable and by taking their misfortunes to heart, and they will please us best if they bear their loss lightly and temperately. For our life will have the noblest end which is vouchsafed to man, and should be glorified rather than lamented. And if they will direct their minds to the care and nurture of our wives and children, they will soonest forget their misfortunes, and live more honorably and uprightly, and in a way that is more agreeable to us.

This is all that we have to say to our families; and to the state we would say: Let her take care of our parents and sons, educating the one in principles of order, and worthily cherishing the old age of the other. But we know that she will of her own accord take care of them, and does not need exhortations from us.

These, O ye children and parents of the dead, are the words which they bid us proclaim to you, and which I do proclaim to you with the utmost good-will. And on their behalf I beseech you, the children, to imitate your fathers, and you, parents, to be of good cheer about yourselves; for we will nourish your age, and take care of you both publicly and privately in any place in which one of us may meet one of you who are the parents of the dead. And the care which the city shows you
249 yourselves know; for she has made provision by law concerning the parents and children of those who die in war; and the highest authority is specially intrusted with the duty of watching over them above all other citizens, in order to see that there is no wrong done to them. She herself takes part in the nurture of the children, desiring as far as it is possible that their orphanhood may not be felt by them; she is a parent to them while they are children, and when they arrive at the age of manhood she sends them to their several duties, clothing them in complete armor; she displays to them and recalls to their minds the pursuits of their fathers, and puts into their

hands the instruments of their fathers' virtues; for the sake of the omen, she would have them begin and go to rule in the houses of their fathers arrayed in their strength and arms. And she never ceases honoring the dead every year, celebrating in public the rites which are proper to each and all; and in addition to this, holding gymnastic and equestrian festivals, and musical festivals of every sort. She is to the dead in the place of a son and heir, and to their sons in the place of a father, and to their parents and elder kindred in the place of a protector — ever and always caring for them. Considering this, you ought to bear your calamity the more gently; for thus you will be most endeared to the dead and to the living, and your sorrows will heal and be healed. And now do you and all, having lamented the dead together in the usual manner, go your ways.

Such, Menexenus, was the oration of Aspasia the Milesian.

Men. Truly, Socrates, I marvel that Aspasia, who is only a woman, should be able to compose such a speech; she must be a rare one.

Soc. Well, if you are incredulous, you may come with me and hear her.

Men. I have often met Aspasia, Socrates, and know what she is like.

Soc. Well, and do you not admire her, and are you not grateful for her speech?

Men. Yes, Socrates, I am very grateful to her or to him who told you, and still more to you who have told me.

Soc. Very good. But you must take care not to tell of me, and then at some other time I will repeat to you many more excellent political speeches of hers.

Men. Fear not; only tell me, and I will keep the secret.

Soc. Then I will keep my promise.

INDEX.

The following Index refers to the pages of Stephens, which are given in the margin of the translation. The page of Stephens is divided into five parts by the letters A, B, C, D, E, which are retained in the Index though they are not given in the margin. Thus the letter A signifies the first portion of the page, the letter B the second, and so on.

The order in which the Dialogues are arranged in the translation is as follows:—

VOL. I.

Charmides,	pages	7— 33.	Stephens,	ii. 153.
Lysis,	"	41— 64.	"	ii. 203.
Laches,	"	71— 95.	"	ii. 177.
Protagoras,	"	109—162.	"	i. 309.
Euthydemus,	"	173—212.	"	i. 271.
Ion,	"	219—232.	"	i. 530.
Meno,	"	243—276.	"	ii. 70.
Euthyphro,	"	285—301.	"	i. 1.
Apology,	"	315—339.	"	i. 17.
Crito,	"	347—359.	"	i. 43.
Phaedo,	"	383—447.	"	i. 57.
Symposium,	"	467—514.	"	iii. 172.
Phaedrus,	"	533—585.	"	iii. 227.
Cratylus,	"	621—681.	"	i. 383.

VOL. II.

Republic,	pages	147—452.	Stephens,	ii. 327.
Timaeus,	"	513—583.	"	iii. 17.
Critias,	"	593—607.	"	iii. 106.

VOL. III.

Gorgias,	pages	31—119.	Stephens,	i. 447.
Philebus,	"	145—209.	"	ii. 11.
Parmenides,	"	242—299.	"	iii. 126.
Theaetetus,	"	341—419.	"	i. 142.
Sophist,	"	449—510.	"	i. 216.
Statesman,	"	539—599.	"	ii. 250.

VOL. IV.

Laws,	pages	155—480.	Stephens,	ii. 624.

APPENDIX.

Lesser Hippias,	pages	493—506.	Stephens,	iii. 281.
First Alcibiades,	"	515—557.	"	ii. 103.
Menexenus,	"	565—579.	"	ii. 233.

INDEX

OF PERSONS AND PLACES.

Anaxis, Charm. 158 B.
Abdera, Protagoras of, Rep. 10, 600 C.
Acarnanians, The Two, Euthyd. 271 C.
Acesimbrotus, Cratyl. 394 C.
Achaeans, Rep. 3, 389 E; 390 E; 393 A. Laws 3, 682 D, E; 685 E.
Achaemenes, 1 Alcib. 120 E.
Acharnian, Callicles the, Gorg. 495 D.
Achelous, Phaedr. 230 B; 263 D.
Acheron, Phaedo 112 E; 113 D.
Acherusian Lake, Phaedo 113 A, B, C; 114 A.
Achilles, Protag. 340 A. Ion 535 B. Hip. Min. 363 B; 364 B, C, E, and elsewhere. Cratyl. 428 C. Symp. 179 E; 180 A, B; 208 D; 221 C. Rep. 3, 338 A; 390 E; 391 A, C.
Acumenus, Phaedr. 227 A; 268 A; 269 A. Symp. 176 B.
Acusilaus, Symp. 178 C.
Adeimantus, Protag. 315 E. Parm. 126 A. Apol. 34 A. Rep. 1, 327 B, and elsewhere.
Admetus, Symp. 208 D.
Adonis, Phaedr. 276 B.
Adrastia, Phaedr. 248 C. Rep. 5, 451 A.
Adrastus, Phaedr. 269 A.
Aeacus, Apol. 41 A. 1 Alcib. 121 B. Gorg. 524 A; 526 C.
Aeantodorus, Apol. 34 A.
Aegina, Gorg. 511 D; 526 E. Cratyl. 433 A. Phaedo 59 C. 1 Alcib. 121 B. Laws 4, 707 E
Aeneas, Lach. 191 B.
Aeschines, Apol. 33 E. Phaedo 59 B.
Aeschylus, Euthyd. 291 D. Phaedo 108 A. Symp. 180 A. Rep. 2, 361 B; 380 A; 383 A. Rep. 8, 550 C.
Aesop, Phaedo 60 C, D; 61 B, C. 1 Alcib. 123 A.
Aexonè, the deme of, Lys. 204 E. Lach. 197 C.
Agamemnon, Hip. Min. 370 C. Cratyl. 395 A, B. Symp. 174 C. Laws 4, 706 D. Rep. 2, 383 A; 390 E; 3, 392 E; 393 E; 7, 522 D; 10, 620 B.
Agathocles, Protag. 317 E. Lach. 180 D.
Agathon, Protag. 315 E. Symp. 172 A, C; 173 A; 198 A, C; 212 C, D, E; 213 A, and elsewhere.
Agis, Cratyl. 394 C. 1 Alcib. 124 A.
Aglaophon, Ion 532. Gorg. 448 B.
Agra, Phaedr. 229 C.
Ajax, Apol. 41 A. Hip. Min. 371 B, D. Cratyl. 428 C. Symp. 219 E. Rep. 5, 468 D; 10, 620 B.
Alcestis, Symp. 179 B, D; 180 B; 208 D.
Alcetas, Gorg. 471 A.
Alcibiades, Euthyd. 275 A. Protag. 309 A, B; 316 A, and elsewhere 1 Alcib. 104 E; 131 D; 133 D, etc. Gorg. 481 D; 519 A; 525 C. Symp. 212 D, etc.
Alcuadae, Meno, 70 B.
Alexander, Gorg. 471 B.
Alexidemus, Meno, son of, Meno 76 E.
Alopecetes, Gorg. 495 D.
Amazons, Menex. 239 B. Laws 7 806 A.
Ameles, Tep. 10, 621 A.
Amestris, 1 Alcib. 123 C.

Ammon, Statesm. 257 B. Phaedr. 274 D; 275 C. Laws 5, 738 D.
Ampheres, Crit. 114 B.
Amphion, Gorg. 485 E; 506 B.
Amphipolis, Apol. 28 E.
Amphitryon, Theaet. 175 A.
Amycus, Laws 7, 796 A.
Amynander, Tim. 21 C.
Amyntor, Laws 11, 931 B.
Anacharsis, Rep. 10, 600 A.
Anacreon, Phaedr. 235 C. Charm. 157 E.
Anaxagoras, Phaedr. 270 A. Apol. 26 D. Cratyl. 400 A; 409 A; 413 C. Gorg. 465 D. Phaedo 72 C; 97 B, D; 98 B. 1 Alcib. 118 C.
Anaxagoras, disciples of, Cratyl. 409 B.
Anaximenes, Phaedo 96 C.
Andromache, Ion 535 B.
Andron, Protag. 315 C. Gorg. 487 C.
Androtion, Protag. 315 C. Gorg. 487 C.
Antaeus, Theaet. 169 B. Laws 7, 796 A.
Antenor, Symp. 221 C.
Anthemion, Meno 90 A.
Antilochus, Ion 537 A.
Antimoerus, Protag. 315 A.
Antiochis, the tribe of, Apol. 32 B.
Antiphon, of Rhamnus, Menex. 236 A. Of Cephisus, Apol. 33 E. The brother of Adeimantus and Glaucon, Apol. 126 B; 127 A.
Antisthenes, Phaedo 59 B.
Anytus, Apol. 23 E; 25 B; 28 A, and elsewhere. Meno 91 A, and elsewhere.
Apaturia, Tim. 2 B.
Apemantus, Hip. Min. 363 A; 373 A.
Aphidnae, Tisander of, Gorg. 487 C.
Aphrodite, Cratyl. 406 B, C. Soph. 243 A. Rep. 3, 390 C. Laws 8, 840 E. Phaedr. 242 E; 265 B. Symp. 177 E; 180 D.
Apollo, Phaedr. 265 B. Apol. 21 B. Symp. 197 A. Phaedo 58 B; 85 A. Euthyd. 302 D. Cratyl. 404 B, C, D; 405 D. Laws 1, 624 A; 2, 653 D; 654 A; 665 A; 672 D; 3, 686 A; 6, 765 B; 7, 796 E; 8, 833; 11, 936 E; 12, 945 D; 946 C, D; 947 A; 950 E. Rep. 2, 383 A; 3, 391 A; 394 A; 399 E.
Apollodorus, Apol. 34 A; 38 B. Ion 541 C. Protag. 310 A; 316 B. Symp. 172 A; 173 D. Phaedo 59 A, B; 117 D, and elsewhere.
Arcadia, Rep. 8, 565 D.
Arcadians, Symp. 193 A.
Archelaus, Gorg. 470 D; 471 A, D; 472 D; 470 A, D, E; 525 D. Symp, 212 D.
Archepolis, Cratyl. 394 C.
Archidamus, 1 Alcib. 124 A.
Archilochus, Ion 531 A; 532 A Rep. 2, 365 C.
Archinus, Menex. 234 B.
Ardiaeus, Rep. 10, 615 C, E.
Areopagus, Phaedr. 229 D.
Ares, Cratyl. 404 B; 406 D; 407 C, D. Symp. 196 D. Rep. 3, 390 C. Laws 2, 671 E; 8, 833 B; 11, 920 D. Phaedr. 252 C.
Argives, Phaedo 89 C; Menex. 239 B; 244 D; 245 C.
Argos, 1 Alcib. 121 A. Laws 3, 683 D; 3, 690 D; 4, 708 A. Rep. 3, 393 E.
Ariphron, Protag. 320 A.
Aristeides, Gorg. 526 B. Theaet. 150 E. Meno 94 A. Lach. 179 A.
Aristippus, Phaedo 59 C. Meno 70 B.
Aristocrates, Gorg. 472 A.
Aristodemus, Laws 3, 692 B. Symp. 173 B; 176 C, etc.
Aristogeiton, Symp. 182 C.
Ariston, Apol. 34 A. Rep. 1, 327 A, etc.
Aristonymus, Rep. 1, 328 B.
Aristophanes, Apol. 19 C. Symp. 176 A; 177 E; 185 C, E; 212 C; 221 B; 223 C.
Aristophon, Gorg. 148 B.
Aristoteles, Parm. 127 D; 135 D; 136 E.
Artaxerxes, 1 Alcib. 121 B; 123 D.
Artemis, Theaet. 149 B. Cratyl. 406 B. Laws 8, 833 B.
Artemisium, Menex. 241 A. Laws 4, 707.
Asclepiads, Ion 530 A. Rep. 3, 405 D.
Asclepius, Phaedr. 270 C. Symp. 186 E. Phaedo 118 A. Rep. 3, 405 D; 406 A, C; 407 C; 408 B.
Asia, Lys. 209 D. Gorg. 524 A. 1 Alcib. 105 B. Menex. 239 D, E; 240 D Tim. 24 E. Crit. 108 E; 112 F.
Asopus, Crit. 110 E.
Aspasia, Menex. 235 E; 236 A, B 249 D.
Assyrians, Laws 3, 685 C.

Astyanax, Cratyl. 392 B, C, D, E; 393 A; 394 B.
Astylus, Laws 8, 840 A.
Atalanta, Rep. 10, 620 B.
Atè, Symp. 195 D.
Athenè, Crit. 109 C. Laws 5, 745 B; 8, 848 D; 11, 920 D, E. Protag. 32 D. Symp. 197 B. Euthyd. 302 D. Cratyl. 404 B; 406 C; 407 A, B. Rep. 2, 379 E. Tim. 21 E.
Athenians, Lys. 209 D. Protag. 322 D; 324 C. Apol. 171 A, and elsewhere. Crito 48 C, E; 51 D; 52 A, B. Gorg. 481 D; 502 D; 503 B; 513 A, B; 515 D, E; 521 D. Symp. 201 D; 216 A. 1 Alcib. 105 A; 106 C; 107 A; 113 B; 132 A. Menex. 236 A, B; 240 C; 241 C; 242 D. Tim. 23 C; 27 B. Laws 1, 638 B; 642 C, E; 3, 693 E; 698 D; 6, 753 A.
Athens, Gorg. 461 E. Theaet. 142 A; 143 A. Phaedo 57 B.
Athos, Laws 3, 699 A.
Atlantic, Tim. 24 E. Crit. 113 E; 114 A.
Atlantis, Tim. 25 A, D. Crit. 108 E.
Atlas, Phaedo 99 C. Crit. 114 A, C; 120 D.
Atreus, Cratyl. 395 B. Polit. 268 E; 296 A.
Atridae, Rep. 3, 393 A.
Atropos, Rep. 10, 617 C; 620 E. Laws 12, 960 C.
Attica, Phaedr. 230 C. Lach. 183 B. Cratyl. 398 D. Laws 3, 698 A; 4, 706.
Attic confections, Rep. 3, 404 E.
Autochthon, Crit. 114 B.
Autolycus, Rep. 1, 334 A.
Axiochus, Euthyd. 271 B; 275 A.
Axaes, Crit. 114 C.

Bendis, Rep. 1, 327 A.
Bias, Protag. 343 A. Rep. 1, 335 E.
Boeotians, Symp. 182 B. Phaedo 99 A. 1 Alcib. 112 C. Menex. 242 A, B; 244 D; 245 C. Laws 1, 636 B.
Boreas, Phaedr. 229 B, C.
Brasidas, Symp. 221 C.
Briareus, Euthyd. 299 C. Laws 7, 795 C.
Byzantium, Theodorus of, Phaedr. 266 E.

Cadmus, Laws 2, 663 E.
— descendants of, Menex. 239 B.
Caeneus, Laws 12, 944 D.
Callaeschrus, Protag. 316 A. Charm. 153 C.
Calliades, 1 Alcib. 119 A.
Callias, Protag. 311 A; 315 D, etc Apol. 20 A. Cratyl. 391 B. 1 Alcib. 119 A. Theaet. 115 A.
Callicles, Gorg. 447 B; 482 B; 495 A, D; 515 B, etc.
Calliope, Phaedr. 259 D.
Cambyses, Laws 3, 694 C; 695 B, E.
Carian chants, Laws 7, 800 E.
Carian, Lach. 187 B. Euthyd. 285 C
Carthaginians, Laws 1, 637 D; 2, 674 A.
Ceans, Laws 638 B.
Cebes, Crito 45 B; Phaedo 59 C; 103 C, and elsewhere.
Cecrops, Crit. 110 A.
Celts, Laws 1, 637 E.
Centaurs, Phaedr. 229 D.
Ceos, Prodicus of, Protag. 314 C. Rep. 10, 600 C.
Cephalus, Rep. 1, 327 B; 328 B, etc. Phaedr. 227 A; 263 D.
Cephisus, Antiphon of, Apol. 33 E.
Cepis, Protag. 315 E.
Cerameis, Pausanias of, Protag. 315 D.
Ceramicus, Parm. 127 C.
Cerberus, Rep. 9, 588 C.
Cercyon, Laws 7, 796 A.
Chaeredemus, Euthyd. 297 E, 298 A, B.
Chaerephon, Gorg. 447 A, etc. Charm. 153 B, etc. Apol. 20 E; 21 A.
Chalcedonian, Thrasymachus the, Rep. 1, 328 B. Phaedr. 267 C.
Chalcideus, Ion 534 D.
Charmantides, Rep. 1, 328 B.
Charmides, mostly in the dialogue of that name. Protag. 315 A. Symp. 222 B.
Charondas, Rep. 10, 599 E.
Chenè, Myson of, Protag. 343 A.
Chians, Euthyd. 271 C; 288 B.
Chilon, Protag. 343 A.
Chimaera, Rep. 9, 588 C. Phaedr. 229 D.
Chiron, Hip. Min. 371 C. Rep. 3 391 C.
Cholarges, Nausicydes of, Gorg. 38[illegible] C.
Chryses, Rep. 3, 392 E; 393 A, D.
Chrysippus, Cratyl. 395 B.

Chryson, Laws 8, 840 A.
Cimon, Gorg. 503 C; 515 D; 516 D; 519 A.
Cinesias, Gorg. 501 E.
Cinyras, Laws 2, 660 E.
Cithaeron, Crit. 110 D.
Clazomenae, Parm. 126 A, B.
Clazomenae, Anaxagoras of, Apol. 26 D. Heracleides of, Ion 541 D.
Cleinias, Protag. 309 C; 320 A. 1 Alcib. 103 A; 105 D; 112 C; 131 D. Gorg. 481 D. Euthyd. 273 A, B, C, etc.
Cleinias, the Cnosian, Laws 1, 629 C, etc.
Cleito, Crit. 113 D; 116 C.
Cleitophon, Rep. 1, 340 A, B, etc.
Cleobulus, Protag. 343 A.
Cleombrotus, Phaedo 59 C.
Cleopatra, Gorg. 471 C.
Cleophantus, Meno 93 D, E.
Clotho, Rep. 10, 617 C; 620 E. Laws 12, 960 C.
Cnosians, Laws 1, 629 C; 3, 702 C; 6, 752 D, E; 754 B, C, D.
Cnosus, Laws 1, 625 A; 4, 712 E; 6, 752 E; 754 D.
Cocytus, Phaedo 113 C; 114 A. Rep. 3, 387 B.
Codrus, Symp. 208 D.
Colchian, Medea the, Euthyd. 285 C.
Connus, Euthyd. 272 C; 295 D. Menex. 235 E.
Corinth, Theaet. 142. Euthyd. 292 E. Menex. 245 E.
Corinthian courtesans, Rep. 3, 434 D.
Corinthians, Menex. 244 D; 245 C.
Coroneia, 1 Alcib. 112 C.
Corybantes, Ion 534 A. Euthyd. 277 D. Laws 7, 790 D.
Cratylus, Cratyl. 383 B; 432 B, etc.
Creon, Protag. 339 A.
Creophylus, Rep. 10, 600 B.
Cresphontes, Laws 3, 683 D; 692 B.
Cretan, Protag. 342 D. Rep. 5, 452 C; 8, 544 C. Laws 1, 625 A; 626 A, B; 631 B; 2, 662 C; 3, 693 E; 4, 707 B; 6, 751 D; 8, 834 D. 12, 950 D.
Crete, Phaedr. 58 A. Laws 3, 702 C; 4, 704 C; 707 E; 708 A; 8, 834 B; 836 B; 842 B; Protag. 342 A. Crito 52 E.
Crison, Protag. 336 A. Laws 8, 840 A.
Critias, Protag. 316 A. Charm. 153 C, and elsewhere. Tim. 19 C; 26 A; 21 A, B, etc. Crit. 106 B.
Crito, Apol. 33 D; 38 B, and elsewhere. Phaedo 60 A; 115 E, etc. Crito 43 A, etc. Euthyd. 271 A.
Critobulus, Apol. 33 E; 38 B. Euthyd. 271 B; 306 D. Phaedo 59 B
Croesus, Rep. 8, 566 C.
Crommyonian sow, Lach. 196 E.
Cronos, Euthyp. 8 B. Gorg. 523 A, B. Cratyl. 396 B; 401 D; 402 A, B; 401 A. Polit. 269 A; 271 C; 272 A, B; 276 A. Rep. 2, 377 E. Laws 4, 713 B, C, E. Symp. 195 B.
Ctesippus, Euthyd. 273 A, and elsewhere. Lys. 203 A, etc. Phaedo 59 B, etc.
Curetes, Laws 7, 796 B.
Cyclopes, Laws 3, 680 B; 682 A.
Cydatheneus, Symp. 173 B.
Cydias, Charm. 155 D.
Cyprus, Menex. 241 E.
Cypselidae, Phaedr. 236 B.
Cyrenians, Theaet. 143 C.
Cyrus, 1 Alcib. 105 C. Menex. 239 D. Laws 3, 694 A; 695 B, D, E.
Cyzicus, Apollodorus of, Ion 541 C.

Daedalus, Euthyp. 11 B, D; 15 B. Ion 533 A. Meno 97 B. 1 Alcib. 121 A; Laws 2, 677 A. Rep. 7, 529 D.
Damon, 1 Alcib. 118 C. Lach. 180 D; 197 D; 200 B. Rep. 3, 400; 4, 424.
Danaus, descendants of, Menex. 245 D.
Dardania, Laws 3, 681 E.
Dardanus, Laws 3, 702 A.
Darius, Menex. 239 E. Laws 3, 694 C; 695 C, D; 698 C, D, E. Phaedr. 258 B. Lys. 211 E.
Datis, Menex. 240 A. Laws 3, 698 C, D.
Delium, Lach. 181 B. Apol. 28 E. Symp. 221 A.
Delos, Crito 43 C. Phaedo 58 A, B; 59 E.
Delphi, Phaedr. 235 D; 244 A. Protag. 343 B. Charm. 164 D. Apol. 20 E; 21 A. Euthyd. 299 B. Phileb. 48 C. 1 Alcib. 124 A; 132 C Laws 5, 738 B; 6, 758 C D; 9, 856 E; 11, 914 A.
Delta, Tim. 21 E.
Demeter, Cratyl. 404 B. Laws 6 782 B.

Democrates, Lys. 204 E, etc.
Demodocus, Apol. 34 A.
Demophon, Lys. 207 B.
Demus, Gorg. 481 D, E.
Deucalion, Tim. 22 A. Crit. 111 E.
Diaprepes, Crit. 114 C.
Dinomachè, 1 Alcib. 105 D; 123 C.
Diomedes, Rep. 3, 389 E; 6, 493 D.
Dion, Menex. 234 B.
Dione, Symp. 180 D.
Dionysia, Laws 1, 637 A.
Dionysodorus, Euthyd. 271 B; 273 A, C; 277 B; 294 E, etc.
Dionysus, Ion 534 A. Phaedr. 255 B. Gorg. 472 A. Phileb. 51 B. Laws 2, 653 D; 665 A; 666 B; 671 A, D; 672 A, B, D; 7, 812 B; 8, 844 E.
Diopompus, Laws 8, 840 A.
Dioscuri, Euthyd. 293 A. Laws 7, 769 B.
Diotima, Symp. 201 D; 204 A; 208 B, etc.
Dodona, Phaedr. 244 B. Laws 5, 738 C.
Dorian mode, Lach. 188 D; 193 D. Rep. 3, 399 A.
Dorians, Laws 3, 682 E; 685 E; 702 A.
Dropides, Tim. 20 E. Charm. 157 E.

Echecrates, Phaedo 57 A, etc.
Egypt, Rep. 4, 436 A. Tim. 21 C, E; 25 B. Laws 2, 656 D; 7, 819 A. Phaedr. 274 C. D. Gorg. 511 D. Polit. 290 D. Phaedo 80 C. Menex. 232 E; 241 E.
Egyptian, Laws, 5, 747; 7, 799. Phaedr. 274 D; 275 B. Euthyd. 288 B. Crit. 113 A.
Ellithyia, Laws 6, 784 A. Symp. 206 D.
Elasippus, Crit. 114 C.
Eleatic, Zeno, under the name of Palamedes, called an, Phaedr. 261 D.
Eleatic stranger, Sophist 216 A; 242 D.
Eleusis, Menex. 243 E.
Elis, Hip. Min. 363 C. Symp. 182 B.
Empedocles, Theaet. 152 E.
Endymion, Phaedo 72 C.
Epeus, Laws 7, 796 A. Rep. 10, 620 C.
Ephesians, Theaet. 179 E.
Ephesus, Ion 530 A; 533 C; 541 D.
Ephialtes, Symp. 190 B.
Epicharmus, Gorg. 505 D. Theaet 152 E.
Epicrates, Phaedr. 227 B.
Epidaurians, Ion 530 B.
Epidaurus, Ion 530 A.
Epigenes, Apol. 33 E. Phaedo 59 B.
Epimenides, Laws 1, 642 D; 3, 677 D.
Epimetheus, Protag. 320 D; 321 B etc.
Er, Rep. 10, 614 B, etc.
Erato, Phaedr. 259 D.
Erchiae, 1 Alcib. 123 C.
Erechtheus, 1 Alcib. 132 A. Crit. 110 A.
Eretria, Menex. 240 B, C. Laws 3, 699 A.
Eretrians, Cratyl. 434 C. Menex. 240 A, C. Laws 3, 698 C, D.
Erichthonius, Crit. 110 A.
Eridanus, Crit. 111 E.
Erineum, Theaet. 143 B.
Eriphyle, Rep. 9, 590 A.
Erisicthonius, Crit. 110 A.
Erisichthon, Crit. 110 A.
Eros, Phaedr. 242 E; 252 B; 265 C, D. Symp. 195 D; 196 A, etc.
Eryximachus, Phaedr. 268 A. Symp. 176 A; 185 D; 196 D. Protag. 315 C.
Ethonoe, Cratyl. 407 B.
Euclid, Theaet. 143 C, etc. Phaedo 59 C.
Eudicus, Hip. Min. 363 A, etc.
Euenor, Crit. 113 C.
Euenus, Phaedr. 267 A. Phaedo 60 D.
Eumelus, Crit. 114 B.
Eumolpus, Menex. 239.
Euphemus, Phaedr. 244 A.
Euphronius, Theaet. 144 C.
Eupolemus, Cratyl. 394 C.
Euripides, Phaedr. 268 C. Ion 533 D. Gorg. 484 E; 492 E. Theaet. 154 D. Symp. 177 A. Rep. 8, 568.
Euripus, Phaedo 90 C.
Europe, Gorg. 524 A, D. 1 Alcib. 105 B. Menex. 239 D. Tim. 23 B. Crit. 112 E. Laws 3, 698 B.
Eurybates, Protag. 327 D.
Eurycles, Soph. 252 C.
Eurymedon, Menex. 241 D.
Eurypylus, Rep. 3, 405 E; 408 A.
Eurysaces, 1 Alcib. 121 A, B.
Eurysthenes, Laws 3, 683 D.
Euthydemus, Euthyd. 271 B; 273 A, C; 294 C, etc. Cratyl. 386 D Symp. 222 B. Rep. 1, 328.

Euthyphro, mostly in the dialogue of that name. Cratyl. 396 D; 399 A; 400 A; 407 D; 428 C.
Eutychides. Cratyl. 397 B.

Gadeirus, Crit. 114 B.
Gades, country of, Crit. 114 B.
Ganymede, Phaedr. 255 C. Laws 1, 636 C.
Geryon, Gorg. 484 B. Euthyd. 299 C. Laws 7, 795 C.
Glaucon, Rep. 1, 327 A, and elsewhere. Protag. 315 A. Charm. 154 B; 158 B. Parm. 126 A.
Glaucus, Phaedo 108 D. Rep. 10, 611 C.
Gorgias, Gorg. 452 C; 482 D; 487 A; 494 D, and elsewhere in that dialogue. Meno 70 B; 71 C, D; 73 C; 76 B, C; 95 C; 96 D. Symp. 198 C. Phaedr. 261 C; 267 A. Apol. 19 E. Phileb. 58 C; 59 B.
Gorgons, Phaedr. 229 D.
Gortys, Laws 4, 708 A.
Gyges, Rep. 2, 359 C.

Harmodius, Symp. 182 C.
Hecamede, Ion 538 B.
Hector, Apol. 28 C. Ion 535 B. Cratyl. 392 B, C; 393 A; 394 B. Symp. 179 E. Rep. 3, 391. Laws 12, 944 A.
Hecuba, Ion 535 B.
Helen, Rep. 9, 586 C. Phaedr. 243 A.
Helios, Laws 12, 945 D; 946 C, D; 947 A.
Hellas, Rep. 5, 470 C; 471 A; Crit. 112 E. Laws 3, 692 C, D, E.
Hellenes, Menex. 240 B, C, E; 241 A, B, C; 242 A, B, D, E; 243 B, E; 244 B, C, D; 245 A, B, D. Laws 3, 685 C. Rep. 5, 469 B, C, E; 470 C; 471 A, B.
Hellenes and Barbarians, Rep. 6, 494 C. Laws 1, 635 B; 3, 693 A; 9, 870 A; 10, 887 E. Lys. 210 B. Theaet. 175 A. Cratyl. 383 A; 385 E; 390 C; 409 E 1 Alcib. 105 B; 124 B.
Hellespont, Menex. 243 A. Laws 3, 699 A. Rep. 3 404 C.
Hephaestus, Protag. 321 C, D. Euthyp. 8 B. Symp. 192 D; 197 B. Cratyl. 391 E; 404 B; 406 D; 407 C. Polit. 274 C. Phileb. 61 B. Crit. 109 C. Laws 11, 920 D. Rep. 2, 378 D; 3, 390 C. Tim. 23 D.
Heraclea, inhabitants of, Laws 6, 766 E.
Heraclea, the stone of, Ion 533 D. Tim. 80 C.
Heraclidae, Menex. 239 B. Laws 3, 685 D; 5, 730 C; 6, 776 C.
Heracleides, Ion 541 D.
Heracleitus, Theaet. 152 E; 160 D; 179 E. Cratyl. 401 D; 402 A, B, C; 440 C. Symp. 187 A. Rep. 6, 498 A.
Heracleotes, Zeuxippus son of, Protag. 318 B.
Heracles, Phaedo 89 C; 109 A. Laws 3, 685 D. Gorg. 484 B. Theaet. 169 A; 175 A. Euthyd. 297 C, D, E; 303 A. Lys. 205 C. Symp. 177 B. The Columns of, Tim. 24 E. Crit. 114 B. Phaedo 109 B.
Here, Cratyl. 404 B, C. Rep. 2, 378 D. Laws 6, 774 D. Phaedr. 230 B; 253 B. Tim. 41 A.
Hermes, Cratyl. 407 E; 408 B, C; 429 C. Laws 12, 941 A. Phaedr. 261 D. Protag. 322 C. Tim. 38 D.
Hermocrates, Tim. 19 C; 20 A, etc. Crit. 108 A.
Hermogenes, Phaedo 59 B. Cratyl. 383 B; 384 C, etc.
Hermus, Rep. 8, 566 C.
Herodicus, Rep. 3, 406 A. Phaedr. 227 D. Protag. 316 E. Gorg. 448 B.
Hesiod, Ion 531 A, B. Cratyl. 396 C; 397 E; 402 B; 428 A. Theaet. 207 A. Symp. 178 B, C; 195 C; 209 C. Tim. 21 C. Laws 2, 658 D; 3, 677 E; 690 E. Lys. 215 C. Protag. 316 D; 340 D. Charm. 163 B, C. Apol. 41 A. Rep. 2, 363 A; 377 D, E; 5, 466 C; 468 E; 8, 546 E; 10, 600 D; 612 B.
Hestia, Cratyl. 401 D; Laws 5, 745 B; 8, 848 D; 9, 856 A.
Hieronymus, Lys. 203 A.
Himera, Stesichorus of, Phaedr. 244 A. Crison of, Protag. 335 E
Hippias, Phaedr. 267 B. Protag. 314 B; 315 C, etc. Apol. 19 E, and very often in the dialogue of that name.
Hippocrates, the physician, Phaedr 270 C.

Hippocrates, son of Apollodorus, Protag. 310 A, and elsewhere.
Hippodamia, Cratyl. 395 D.
Hippolytus, Laws 3, 687 E; 11, 931 B.
Hipponicus, Protag. 311 A. Apol. 20 A.
Hippothales, Lys. 203 A, etc.
Homer, Meno 100 A. Cratyl. 391 C, D; 392 B, C; 393 B; 402 A, B. Soph. 216 A. Symp. 190 B; 195 D; 390 C. Phaedo 94 D; 95 A, B; 112 A. Phileb. 62 D. 1 Alcib. 112 B. Tim. 21 D; Laws 2, 658 B; 3, 680 B; 681 E; 4, 706 D; 7, 804 C; 9, 858 E; 10, 904 E; 906 E; 12, 944 A, B. Rep. 1, 334 A, B; 2, 363 A; 364 D; 377 D; 378 D; 379 C; 383 A; 3, 387 B; 388 A; 389 A, E; 404 C; 4, 441 B; 5, 468 C, D; 7, 516 D; 10, 595 B; 599 B, C, D; 600 A, B, E; 606 E; 607 A, C; 612 B. Phaedr. 243 A; 278 C. Protag. 309 A; 316 D; 348 C. Charm. 161 A. Apol. 34 D; 41 A. Ion 530 B, C, D, etc. Hip. Min. 363 A, B, etc. Theaet. 152 E; 153 C; 194 C.
Hydra, Euthyd. 297 C.
Hyperborean, Abaris the, Charm. 158 B.

Iapetus, Symp. 195 B.
Iatrocles, Cratyl. 394 C.
Iberians, Laws 1, 637 D.
Ibycus, Phaedr. 242 C. Parm. 136 E.
Ibys, Phaedr. 274 C.
Iccus Protag. 316 D. Laws 8, 839 E.
Ida, Rep. 3, 391 E. Laws 3, 681 E.
Ilion, Laws 3, 681 E; 682 B, D. Rep. 3, 393 B.
Ilissus, Phaedr. 229 A, B. Crit. 112 A.
Inachus, Rep. 2, 381 D.
Iolaus, Phaedo 89 C. Euthyd. 297 D.
Ion, Ion 530 A, B, and elsewhere in that dialogue. Euthyd. 302 D.
Ionia, Theaet. 179 D. Symp. 182 B.
Ionian mode, Lach. 188 D. Laws 3, 680 D.
Ionians, Euthyd. 302 C. Symp. 220 C.
Iphicles, Euthyd. 297 E.
Iris, Theaet. 155 D. Cratyl. 408 B.
Isis, Laws 2, 657 B.
Ismenias, Meno 90 A. Rep 1, 336 A.
Isolochus, 1 Alcib. 119 A.
Isthmus, Phaedr. 205 C. Crito 52 B; 110 D. Laws 12, 950 E.
Italy, Rep. 10, 599 E. Laws 2, 659 B.
Ithaca, Ion 535 C. Rep. 3, 393 B.

Lacedaemon, Protag. 342 A. Lach. 183 B. Crito 52 E. Symp. 182 A; 209 D. 1 Alcib. 121 A; 122 E; 123 A. Rep. 10, 599 D. Laws 1, 628 E; 641 E; 3, 683 D; 8, 836 B; 842 B.
Lacedaemonian Constitution, Rep. 8, 544 C; 545 A.
Lacedaemonians, Protag. 342 C, D. Lach. 182 E; 191 B. Theaet. 162 B; 169 A. Symp. 193 A. 1 Alcib. 120 A, C, E; 121 B; 123 A. Menex. 240 C; 241 C; 242 A, C, 244 C; 245 B; 246 A. Laws 1, 642 C; 2, 662 C. Rep. 5, 452 D.
Laches, Lach. 178 A; 179 C, and elsewhere in that dialogue. Symp. 221 A.
Lachesis, Rep. 10, 617 C, D; 620 D. Laws 12, 960 C.
Laconizers, Meno 99 D.
Laius, Laws 8, 836 C.
Lamachus, Lach. 197 C.
Lampido, 1 Alcib. 124 A.
Lamprus, Menex. 236 A.
Lampsacus, Metrodorus of, Ion 530 C.
Larisa, Meno 70 A; 97 B.
Latona, Cratyl. 406 A.
Lechaeum, Menex. 245 E.
Lenaean Festival, Protag. 327 E.
Leon, Apol. 32 C, D.
Leontine, Gorgias the, Apol. 19 E.
Leontines, Menex. 243 A.
Leontius, Rep. 4, 439 E.
Leotychides, 1 Alcib. 124 A.
Lethè, Rep. 10, 621 A, C.
Leucippe, Crit. 113 C.
Leucolophides, Protag. 315 E.
Libya, Menex. 239 E. Tim. 24 E 25 B. Crit. 108 E.
Licymnius, Phaedr. 267 C.
Ligurians, Phaedr. 237 A.
Lindius, Protag. 343 A.
Locris, Tim. 20 A. Laws 1, 638 B.
Lycabetus, Crit. 112 A.
Lycaean Zeus, Rep. 8, 565 D.
Lyceum, Euthyd. 271 A; 303 B Euthyp. 2 A. Lys. 203 A. Symp 223 D.
Lycon, Apol. 23 E; 36 A.
Lycurgus, Rep. 10, 599 D. Laws 1,

630 D; 632 D; 9, 858 E. Phaedr. 258 B. Symp. 209 D.
Lydian, Croesus the, Rep. 2, 359 C.
Lydians, Polit. 262 E.
Lysanias, Apol. 33 E. Rep. 1, 329 B.
Lysias, Rep. 1, 328 B. Phaedr. 227 A, B, C; 228 A; 235 A, E; 244 D; 257 C; 258 C; 262 D; 269 D; 277 A; 279 A.
Lysimachus, Gorg. 526 B. Theaet. 150 E. Meno 94 A. Lach, 184 A, etc.
Lysis, frequently in the dialogue of that name.

Macareus, Laws 8, 838 C.
Macedonia, Gorg. 470 D; 471 C.
Macedonians, Gorg. 471 C.
Machaon, Ion 538 B.
Magnetes, Laws 8, 848 D; 9, 860 E; 11, 919 D; 12, 946 B; 969 A.
Marathon, Gorg. 516 D. Menex. 240 C, D, E; 241 A, B; 245 A. Laws 3, 698 E; 699 A; 4, 707 C.
Mariandynians, Laws 6, 776 D.
Marsyas, Euthyd. 285 D. Symp. 215 B, C, E. Laws 3, 677 D. Rep. 3, 399 E.
Medea, Euthyd. 285 C.
Medes, Menex. 239 D. Laws 3, 695 B.
Megara, Phaedr. 227 D. Crito 53 B. Phaedo 59 C; 99 A.
— battle of, Rep. 2, 368 A.
Megarian, Herodicus by origin a, Protag. 316 E.
Megillus, Laws 1, 642 C, etc.
Melampodidae, Theoclymenus, prophet of the, Ion 538 E.
Melanippe, Symp. 177 A.
Meles, Gorg. 501 E; 502 A.
Melesias, Laches 179 B, etc. Meno 94 C.
Melissus, followers of, Theaet. 180 E; 183 E.
Melitus, Euthyp. 2 B, etc. Apol. 19 A, etc.
Mende, Antemaerus of, Protag. 315 A.
Menelaus, Euthyd. 288 C. Symp. 174 C. Rep. 3, 408 A.
Menexenus, Phaedr. 59 B. Menex. 234 A, and elsewhere. Lys. 206 D, etc.
Menoetius, Laws 12, 944 A. Rep. 3, 388 C.
Meno, Meno 70 A, and elsewhere.
Messene, 1 Alcib. 122 D, E. Laws 3, 683 D.
Messenians, Laws 6, 777 C.
Mestor, Crit. 114 C.
Metion, Ion 533 A.
Metis, Symp. 203.
Metrobius, Euthyd. 272 C.
Metrodorus, Ion 530 C.
Miccus, Lys. 204 A.
Midas, Phaedr. 264 D. Laws 2, 660 E.
Midias, 1 Alcib. 120 A.
Milesian, Thales the, Protag. 343 A Menex. 249 D. Laws 1, 636 B. Rep. 10, 600 A.
Miltiades, Gorg. 503 C; 515 D; 516 D.
Minos, Apol. 41 A. Gorg. 523 E. Laws 1, 624 A; 630 D; 632 D; 4, 706 A.
Mithaecus, Gorg. 518 B.
Mitylenaean, Pittacus the, Protag. 343 A; 346 D.
Mitylene, Menex. 243 C.
Mnemosyne, Theaet. 191 D. Euthyd. 275 D; Crit. 108 D.
Mneseus, Crit. 114 B.
Mnesitheus, Cratyl. 394 E.
Momus, Rep. 6, 487 A.
Morychus, Phaedr. 227 B.
Musaeus, Protag. 316 D. Apol. 41 A. Ion 536 B. Rep. 2, 363 D, E; 364 E.
Muses, Euthyd. 275 D. Cratyl. 406 A. Symp. 197 B. 1 Alcib. 108 C. Laws 2, 653 D; 654 A; 665 A; 670 A; 672 D; 682 A; 6, 783 A; 7, 796 E. Phaedr. 245 A; 265 B. Ion 536 A. Tim. 47 D.
Myrrhinusian, Phaedrus the, Symp. 176 D. Phaedr. 244 A.
Myrtilus, Cratyl. 395 C.
Mysian, as a term of reproach, Gorg. 521 B.
Myson, Protag. 343 A.

Naucratis Phaedr. 274 C.
Nausicydes, Gorg. 487 C.
Naxos, Euthyp. 4 C.
Neith, Tim. 21 E.
Nemea, Lys. 205 C. Laws 12, 950 E.
Nemesis, Laws 4, 717 D.
Nereids, Crit. 116 E.
Nestor, Laws 4, 711 E. Symp. 221 C. Phaedr. 261 C. Ion 537 A; 538 C. Hip. Min. 364 C.
Niceratus, Gorg. 472 A. Lach. 200 D. Rep. 1, 327 C.

Nicias, Gorg. 472 A. Lach. 178 A, etc. Rep. 1, 327 C.
Nicostratus, Apol. 33 E.
Nile, Laws 12, 953 E. Phaedr. 257 E. Polit. 264 C. Tim. 21 E; 22 D.
Ninus, Laws 3, 685 C.
Niobe, Tim. 22 A. Rep. 2, 380 A.
Nymphs, Phaedr. 241 E; 278 B.

Ocean, Phaedo 112 E.
Oceanus, the god, Cratyl. 402 B. Tim. 40 E. Theaet. 152 E; 180 D.
Oeagrus, Symp. 179 D.
Oedipus, Laws 8, 838 C; 11, 931 B.
Oenoe, Protag. 310 C.
Oenophyte, Menex. 242 B.
Olympia, Laws 5, 729 D; 7, 807 C; 822 B; 8, 840 A; 12, 950 E. Phaedr. 236 B. Apol. 36 D. Hip. Min. 363 C, D.
Olympian Zeus, Phaedr. 227 B. Rep. 9, 583 B.
Olympic contests, Phaedr. 256 B.
Olympus, Laws 3, 677 D.
Orestes, Cratyl. 394 E.
Orithyia, Phaedr. 229 B.
Oropia, Crit. 110 E.
Orpheus, Protag. 315 A; 316 D. Apol. 41 A. Ion 533 C; 536 B. Cratyl. 400 C; 402 B. Symp. 179 D. Phileb. 66 C. Laws 2, 699 D; 3, 677 D; 6, 782 C; 8, 829 E. Rep. 2, 364 E; 10, 620 A.
Orthagoras, Protag. 318 C.
Otus, Symp. 190 B.

Paeanian, Ctesippus the, Euthyd. 273 A. Phaedo 59 B. Rep. 1, 328 B.
Palamedes, Apol. 41 A. Rep. 7, 522 D. Laws 3, 677 D. Phaedr. 261 C, D.
Pamphylia, Rep. 10, 615 C.
Pan, Cratyl. 408 B, C. Phaedr. 261 D; 279 B. Laws 7, 815 C.
Panathenaea, Ion 530 B. Parm. 127 A.
Pandarus, Rep. 2, 379 E; 3, 408 A.
Panopeus, Ion 533 A. Rep. 10, 620 B.
Panops, the fountain of, Lys. 206 A.
Paralus, Apol. 34 A. Protag. 314 E; 328 C. Meno 94 B.
Parian, Evenus the, Apol. 20 A. Phaedr. 267 A.
Parians, Menex. 245 B.
Parmenides, Parm. 126 C; 127 B, and elsewhere. Theaet. 152 E; 180 E; 183 E. Soph. 216 A; 217 C; 237 A; 242 C; 244 E; 258 C. Symp. 195 C.
Parmenides, followers of, Theaet. 180 E.
Parnes, Crit. 110 D.
Patrocles, Euthyd. 297 D, E.
Patroclus, Apol. 28 C. Ion 537 A. Rep. 3, 388 C; 391 B. Laws 12, 944 A. Symp. 179 E; 180 A; 208 D.
Pausanias, Protag. 315 D. Symp. 176 A; 185 C, etc.
Pegasus, Phaedr. 229 D.
Peleus, Laws 12, 944 A. Rep. 3, 391 C.
Pelias, Symp. 179 B.
Pelopidae, Rep. 2, 380 A. Laws 3, 685 D.
Peloponnesians, Menex. 235 D.
Peloponnesus, Laws 3, 685 B.
Pelops, Cratyl. 395 C.
— descendants of, Menex. 245 D.
Penelope, Phaedo 84 A. 1 Alcib. 112 D.
Penestae, Laws 5, 776 D.
Peparethians, 1 Alcib. 116 D.
Perdiccas, Gorg. 470 D; 471 B; Rep. 1, 366 A.
Pergama, the citadel of Troy, Phaedr. 243 B.
Periander, Rep. 1, 336 A.
Pericles, 1 Alcib. 104 B; 118 C, D. Menex. 235 E; 236 B. Gorg. 455 E; 472 B; 503 C; 515 D, E; 516 A, B, D; 519 A. Meno 94 A. Symp. 215 E; 221 C. Phaedr. 269 A; 270 A. Protag. 319 E; 320 A; 329 A.
Persephone, Meno 81 C. Cratyl. 404 C.
Perseus, 1 Alcib. 120 E.
Persia, 1 Alcib. 121 A.
Persians, Laches 191 C. 1 Alcib. 120 A, C, E; 122 C. Menex. 239 D; 240 A, D; 241 B. Laws 1, 687 D, E; 642 D, E; 3, 693 D, E; 694 A; 695 A, C, D, E; 698 A, B.
Phaedo, Phaedo 57 A; 102 C, and elsewhere.
Phaedondes, Phaedo 59 C.
Phaedrus, Phaedr. 227 A; 228 A, and elsewhere. Protag. 315 C. Symp. 176 D; 177 A.
Phaenarete, 1 Alcib. 131 E. Theaet. 149 A.
Phaethon, Tim. 22 C.
Phalerum, Apollodorus of, Symp. 172 A.

Phanosthenes, Ion 541 D.
Pharmacia, Phaedr. 229 C.
Phasis, Phaedo 109 B.
Phason, Protag. 310 A.
Pheidias, Protag. 311 C. Meno 91 D.
Phelleus, Crit. 111 C.
Phemius, Ion 533 C.
Pherecrates, Protag. 327 D.
Philebus, Phil. 11 A, and elsewhere.
Philippides, Protag. 315 A.
Philippus, Symp. 172 B.
Philolaus, Phaedo 61 D, E.
Philomelus, Protag. 315 A.
Phlius, Phaedo 57 A.
Phocylides, Rep. 3, 407 B.
Phoenician, Rep. 4, 436 A. Laws 747 C.
Phoenix, Rep. 3, 390 E. Laws 11, 931 B. Symp. 172 B; 173 B.
Phorcys, Tim. 40 F.
Phoroneus, Tim. 22 A.
Phrygia, Rep. 3, 399 A.
Phrygian, Phaedr. 264 D. Lach. 188 D. Cratyl. 410 A.
Phrygians, Polit. 262 E.
Phrynondas, Protag. 327 D.
Phthia, Crito 44 B. Hip. Min. 371 C.
Pindar, Meno 76 D; 81 A. Rep. 1, 331 A; 2, 365 B; 3, 408 B. Laws 3, 699 B; 4, 714 E. Phaedr. 227 B. Gorg. 484 B; 488 B. Theaet. 173 E. Euthyd. 304 B.
Piraeus, Rep. 1, 327 A; 328 C; 4, 439 E. Menex. 243 E. Gorg. 511 E.
Pirithous, Rep. 3, 391 C.
Pittacus, Protag. 339 C, D, E; 343 A, etc. Rep. 1, 335 E.
Pitthis, deme of, Euthyp. 2 B.
Plataeans, Laches 191 C. Menex. 241 C; 245 A. Laws 4, 707 C.
Plato, Apol. 34 A. Phaedo 59 B.
Pluto, Gorg. 523 A, B. Cratyl. 402 D; 403 A, E. Laws 1, 631 C; 8, 828 C.
Pnyx, Crit. 112 A.
Polemarchus, Cratyl. 394 C. Rep. 1, 327 B. Phaedr. 257 B.
Polus, Gorg. 449 B; 461 D; 463 E; 482 C; 487 A; 494 D, etc. Phaedr. 267 B.
Polycletus, Protag. 311 C; 328 C.
Polycrates, Meno 90 A.
Polydamas, Rep. 1, 338 C.
Polygnotus, Ion 532 E; 533 A.
Polyhymnia, Symp. 186 E.
Pontus, Gorg. 511 D. Laws 7, 804 E.
Porus, Symp. 203 B, C.
Poseidon, Crito 43 C, D; 116 C 117 B; 119 C, D. Gorg. 523 A. Cratyl. 402 D, E. Hip. Min. 376 C.
Potidaea, Charm. 153 A, B. Apol 28 E. Symp. 219 E; 221 A.
Pramnian wine, Ion 538 C. Rep. 3, 405 E.
Priam, Ion 535 B. Rep. 3, 388 B.
Priene, Bias of, Protag. 343 A.
Procles, Laws 3, 683 D.
Prodicus, Apol. 19 E. Meno 75 E; 96 D. Euthyd. 277 E; 305 C. Cratyl. 384. Symp. 177 B. Rep 10, 600 C. Phaedr. 267 B. Protag. 314 C; 315 C, etc. Lach 197 D. Charm. 163 D.
Prometheus, Protag. 320 D; 321 C, etc. Polit. 274 C. Phileb. 16 C. Gorg. 523 D.
Prospaltian deme, Cratyl. 396 D.
Protagoras, Theaet. 152 A, C, E; 154 B, C; 155 D; 160 C, D; 161 B, D; 162 A, C; 164 D, E; 168 C; 169 D; 171 B, C; 178 B, E. Meno 91 D, E. Cratyl. 385 E; 386 A, C; 391 C. Soph. 232 D. Euthyd. 286 C. Rep. 10, 600 C. Phaedr. 267 C. Protag. 309 D, and elsewhere in that dialogue.
Protarchus, Phileb. 11, A, etc.
Proteus, Euthyp. 15 D. Ion 541 E. Ethyd. 288 B. Rep. 2, 381 D.
Pyrilampes, Charm. 158 A. Parm. 126 B. Gorg. 481 D; 513 D.
Pyriphlegethon, Phaedo 113 B, C, 114 A.
Pyrrha, Tim. 22 A.
Pythagoras, Rep. 10, 600 A, B.
Pythian Oracle, Apol. 21 A. Rep 5, 461 E; 7, 540 C.
Pythian victories, Laws 7, 807 C· 12, 950 E. Lys. 205 C.
Pythocleides, Protag. 316 E. 1 Alcib 118 C.
Pythocles, Phaedr. 244 A.
Pythodorus, 1 Alcib. 119 B. Parm. 126 B, etc.

Rhadamanthus, Apol. 41 A. Gorg. 524 A, E; 526 B. Laws 1, 624 B· 12, 948 B, C.
Rhamnusian, Antiphon the, Menex 236 A.
Rhea, Cratyl. 401, 402 A, B. Tim. 41 A.

Sais, Tim. 21 E.
Salaminian, Leon the, Apol. 32 C, D.
Salamis, Apol. 32 C, D. 1 Alcib. 121 B. Menex. 241 A, B; 245 A. Laws 3, 698 C; 4, 707 B, C.
Samian, Theodorus the, Ion 533 B.
Sappho, Phaedr. 235 C.
Sarambus, Gorg. 518 B.
Sardis, Menex. 240 D.
Sarpedon, Rep. 3, 388 C.
Satyr, Socrates compared to a, Symp. 216 C; 221 D, E; 222 D.
Satyrs, Laws 7, 815 C.
Satyrus, Protag. 310 C.
Sauromatidae, Laws 7, 804 E; 806 B.
Scamander, Cratyl. 391 E; 392 A. Protag. 340 A.
Scamandrius, Cratyl. 392 B, D.
Scellius, Gorg. 472 A.
Scirrhon, Theaet. 169 A.
Scopas, Protag. 339 A.
Scylla, Rep. 9, 588 C.
Scythia, Rep. 4, 435 E; 10, 600 A,
Scythians, Lach. 191 A, B. Gorg. 483 D. Euthyd. 299 E; 300 A. Menex. 239 E. Laws 1, 637 D, E; 7, 795 A.
Selymbria, Herodicus of, Protag. 316 E.
Seriphian, story of a, Rep. 1, 329 E; 330 A.
Sibyl, Phaedr. 244 B.
Sicilian cookery, Rep. 3, 404 D.
Sicilian tale, Gorg 493 A.
Sicily, Phaedo 111 D. Menex. 242 E. Rep. 10, 599 C. Laws 2, 659 B.
Silenus, Laws 7, 815 C. Symp. 215 A; 216 D; 221 D.
Simmias, Crito 45 B. Phaedo 59 B; 73 E, etc. Phaedr. 242 B.
Simois, Protag. 340 A.
Simonides, Protag. 316 D; 339 A, etc. Rep. 1, 331 D, E; 332 A, B, C; 344 B; 335 E.
Sirens, Cratyl. 403 D. Symp. 216 A. Rep. 10, 617 B.
Sisyphus, Apol. 41 B. Gorg. 525 E.
Smicrion, Cratyl. 429 E.
Socrates minor, Polit. 257 C, etc.
Socrates, Rep. 1, 337 A. Symp. 173 D; 213 E; 215 A; 217 A, E; 220 E; 221 A, C; 223 B, etc. Phaedo 58 C; 59 D, E; 60 A; 88 E; 115 E.
Solon, Crit. 108 D; 110 B; 113 A. Laws 9, 858 E. Charm. 155 A; 157 E. Symp. 209 D. Tim. 20 E; 21 B, C, E, etc. Rep. 10, 599 E.
Phaedr. 258 B; 278 C. Protag. 343 A. Lach. 188 B 189 A.
Sophocles, Rep. 1, 329 B, C. Phaedr 268 C; 269 A.
Sophroniscus, Euthyd. 297 E; 298 B. 1 Alcib. 131 E. Lach. 180 D; 181 A.
Sosias, Cratyl. 397 B.
Sous, Cratyl. 412 B.
Sparta, Laws 6, 753 A; 778 D; 7, 806 C.
Spartans, Laws 1, 637 A.
Spercheius, Rep. 3, 391 B.
Sphagia, Menex. 242 C.
Sphettus, Lysanias of, Apol. 33 E.
Stephanus, Meno 94 C.
Stesichorus, Rep. 9, 586 C. Phaedr. 243 A; 244 A.
Stesilaus, Lach. 183 C, E.
Stesimbrotus, Ion 530 D.
Sunian, Euphronius the, Theaet. 144 C.
Sunium, Crito 43 D.
Styx, Phaedo 113 C. Rep. 3, 387 B.
Syracusan dinners, Rep. 3, 404 D.
Syracusans, Laws 1, 638 A.

Tanagra, 1 Alcib. 11 B.
Tantalus, Protag. 315 C. Euthyp. 11 D. Cratyl. 395 D, E. Gorg. 525 E.
Tarentines, Laws 1, 637 B, C.
Tarentum, Iccus of, Protag. 316 D.
Tartarus, Phaedo, 112 A, D; 113 B, E; 114 A. Rep. 10, 616 A. Gorg. 523 A.
Taureas, Charm. 153 A.
Telemachus, Laws 7, 804 A.
Telamon, Apol. 41 B. Rep. 10, 620 B.
— Ajax, son of, Cratyl. 428 C.
Telephus, Phaedo 108 A.
Temenus, Laws 3, 683 D; 692 B.
Terpsichore, Phaedr. 259 C.
Terpsion, Theaet. 142 A, and elsewhere. Phaedo 59 C.
Tethys, Cratyl. 402 B, C, D. Tim. 40 E. Theaet. 152 E; 180 D.
Thales, Protag. 343 A. Theaet. 174 A. Rep. 10, 600 A.
Thamus, Phaedr. 274 D, E; 275 B.
Thamyras, Laws 8, 829 E. Rep. 10, 620 A. Ion 533 B.
Thasos, Stesimbrotus of, Ion 530 D.
Thaumas, Theaet. 155 D.
Theaetetus, Theaet. 142 A; 144 C, etc. Soph. 218 A, D, and elsewhere. Polit. 257 A

Theages, Rep. 6, 495 B.
Thearion, Gorg. 518 B.
Theban, Orthagoras the, Protag. 316 C. Phaedo 92 A; 95 A.
Thebes, Phaedr. 274 D. Crito 53 B.
Themis, Rep. 2, 380 A. Laws 11, 936 E.
Themistocles, Gorg. 455 E; 503 C; 515 D; 516 D; 519 A. Meno 93 B, D, E; 99 B. Rep. 1, 329 E, etc.
Theoclymenus, Ion 538 E.
Theodorus, of Cyrene, Theaet. 143 B, etc. Soph. 316 A, and elsewhere. Polit. 257 A. The Samian, Ion 533 A. The Byzantine, Phaedr. 261 C; 266 E.
Theodotus, Apol. 33 E.
Theognis, Meno 95 D. Laws 1, 630 A, C.
Theonoe, Cratyl. 407 B.
Theophilus, Cratyl. 394 E; 397 B.
Theosdotides, Apol. 33 E.
Thersites, Rep. 10, 620 C.
Theseus, Phaedo 58 A. Crit. 110 A. Laws 3, 687 E; 11, 921 B. Theaet. 169 B. Rep. 3, 391 C.
Thessalian, Creon the, Protag. 339 A.
Thessalian enchantresses, Gorg. 513 A.
— Penestae, Laws 6, 766.
Thessalians, Meno 70 A.
Thessaly, Crito 45 C; 53 E; 54 A. Laws 1, 625 D. Polit. 264 C.
Thetis, Apol. 28 C. Hip. Min. 371 C. Symp. 179 E. Laws 12, 944 A. Rep. 2, 381 D; 383 A.
Theuth, Phaedr. 274 C, E. Phileb. 18 B.
Thrace, Rep. 4, 435 E.
Thracians, Charm. 156 D; 157 C; 175 E. Theaet. 174 A, C; 175 D. Rep. 1, 327 A; 4, 435 E. Laws 1, 637 E; 7, 805 D.
Thrasymachus, Rep. 1, 328 B; 336 B, etc.; 6, 498 C. Phaedr. 261 C; 269 D; 271 A.
Thucydides, Meno 94 C, D. Lach. 179 A.
Thurii, Euthyd. 271 C; 286 A. Laws 1, 636 B.
Thyestes, Cratyl. 395 B. Polit. 268 E. Laws 8, 838 C.
Timaeus, Tim. 17 A; 20 A; 27 A and elsewhere. Crit. 106 B.
Tiresias, Meno 100 A.
Tisander, Gorg. 487 C.
Tisias, Phaedr. 267 A; 273 A, C, E.
Tityus, Gorg. 525 E.
Triptolemus, Apol. 41 A. Laws 6 782 B.
Trojans, Laws 4, 706 D.
Trojan War, Laws 3, 685 C.
Troy, Rep. 3, 393 E; 405 E; 9, 586 C. Phaedr. 243 B. Apol. 28 C. Ion 535 C. Laws 3, 682 D; 685 C, D.
Tynnichus, Ion 534 D.
Typhon, Phaedr. 230 A.
Tyrrhenia, Tim. 25 B; 114 C.
Tyrrhenic rites, Laws 5, 738 C.
Tyrtaeus, Laws 1, 629 A, B, C, E; 630 B, C; 2, 667 A; 1, 858 E.

Urania, Phaedr. 259 D.
Uranus, Cratyl. 396 B. Symp. 180 D. Tim. 40 E. Rep. 2, 377 E.

Xanthippe, Phaedo 60 A.
Xanthippus, Protag. 315 A; 328 C Meno 94 B. 1 Alcib. 104 B Menex. 235 E.
Xanthus, Cratyl. 391 E; 392 A.
Xenophanes, Sophist 242 D.
Xerxes, Gorg. 483 D. 1 Alcib. 105 C; 121 B; 123 C. Laws 3, 695 E. Rep. 1, 336 A.

Zamolxis, Charm. 156 D; 158 B.
Zeno, Phaedr. 261 D. Soph. 216 A 1 Alcib. 119 A. Parm. 126 C, etc.
Zethus, Gorg. 485 E; 489 E; 506 B.
Zeus, Euthyd. 302 C, D. Symp. 190 C; 191 B; 197 B. Gorg. 523 A. Cratyl. 396 A, B. Rep. 2, 379 D Laws 5, 745 B; 6, 774 D; 8, 848 D; 11, 936 E; 12, 941 A; 950 E. Phaedr. 253 A; 255 C. Protag. 321 D; 339 C. Tim 41 A.
Zeuxippus, Protag. 318 B, C.
Zeuxis, Gorg. 458 C, D.
Zoroaster, 1 Alcib. 122 A.

A COMPREHENSIVE INDEX.

COMPILED BY

REV. C. H. A. BULKLEY, A. M.

NOTE. —Every book of value needs a copious index. Its facts and thoughts should be so classified for reference, as to be of the utmost practical use. In this day, when books multiply, time presses, and occupations engross, few can wade all through several ponderous tomes, to gather intellectual wheat from the chaff of either ancient or modern writers. The compiler of this Index, having carefully and thoughtfully perused Professor Jowett's "Plato," felt for himself the need of such an *addendum* to that work, for after use, and deeming that need as likely to be felt also by other readers, has prepared this Index, which he trusts will prove of much service to all who would profit best by the writings of the great Greek philosopher, as translated and interpreted by a mature English scholar.

*** *For the sake of brevity, the figures are only given that designate the pages where the discussion of a theme is begun, but which is often extended for pages beyond.*

A.

Ability and strength, difference between, i. 150.
Absolute Beauty, i. 429; ii. 304. Truth, Plato's ignorance of, ii. 141 The, i. 391. Like and unlike, iii. 245. And relative existences, iii. 494. Knowledge belonging only to God, iii. 252.
Absolutes and relatives, iii. 193.
Abstract, the difficulty of the, i. 5. And concrete, ii. 492; iii. 217. Likeness in the, iii. 245. Ideas, iii. 247. Natures, separate, iii. 251.
Abstraction given by arithmetic, ii. 70. Knowledge of, ii. 140.
Abstractions, their use, ii. 76. The illusion of, ii. 489.
Achilles, self-sacrifice of, i. 475 And Patroclus, i. 474. Condemned, ii. 214.
Acquisition, the art of, iii. 452.
Acropolis, the ancient, ii. 598.
Actors and theatres demoralizing, ii. 117.
Actual, the, falls short of Truth, ii. 300.
Addition and division, like effects of, i. 426.
Admonition and education through life, i. 125.
Adulterations, iv. 428.
Affections of the body, ii. 556. Opposing, iv. 175.
Affirmation and negation, iii. 238.
Affliction, origin of, iii. 180.
Age, old, the evil and the good of, ii. 149. Love escaped from in, ii. 149. As viewing eternity, ii. 151. Poverty, riches, and, ii. 150. Hope a nurse of, ii. 151. Nearness of death in, ii. 150. Right-doing a consolation in, ii. 151. Learning in, ii. 364. Philosophy in youth and, iii. 247. Love of Ibycus in, iii. 254. Horse in, iii. 254. Grief in old, iv. 6.
Aged man, picture of the, ii. 6.

Why conversational, ii. 11. Love of conversation growing with the, ii. 148. Converse with the, ii. 149. The drunkard like the, iv. 26.
Agreements, sacredness of, iv. 94.
Alcetas, iii. 57.
Alcibiades I. The Dialogue, iv. 516.
Alexander, iii. 57.
Allegory not for youth, ii. 201.
Ambition of money-making, ii. 381. Inordinate, iv. 516.
Ambitious men, ii. 302. Woman, ii 376.
Amusement in education, ii. 364. Argument for, ii. 367; and harmless pleasure, iv. 197.
Amusements and laws, iv. 80.
Analogy in language, light and danger of, i. 616. False, between the individual and the State, ii. 135. The source of error and beginning of truth, ii. 488.
Analogies not reliable as arguments, ii. 136.
Analysis defined, i. 522. Extreme, iii. 311.
Anarchy resulting from freedom, ii. 391. Equality of, ii. 391.
Ancients, physical philosophy of the, ii. 508.
Anger, pleasure of, iii. 187.
Angler, sophist, like the, iii. 439. Art of the, iii. 438, 451.
Animal, the world a great, ii. 525.
Animals, liberty of, ii. 391.
Animalism, ii. 417.
Annihilation of reason, iii. 499.
Antagonisms, human, ii. 266; and counterparts in nature, making harmony, iii. 161.
Anticipatory pain and pleasure, iii. 197.
Apaturia, ii. 517.
Aphrodite, i. 475.
Apology, The, i. 315.
Apollo preferred to Marsyas, ii. 223.
Appearance the master of truth, ii. 186. Outward, ii. 333; and perception, iii. 352.
Appetites, natural, iv. 303.
Appetitive, soul, ii. 504.
Archelaus, iii. 57.
Ardiæus, the fate of, ii. 447.
Argument, the state of mind for, i. 490. Less than character, ii. 189. Not to be found in numbers, iii 60. A healing power, iii. 63.
Arguments often pretenders, i. 58 From probabilities, i. 421, 578. Sound and unsound, i. 419. Analogies not reliable as, ii. 136.
Argumentation, iii. 456.
Aristocracy, Timocracy arising out of, ii. 372.
Aristotle's view of pleasure, iii. 131 Theory of ideas, iii. 215.
Arithmetic, giving abstraction, ii. 70. Sharpening the wits, ii. 71. Leading to philosophic distinctions, iii. 36. Two kinds of, iii. 197. Quickening intellect, iv 64. Study of, iv. 87.
Arithmetician, the perfect, iii. 404.
Armenius, Er, the son of, ii. 446.
Art, not merely imitation, ii. 117. Its vocation, ii. 119. Simplicity the highest characteristic of, iii. 4. And experience, iii. 32. Cookery not an, iii. 47, 91. For good, medicine an, iii. 91. Conjecture in art, iii. 196. Persuasion the greatest, iii. 198, 456. Of the angler, iii. 438. Of acquisition, iii. 452. Of exchange, iii. 457 Of likeness-making, iii. 470. Deception in, iii. 470. Word-painting more effective than coloring of, iii. 561. Deficiency of, to delineate living beings, iii. 561. Measure needful to the beauty of, iii. 568. Of war, iii. 591. Its nature and function, iv. 54.
Artemesium, iv. 235, 571.
Arts, the higher, what they require, i. 575. Deterioration of the, ii. 245. Experimental, iii. 32. Empirical and scientific, iii. 133 Dialectic the truest of, iii. 143 Division of, iii. 196. Opinion as related to the, iii. 199. And Sciences, division of, iii. 516 Causal or principal, coöperative or subordinate, iii. 522. Of measuring, iii. 522, 568. Inquiry ruinous to, iii. 585.
Artists, are imitators, ii 107. What they should be, ii. 225. Work of, iii. 95.
Aspasia, a teacher of oratory, iv. 566, 579.
Assertion, self, of Hippias, iv. 494.
Astronomy, motion of solids, ii. 71

As a study, ii. 355. Of Plato, ii. 499.
Athenian, the good, iv. 173.
Athenians, woman among the, ii. 129.
Athlete, becoming fierce, ii. 235.
Atlantis, Lord Bacon's new, ii. 145.
Atomists, what they denied, iii. 331.
Atreus, the right of, iii. 553.
Attraction, the doctrine of, ii. 499.
Augustine, St., his "Dei Civitate," ii. 143.
Authority of the State, i. 355.
Authorship, motives to, iii 245.
Avarice and oligarchy, ii. 84. A source of crime, iv. 110.
Avaricious youth, ii. 381.

B.

Bacon, Lord, his "New Atlantis," ii. 145.
Bad man's faults increased by power, ii. 409.
Balance of power in States, iv. 52, 56.
Banquets regulated, iv. 201.
Battle, bravery in, iii. 341. Death in, iv. 566.
"Be — to," and "to become," distinction between, i. 101.
Beauties, tyrannical, i. 249.
Beautiful things, i. 168. The true, the good, and the, ii. 337; iii. 61. Utterance and character, iii. 389. And not, iii. 497.
Beauty, the Greek ideal of, i. 4. Permeating our souls, i. 56. Absolute, i. 206, 429; ii. 304. One and everlasting, i. 502. Proportionate, i. 555; ii. 244. And bloom, ii. 431. Symmetry and truth, iii. 206. Of art, measure needful to, iii. 568. Of figure and melody, iv. 184.
"Become — to," and "to be," i. 101.
Becoming, and being, iii. 353. Not endless, i. 101; ii. 463, 523.
Begetting, the age of, ii. 288. Of children, iv. 304.
Being, real, ii. 416; iii. 485
Belief, and learning, iii. 39.
Beliefs and opinions, true, ii. 530.
Births, geometrical problem of, ii. 378.
Blood, circulation of the, ii. 510.
Bloom and beauty, ii. 431.
Boastfulness of the Sophists, iii. 5.
Bodily pleasures mainly desired by men, i. 391. Sense a bar to truth, i. 391.
Body, and soul, their relative value, i. 113. Degenerated by the soul, i. 412. Affections of the, ii. 556. Its construction, ii. 561. Health of soul and, iii. 95. Training of soul and, two processes, iii. 104. After death, iii. 116. Of matter, iii. 165. Feelings of soul and, divided, iii. 179. Mixtures of soul and, iii. 185. Motion for soul and, iv. 77. Honor of the, iv. 254.
Boldness, a special trait of the philosopher, i. 394. In thought, advantage of, iii. 391.
Bones, ii. 565.
"Bonum summum," in the State, ii. 288.
Boundaries, not to be removed, iv. 94, 357.
Boys, education of, iv. 83.
Brain, immortality in the, ii. 508.
Brave, honor to the, ii. 296.
Bravery in battle, iii. 341.
Brevity, of speech, Lacedæmonian, i. 14; iii. 33. Not always best, iv. 50.
Burial, and remembrance of the dead, iv. 245.
Business, promptitude in, ii. 192. Men of, their money-sting, ii. 383. Temperance is doing our own, iv. 15.

C.

Calmness in view of death, i. 347.
Carthagenians, wine forbidden by the, iv. 203.
Carving and weaving, iii. 522.
Causal or principal arts, iii. 522.
Cause, and condition confounded, i. 428. For every creation, ii. 523. For an existence by necessity, iii. 162. And limit in the Universe, iii. 166.
Causes, intelligent and unintelligent, ii. 539. Two kinds of, ii. 560.
Celibacy, fined, iv. 249.
Censorship, of fiction, ii. 200.

Censure, right and good, iv. 165. Hasty, iv. 169.
Certainty needed as to good and evil, ii. 408.
Changeableness of youth, ii. 390.
CHARMIDES, THE, i. 1.
Childhood, second, of the drunkard, iv. 26.
Children, our riches, i. 77. Spoiled by friends, i. 78. Made cowards, ii. 205. Training of, not easy, ii. 274. Taught their letters, iii. 562. What they owe to their parents, iv. 48. Falsely trained, iv. 223. Riches an evil left to, iv. 254. Education of, iv. 306.
Choral song, harmony in, iv. 194.
Choristers, how they should sing, iv. 199.
Christian philosophy in Plato, iv. 98.
Church, Plato's Republic a, ii. 143.
Cicero's "De Republica," ii. 143.
Circulation of the blood, ii. 510.
Cities, names of, how given, iv. 232. Maritime, evil, iv. 232. Need faithful watchers, iv. 280.
Citizen, right of the State to the, i. 355. Obligation of the, to the, i. 356. Improvement of the, iii. 106. The perfect, iv. 88.
Citizenship, fixed by money, ii. 378.
City, heavenly, ii. 423.
Civil war, how arising, ii. 388.
Class, a, distinguished apart, iii. 546.
Classification, how made, iii. 545.
Clever, the, unjust, ii. 445.
Cognitions, ideas that are, iii. 249.
Colonization, how to be conducted, iv. 45, 60. The best kind of, iv. 235.
Color, what is it? i. 235, 250; iii. 354.
Colors, ii. 559.
Combination, principles of, i. 169.
Comedy, rationale of, iii. 141.
Command, the science of, iii. 551.
Commingling of pleasures, iii. 205.
Common tables, iv. 301.
Communicable things, iii. 489.
Communion, of kinds, iii. 446. Of suffering, ii. 228. Of things, iii. 490. Of race, iv. 235.
Community, of goods, ii. 126. Of wives, ii. 130, 282. The first form of government, iv. 264.
Compacts, sacredness of, iv. 94.
Comparison, learning by, iii. 562
Comparatives, iii. 159.
Compulsion, in education, ii. 364.
Compulsory and voluntary care of men, iii. 561.
Concealment of evil, ii. 187.
Conception and generation, divine nature of, i. 498.
Conceptualism, iii. 223.
Concrete, abstract and, i. 5; ii. 492; iii. 15, 217.
Concupiscent nature ruled, ii. 268.
Condition and cause confounded, i. 428.
Conjecture in art, iii. 196. Insufficient as to good and evil, ii. 408.
Consciousness of evil, iii. 532.
Consequences from an hypothesis, iii. 253.
Conservatism of law and custom, iv. 236.
Consonances and harmonies, ii. 358.
Conspirators and traitors, iv. 369.
Constituency, legislators not always to obey their, iii. 582.
Constitutions, only four, ii. 80.
Contempt for the masses, iii. 77.
Contradiction, art of, ii. 278. Principles of, iii. 434.
Contradictories and unities, iii. 128.
Contrasts of holy things, iv. 255.
Control of self, the secret of happiness, iii. 19.
Controversy, iii. 459.
Convention, imitation supplemented by, i. 614.
Conventional notions of right, iii. 71.
Conventionalism must have a rational ground, i. 591.
Conversation, love of, growing with age, ii. 148.
Conversion, the process of, ii. 345.
Convivial meetings, iv. 172.
Cookery, not an art, iii. 47, 91. And medicine, iii. 50.
Coöperative, or subordinate arts, iii. 522.
Corporeal obstacles to the search for Truth, i. 392. The, created, ii 525. Essence, ii. 528.
Correlation of sciences, ii. 365.
Cosmogonies, Hesiodic and Orphic ii. 486.
Cosmos, iii. 99, 165.
Counterparts and antagonisms in Nature making harmony, iii. 161

Courage, and virtue, what are they, i. 68. A man of, i. 83. Generic, i. 84. A special trait of the philosopher, i. 394; iii. 592. Improved by love, i. 474. In the State, ii 254. Fear of death, contrary to, ii. 209. In battle, iii. 341. And cowardice, iv. 530. Untempered, iii. 598. Education and temperance, iv. 53. Defined, iv. 164.
Courageous, the truly, ii. 269, 436.
Courts of law and lawyers, i 566, 578. Of justice, establishment of, iv. 288.
Coverings, defenses, and protections, iii. 563
Covetous, man, ii. 375.
Covetousness, ii. 84.
Cowardice and courage, iv. 530.
Cowards, children made, ii. 205.
CRATYLUS, THE, i. 621.
Created world, ii. 463. The corporeal, ii. 525.
Creation, Platonic conception of, ii. 495, 499. Goodness of God in, ii. 495. Cause for every, ii. 523. Beginning and reason of the, ii. 524. Indissoluble, of God, ii. 534.
Creative and preventive things, iii. 563.
Creators, self, ii. 426.
Crime, source of voluntary, iv. 110. Ignorance as a cause of, iv. 377.
Crimes, treatment of, iv. 366.
Criminality of public men, iii. 117.
Criminals coexisting with paupers, ii. 380.
CRITIAS, THE, ii. 592.
Critic, qualities needed in the, iii. 16.
Culture of children, obligatory, i. 350.
Cures, why unknown to physicians, i. 11.
Curiosity does not make a philosopher, ii. 303.
Custom and nature at variance, iii. 71. And law, conservatism of, iv. 236.
Cyclops, the government of the, iv. 209.
Cynics, the, and virtue, iii. 312.
Cyrus, error of, iv. 224.

D.

Dance and song for youth, iv. 28.
Dancing, iv. 85. Natural, iv. 183.
Darius, accession of, iv. 224.
Dead, robbing the, ii. 297. Burial and remembrance of the, iv. 245 Three kinds of funerals for the, iv. 247. The, are our shades, iv. 469. Heroic, iv. 566.
Death, escape from, not always right, i. 336. Either a sleep or a journey, i. 310. Of good men from envy, i. 326. Its fear, no wisdom, i 327. Calmness in view of, i. 347. And life not to be considered in questions of duty, i. 353. Universal, i. 399. Nearness of, in age, ii. 151. Willingness for, how consistent, i. 388. Welcome, to the philosopher, i 394. Fear of, contrary to courage, ii. 209. A lingering, ii 230. May be life, iii. 81 Only a separation, iii. 115. Body after, iii. 116. Punishment of, iv. 107. In battle, iv. 566.
Debt, evils of, ii. 126.
Deceit and falsehoood as medicine, ii. 285; iii. 500.
Deceiver as to truth, ii. 275.
Deception, how practiced and avoided, i. 567. Of self, i. 667. In the soul, detestable, ii. 205. Homicide less criminal than, ii. 275.
Decision, a good, based on knowledge, i. 77.
Deeds and words, tribute of, iv. 567.
Defect and excess, iii. 522.
Defenses, coverings, and protections, iii. 563.
Definition, needful for knowledge, iii. 409. How attained, iii. 417.
Deformity and ignorance, iii. 440.
Degeneracy, iv. 17.
Deluge, tradition of the, iv. 206.
Demons, Hesiod's use of the term, i. 636.
Democracy, ii. 84, 92, 383; iii. 577.
Desertion of duty, an evil, i. 308.
Desire, an impulse in the soul, origin of, iii. 172. And prayer, iv. 38.
Detraction and envy destroying good men, i. 326.
Dialogue, the Platonic, its aim, iii. 311.
Dialogues, unity of the, iii. 3.
Dialectic, process, tendency of the ii. 17. Its nature and uses, ii. 75 The truest of arts, iii. 143. What is it, iii. 198. And classification, iii. 533.

Dialectical skill of Socrates, i. 80. Progress, ii. 360.
Dialectics, the true basis of Rhetoric, ii. 142. Talent for, ii. 365.
Differences in science, iii. 202. As to right opinion, iii. 418.
Discipline of boys, iv. 83.
Discord, allied to evil, ii. 225. And war, ii. 297. And disease, iii. 462.
Discourse, and discussion, i. 80. Unity of, i. 569. Love of, growing with age, ii. 148. Limitation of, ii. 274. And Rhetoric, iii. 35. Not a succession of verbs and nouns, iii. 503. And language more effective than coloring of art, iii. 561. Long or short, iii. 571.
Discussion, and discourse, i. 80. Ease and pleasure in, secondary, iii. 571.
Disease, an enemy, i. 59. Cures of, why unknown, i. 11.
Diseases, how arising, ii. 572. Purification and, iii. 440. And discords, iii. 462.
Disfiguration of the soul, ii. 443.
Disgracefulness of wrong-doing, iii. 61.
Dishonor, and honor in love, i. 478.
Disorders of the soul, ii. 577. Excesses and, iv. 220.
Disputation, as an art, i. 566; iii. 459. For the truth, iii. 148. Reasoning and, difference between, iii. 320.
Disputes, earnest, i. 170. Self-wise, i. 419.
Dissembler, the, iii. 510.
Dissent, duty and right of, iii. 29.
Diversities of nature, i. 191. Of pleasure, iii. 146.
Divination, the work of, i. 482.
Divine power of the poet, i. 224. The soul resembling the, i. 408; iv. 57. Mind, good in the, iii. 157. Things, unchangeableness of, iii. 554. Bonds in the State, iii. 597. Origin of law, iv. 51.
Divineness of truth instinctive, iii. 183.
Divisible essence, ii. 528.
Division, and addition, like effects of, i. 426. Of arts and sciences, iii. 516. Processes of, iii. 553
Doctors and patients, iv. 247. See *Physicians*.
Dog, the, a philosopher, ii. 24, 198. Dorian kings, their ruin, how caused, iv. 217.
Dreams, sleep, free from fanciful, ii. 400.
Drunkard, like the aged, iv. 26. Second childhood of the, iv. 26.
Drunkenness viewed, as a virtue, ii. 185. Condemned in Sparta, iv. 167.
Dualism, ii. 337.
Duty, desertion of an evil, i. 308. The work and place of, i. 326. Death and life not to be considered in questions of, i. 353. Utility and right, ideas of, pushed too far, iii. 25.

E.

Earth, the rotundity of the, i. 439. Vastness of the, i. 439. The heavenly idea, i. 440. Rotation of the, ii. 501. Immobility of the, ii. 501. A sphere, ii. 527. Divers kinds of, ii. 552. Men born of the, iii. 555.
Earthly and sensual, the soul, i. 410.
Education, desired by uneducated men for their children, i. 67. And admonition all through life, i. 125. Of children obligatory, i. 350; iv. 306. Plato's true idea of, ii. 76. Mathematics an instrument of, ii. 78. Of the human race, not a Platonic idea, ii. 90. Plato's views of, ii. 137. Principles of higher, ii. 141. Compulsion in, ii. 364. Amusements in, ii. 364. A sign of liberal, iii. 387. The foundation of a State, iii. 536. Early, iv. 26, 174. Temperance, courage, and, iv. 53. Of women, iv. 82. Of boys, iv. 83. Evil, iv. 110. Good of, iv. 172. Music and gymnastics, ministers of, iv. 286.
Educational knowledge, iii. 195.
Educator, pleasure an, iv. 53. The law-giver an, iv. 57.
Eleatic, philosophy, iii. 214. Philosophers, iii. 221.
Eleatics, the old, iii. 226.
Elections, methods of, iv. 275.
Elevation, of self, ii. 321.
Eloquence, its force of truth, i. 315. Power of, iv. 565.
Emotion, without reason, iii. 124.

Empire, Persian, how ruined, iv. 42.
Empirical, habits, iii. 18. And scientific arts, iii. 133.
Endless, being, not becoming, ii. 463, 523.
Endurance, a wise, i. 85. Of youth, iv. 22.
Enemies, and friends, how to be treated, ii. 155. All men are, iv. 157.
Enslaving power of money, ii. 421.
Envy, causing the death of good men, i. 326. A pain of the soul, iii. 187. And injustice, iv. 256.
Epimenides, iv. 25. Prophecy of, iv. 173, 206.
Equal things, iii. 260.
Equality, not the same as impartiality, i. 137. And inequality, i. 401. Of anarchy, ii. 391.
Equalizer, science an, iii. 514.
Equipoise, ii. 509.
Er, the son of Armenius, ii. 446.
Eristic, or fighting with words, i. 165.
Erring, retribution for the, ii. 593.
Error, analogy the source of, and beginning of truth, ii. 488. Of the Greek philosophy, iii. 223.
Essence, individual, ii. 528. Of the world, twofold, ii. 528. A good exceeding knowledge, iii. 133. Of all things, iii. 194, 283. War about, iii. 483. And being, iii. 485.
Esteem and praise distinguished, i. 137.
Eternal, space is, ii. 544. Age as viewing the, ii. 151.
Ethics and politics defined, ii. 136; iii. 25. Not distinguished by Plato, iv. 52. Social principle in, iii. 25. And physics, the universal in, iii. 221.
Eurycles, the ventriloquist, iii. 490.
EUTHYDEMUS. The Dialogue of, i. 167.
EUTHYPHRO. The Dialogue of, i. 285.
Everlasting principle, an, i 265.
Evil, and good, the presence of, i. 58. Not to be returned for evil, 134. Influence of the sea on cities, iv. 232. Putting good for, i. 565. Good returned for, ii. 13. Concealment of, ii. 187. God not the author of, ii. 214. Discord allied to, ii. 225 Greatest in the State, ii, 288. Conjecture insufficient as to good and, ii. 408. Certainty needed as to good and, ii. 408. Worse to do than to suffer, iii. 14. And good, iii. 56. Power for good or evil, iii. 117. Always to be in the world, iii. 324. Consciousness of, iii. 532. Retribution an, iv. 59. Education, iv. 110.
Evils, affecting States, iii. 535.
Example, and model, iii. 562.
Examples as affecting men, ii. 146. Of instruction, iii. 562.
Excess, reaction from, ii. 392. In pleasures, iii. 184. And defect, iii. 522.
Exchange, art of, iii. 457.
Existence, recollection proof of previous, i. 400. Pure, ii 416. By necessity has a cause, iii. 162. Present, past and future, iii. 277. Real, iii. 485.
Existences, relative and absolute, iii 494. Separation of, iii. 499.
Existent, the, iii. 235.
Expediency, right of property based on, ii. 127. Relating to the future, iii. 324.
Explanation, how attained, iii. 417.

F.

Faculties, what are they? ii. 305.
Fallacies, i. 170.
False notion of freedom, i. 262. Opinion and wisdom, i. 189, 563. And true, the, iii. 4. Opinion, right or wrong, true or, iii. 174. Opinion, what and how formed, iii. 337.
Falsehood, God incapable of, ii. 206. And deceit as medicine, ii. 285; iii. 500. Love of, iv. 58.
Fame, does it depend on character or birth, ii. 150.
Family, the, among Greeks, ii. 131. Life, in the Republic, ii. 274. Ties, names of, ii. 289.
Fancies of people, i. 50. Of hope, iii. 178.
Fatalism, and idealism, ii. 503.
"Father," what the name implies, ii. 289.

Fathers, sons of good, why they turn out ill, i. 126.
Faultless man not to be found, i. 145.
Fear, its object, i. 92. Two kinds of, iv. 27. In reverence, iv. 27. Its source and influence, iv. 309.
Fearlessness and courage, i. 91.
Feelings of body and soul divided, iii. 179.
Few, the government of the, only true, iii. 578.
Fickleness of youth, ii. 390.
Fiction, censorship of, ii. 200.
Figure, the limit of form, i. 235. Defined, i. 249. And number. ii. 490. And melody, iv. 184.
Filial, monsters, ii. 398. Regards, iv. 48, 245.
Final judgment of men, iii. 115.
Finite and infinite, iii. 158.
Fire, divers kinds of, ii. 550. In the Universe, iii. 165. And friction, iii. 353.
First principles, i. 437.
Fishing, iii. 454.
Fixed and pure knowledge, iii. 200.
Flattery in rhetoric, iii. 4, 47.
Flatteries, iii. 18.
Flesh, ii. 565. Rejected as food, iv. 303.
Flux and change, iii. 385. And motion, iii. 353.
Food for the soul, iii. 457. Flesh rejected as, iv. 303.
Forgeries of Plato, iv. 483.
Forgetfulness, the plain of, ii. 452; iii. 170.
Forgiveness of injuries, ii. 13
Form, figure and color, i 235. Harmony of soul and, ii. 226. Of the earth, spherical, ii. 527.
Forms of government unessential, ii. 272. Of government poor, ii. 371.
Fortunate, the unjust, ii. 445.
Free use of words and phrases, iii. 387.
Freedom, false, ii. 87. Artificers of, ii. 218. In the acquisition of knowledge, ii. 364. Too great a thirst, ii. 391. Anarchy resulting from, ii. 391. Unknown to the tyrant, ii. 405. Absolute, a curse to the State, iv. 43. Of speech, iii. 47. Of philosophy, iii. 375. In the Persian State, iv. 223. Growing to license, iv. 230.
French Revolution, horrors of, illustrated, ii. 391.
Friends and enemies, how to be treated, ii. 155.
Friendship dearer than money, i. 348. The theme of the Lysis, i. 37. And love, tyranny opposed to, i. 475, 560. Unknown to the tyrant, ii. 405. The principle of, iv. 352
Friction and fire, iii. 353.
Funeral, rites, iv. 49. Three kinds of, iv. 247. Orations iv. 565.
Fusion and proportion, ii. 526.
Future state and world, i. 443. Expediency, relating to the, iii. 324. Past and present existence, iii. 277.

G.

Gain, the lover of, ii. 412.
Generation and conception, divine nature of, i. 498. Of opposites, i. 397. Aristotle's view of, iii. 131. And pleasure, iii. 131. Of all things, iii. 194. And essence, iii. 485.
Generalization, iii 223.
Genius, defined, i. 216. A youthful, iii. 343.
Gentle, man, the, loves wisdom, ii. 199.
Gentleness, and greatness, seemingly inconsistent, ii. 197. Of warriors and rulers, ii. 514.
Geometry, its uses, ii. 71. And kindred arts, ii. 338. In war, ii. 354.
Geometrical problem of births, ii. 373.
Giants and gods, war of, iii. 483.
Gifted minds, ill-educated, become the worst, ii. 318.
Gifts, natural, ii 279.
Globe, the world a, ii. 527.
Gluttony and sensuality, ii. 417.
God, intimation of the will of, i. 359 Unchangeable, ii. 25, 203; iv. 46. True representation of ii. 202. Not the author of all things, ii. 202. Incapable of falsehood, ii. 206. Goodness of, in creation, ii. 495. Absolute knowledge belonging only to, iii. 252.
Gods, reverence for the, iii 146. Impassiveness of the, iii. 169. War of giants and, iii. 483. Existence of the, iv. 398.

Gold, divers kinds of, ii 531. Virtue not to be exchanged for, iv. 253.
Good, and knowledge identified by Plato, i. 6. And evil, the presence of, i. 58. Its meaning, i. 166. Life, a valued, i. 352. All men desire the, i. 497.
Good, putting, for evil, i. 565. Returned for evil, ii. 13. Property a means of, ii 128. Idea of, ii. 133. How related to the nature of God, ii. 134. Harmony allied to good, ii. 225. Highest in the State, ii. 288. The idea of, the highest knowledge, ii. 332. The beautiful, the true and the, ii. 337. Conjecture insufficient as to evil and, ii. 408. Counsel, ii. 436. Pleasure distinguished from, iii. 18. The greatest, iii 36. And evil, iii. 56. Medicine an art for, iii. 91. Power for evil or, iii. 117. A, exceeding knowledge and essence in the divine mind, iii. 157. And pleasant, a unity, iii. 133. In nature, iii. 200. Sufficiency of the, iii. 201. Truth essential to the, iii. 205. Truth the beginning of, iv 255.
Good men, simplicity of, ii. 233.
Goodness of God, ii. 495. Ideal of, i 4.
Goods, community of, ii. 126. Desirable and profitable, ii. 179. Of life, iv. 162, 190.
Gorgias. The Dialogue of, iii. 31.
Government, forms of, unessential, ii. 272. Four kinds of, ii. 371. Property in, ii. 377. Riches in, ii. 377. Wealth ruinous to, ii. 390. True, iii. 525. Science of, wherein resident, iii. 578. Of the few, only true, iii. 578. Without laws, iii. 579. Origin of, iv. 205. Of the Cyclops iv. 209. Of three forms, iv 264 Community the first form of, iv. 264. Of Sparta doubtful, iv. 240. Necessity for, iv. 388.
Gratification of self, iii. 80.
Gravitation, the law of, ii 510.
Greek, ideal of beauty, i. 4. Philosopher, Nature to the, ii. 486. Mind, its want, in the fourth century, iii. 312. Philosophy fundamental error of the, iii. 223.
Greeks, the family among the, ii. 131. Marriage among the, iv. 101. Literature of the, before Christ, iv 484.
Great, sycophancy to the, ii, 321.
Greater and less, relative, iii. 568.
Greatness, and gentleness seemingly inconsistent, ii. 197. The idea of, iii. 249.
Grief, to be controlled, ii. 110. Manifestations of, ii. 210.
Guardians, who are, ii. 239.
Guesses of Plato, i. 590.
Gyges, story of, ii. 181.
Gymnastics, ii. 228. And music, ministers of education, iv. 286.

H.

Habit, bodily and mental, iii. 353.
Habits, empirical, iii. 18. Generated by opinions, iii. 320.
Happiness, how gained, i. 185. Self-control, the secret of, iii. 19. And virtue, iii. 67. From victory over pleasure, iv. 355.
Hardihood, i. 86.
Harmony, of human nature, i. 3, 414, 421, 481. Of soul and form, ii. 226. Allied to good, ii. 225. Of temperance, ii. 257. Civilizing, ii. 268. Of the inner life, ii. 270. Wealth acquired, according to, ii. 423. And rhythm, ii. 540. Effect of, in the soul, iii. 95. Counterparts and antagonisms in Nature, making, iii. 161. Relaxed in generation of pain, iii. 167. Health and, iii. 167. Of the soul, virtue is the, iv. 28. In choral song, iv. 194.
Harmonies, errors about, ii. 72. And consonances, ii. 358. Expressive of joy or sorrow, ii. 222. To what akin, iv. 29.
Harmonists, Pythagorean, ii. 72. Classified, ii. 79.
Having, and possessing, distinction between, iii. 403.
Head the human, ii. 537.
Healing power, argument a, iii. 63. Wisdom a, iii. 320.
Health the result of true adjustment, iii. 160.
Hearing and speech, ii. 539, 558.
Heart, ii. 561
Heavenly idea of the earth, i. 440 Bodies, symbols, ii. 357. City, ii. 423. Bodies, motions of the, ii. 529.
Hegelian philosophy, Plato's akin to it, ii. 142; iii. 126.

Heirships and inheritances, iv. 129.
Heracles, i. 201.
Herdsman and shepherd, iv. 260.
Hero, to be kissed by all, ii. 295.
Heroic dead, iv. 566.
Hesiod quoted as to work, iv. 566. On "demons," i. 636.
Hesiodic cosmogonies, ii. 486.
Heterodoxy, iii. 395, 399.
Higher science, iii. 527. Rhetoric the, iii 591.
Highest good in the State, ii. 288. Knowledge, the idea of, ii. 332.
Hindrances, pleasures as, iii. 204.
Hippias, The lesser. The Dialogue of, iv. 493. Self-assertion of, iv. 494.
Historical deficiency of Plato, iv. 56.
History, changes in the world's, ii. 127.
Holiness resembling justice, i. 131. The essence of, i. 295.
Homer the best of poets, i. 219. Themes of, i. 220. Loved by Plato, ii. 107. What good has he done, ii. 108. Criticised, ii. 429. Discussed, iv. 491
Homicide less criminal than deception, ii. 275. Involuntary, iv. 108. Punishment of, iv. 378.
Honesty professed, i. 123. And riches inconsistent, iv. 63.
Honor, and dishonor in love, i. 478. Among thieves, ii. 175. To the brave, ii. 296. From any source, ii. 305.
Honorableness of love, i. 447.
Hope, a nurse of age, ii. 151. Fancies of, iii 178.
Horse in old age, iii. 254.
Horses and philosophy, iii. 214.
Human, life, in what consists the salvation of, i. 156. Nature, harmony of, i. 3. Race, education of the, not a Platonic idea, ii. 90. The question of life, iii. 91.
Humiliation of self, iv. 513.
Humor lacking in the Laws, iv. 11.
Hunger and thirst replenished, iii. 172.
Hunting, iii. 453. Proper kinds of, iv. 89.
Husbandmen. iv. 357.
Hypotheses, used by reason, i. 201; ii. 339.

I.

Ibycus, his love in age, iii 254.
Ideal, not worse for being impracticable, ii. 52. State, philosophers to be kings in the, ii. 301. Justice, ii. 300. Plato's later, iii. 124. State of man, iii. 532.
Ideals affecting human life, ii. 14f. Political, iv. 52.
Idealism and fatalism, ii. 503. Of Plato, iii. 24. Of suffering, iii. 25. Founded by Parmenides, iii. 221. And materialism, iii. 437.
Idealists and materialists, iii. 253.
Ideas, valuable though unrealized, ii. 20. Aristotle's theory of, iii. 215. Of Plato progressive, iii. 215. Abstract, iii. 247. That are cognitions, iii. 249.
Idle talking, iii. 253.
Ignoble, the, ii. 421.
Ignorance and wisdom, right opinion a mean between, i. 494. Of self, iii. 188. And deformity, iii. 440. And incapacity legislative, destroying States, iii. 588; iv. 39. As a cause of crimes, iv. 377.
Iliad and Odyssey compared, iv. 491.
Ills, affecting States, iii. 535.
Illusion of abstractions, the, ii. 489.
Images, some truths have not sensible, iii. 571.
Imitation, supplemented by convention, i. 614. A lie in words is an, ii. 205. And invention, ii. 216. A form of jest, iii. 469. And mimicry, iii. 508. In painting, ii. 594; iv. 198.
Imitative poetry, ii. 425. Music, iv. 197.
Imitators, artists are, ii. 107. Poets are, ii. 108, 216, 428, 515. And imitation, iii. 441.
Immobility of the earth, ii. 501.
Immortal, the world made, iii. 538.
Immortality of the soul, i. 236, 255 372; iv. 141. To be proved, ii. 440. In the brain, ii. 503. In time, iv. 249.
Immutability of God, ii. 25, 203.
Impartiality not the same as equality, i. 137.
Impassiveness of the Gods, iii. 169
Impiety, the causes of, iv. 193. Punishment of, iv. 420.

Impossible, vain to search for the, i. 145.
Impracticable, the ideal not worse for being, ii. 52.
Impure and pure, the soul, i. 409. Gifts of the, iv. 244.
Impulse, and desire in the soul, origin of, iii. 172. Philosophic, iii. 253.
Income taxes, payment of, ii. 165.
Incommunicable things, iii. 489.
Incompatibility in married life, iv. 131.
Indestructibleness of the soul, ii. 111.
Indissoluble creations of God, ii. 534.
Individual, the State more to be valued than the, i. 355. False analogy of the State and the, ii. 135.
Individualism an artificial result, ii. 128.
Individuality and unity, iii. 149.
Indivisible essence, ii. 528.
Industrial state, ii. 128.
Inequality and equality, i. 401.
Inexperience and chance, iii. 32.
Infidels of two kinds, iv. 123.
Infinite and finite, iii. 158.
Infinity, Greek idea of, iii. 128.
Inheritances and heirships, iv. 129, 435. Of wealth an evil, iv. 254.
Iniquity, concealment of, ii. 187.
Injuries, forgiveness of, ii. 13.
Injustice censured, ii. 166. Doing and suffering, iii. 55. Penalty of, iii. 324, 379. Retribution for, iv. 253. Envy promoting, iv. 256. What is called, iv. 377.
Inner, voice, the, i. 359. Life the harmony of the, ii. 270. Life of the philosophers, iii. 322.
Innovations, jests, no bar to, ii. 276. In the State, iv. 80. Forbidden, iv. 186.
Inordinate, love of wealth, iv. 90. Ambition, iv. 516.
Inquiry, the spirit of, i. 262. Forbidden as ruinous to arts, iii. 585.
Insane, treatment of the, iv. 446. Two kinds of the, i. 570.
Inspiration, the poet's gift of, i. 223.
Instability of youth, ii. 390.
Instincts, greater force of, i. 64.
Instinctiveness, divineness of truth, iii. 183.
Instruction, examples of, iii. 562.
Intellect and knowledge, ii. 530. Arithmetic sharpening, iv. 64.
Intelligence, pleasures of the, ii. 413.
Intemperance, iii. 80.
Intermediate state of pleasure and suffering, iii. 172.
Intoxication, nature of, iv. 168. See *Drunkenness*.
Invention, necessity the mother of, ii. 191.
Inventors, not good judges, i. 580.
Inward truth, desirable, ii. 205.
Ion. The Dialogue of, i. 219.
Irritability of musicians, ii. 236.
Irony of Socrates in the Euthystemus, i. 165.
Itching and scratching, iii. 83.

J.

Jest, imitation a form of, iii. 469.
Jests, no bar to innovations, ii. 276.
Judge, ideal of a, ii. 32. Virtuous, ii. 233. The righteous, iii. 591. And legislator, iv. 51. The true, iv. 188.
Judges and true opinion, iii. 408. Three kinds of, iv. 158.
Judgment of men, final, iii. 115.
Just, man, Christ unconsciously described as the, ii. 183. The, ii. 270. Gifts of Musæus to the, ii. 185. And wise soul, iii. 484. And not just, iii. 497. Judge, iii. 591. The, and the pleasant, iv. 192.
Justice resembling holiness, i. 131 Virtue is, i. 246. And happiness coincident, ii. 22. Real and apparent, ii. 112. In what consists, ii. 151. Among thieves, ii. 175. In the State, ii. 190. Temperance and, ii. 255. What it is, ii. 258. Approximate, ii. 299. Ideal, ii. 300. Natural, iii. 76. And virtue, rewards of, ii. 444. Courts of their establishment, iv. 288.

K.

King, the, a priest, iii. 524, 576. A personification of political science, iii. 533. And tyrant distinguished, iii. 587.

Kingly, art the, i. 194.
Kings, narrow-mindedness of, iii. 323. See *Rulers*. Succession of Persian, iv. 41. Dorian, their ruin, how caused, iv. 217.
Kissing of the hero by all, ii. 295.
Know — to, meaning of the verb, iii. 329.
Knowledge, and good identified by Plato, i. 6. On buying, i. 114. Directs to the right uses of things, i. 183. Poetry an evil without, ii. 107. And opinion, ii. 304, 309. The highest, the idea of good, ii. 332. Freedom in the acquisition of, ii. 364. And intellect, ii. 530. A good exceeding, iii. 133. Two kinds of, iii. 143. Of self in the wise, iii. 154. Reflection leading to, iii. 390. Sensation not a sufficient source of, iii. 390. Is true opinion, iii. 391. And perception, iii. 352. Pleasures of, iii. 191. Of two parts, iii. 195. Productive, iii. 195. Educational, iii. 195. The truest, iii. 198. Pure and fixed, iii. 200. Superhuman, iii. 203. Absolute, belonging to God. iii. 252. Definitions of science and, iii. 308. Relativity of, iii. 332. True opinion distinct from, iii. 337. Definition needful for, iii. 409. Two divisions of, iii. 542. Uncertainty of, iii. 562. Necessity of, iv. 87. Of things, threefold, iv. 407. And self-humiliation, iv. 513.

L.

Labor no disgrace, iv. 18.
Laches. The Dialogue of, i. 71.
Lacedæmon, order in the Democracy of, ii. 123. Government of, doubtful, iv. 240.
Lacedæmonian, brevity, i. 143. Laws, their true aim, iv. 7.
Landmarks, removal of, iv. 94. 357.
Language, characteristics of, i. 615. Speculations as to results of, i. 615. And discourse, teachings of Philosophy as to, i. 616. Dangers in the analogies of, i. 617. Light of analogy on, i. 617. Its influence on philosophy, ii. 489.
Languages both made and grown, i. 612.
Laughter condemned, ii. 211 As self-conceit, iii. 189.
Law, the tyrant of mankind, i. 137; iii. 525. And legislation, ii. 140 What the term expresses, iii. 128· iv. 241. And order, limitation of iii. 161. Inviolability of, iii. 526 Rulership tested by obedience to iv. 48. Divine origin of, iv. 51. Conservatism of custom and, iv. 236. Preambles to, iv. 250.
Laws, The. Dialogue of, iv. 155. Servile severity in, iv. 11. Humor lacking in, iv. 11. The subject of, iv. 52.
Laws, makers of, iii. 72. Positive, iii. 536. Ruling without, iii. 579. Must be general, iii. 581. Laws of Sparta, their true aim, iv. 7, 241. Basis of divine, iv. 51. Amusements and, iv. 80. And songs connected, iv. 80. Stability of, iv. 143. Answering to virtue, iv. 161. Three classes of, iv. 226. Annulled by unsuitable officers, iv. 273. Not received when not imposed, iv. 274. Against sensual love impossible, iv. 354. Necessity for, iv. 388. Why framed and for whom, iv. 594.
Lawyers and law courts, i. 566. Hurried and servile, iii. 322. Not teachers, iii. 407.
Learning, the word as used, i. 180. A process of recollection, i. 255. Truthfulness must characterize the lover of, ii. 311. In youth, ii. 364. And belief, iii. 39. By comparison, iii. 562. Facility in, i. 14.
Legacies of wealth to children an evil, iv. 254.
Legal system gradually perfected, iv. 51.
Legislation, the true aim of, iii. 380. Cannot be particular, iii. 581. Incipient, iv. 36. Comprehensive, iv. 161. Beginning of, iv. 210. Chance in, iv. 236. Force of persuasion in, iv. 249.
Legislative, incapacity and ignorance destroying States, iii. 588. Purification, iv. 261.
Legislator, the, rarest of skilled artisans, i. 627. The ideal, our pattern, i. 627. Law and, i. 637; ii 140. Who directs, i. 629. He

mer not a, ii. 430. Compared to a physician, iii. 581 Aim of the true, iv. 7. And judge, iv. 51. An educator, iv. 57. Should use persuasion, iv. 249.
Legislators not always to obey their constituency, iii. 582. Needless, iv. 36.
Leisure of story-tellers, ii. 199.
Less, greater and, relatives, iii. 568.
Letters, speech and words, iii. 446. And vowels, iii. 491. Teaching children their, iii. 562.
Levelling of anarchy, ii. 391.
Liberal education, a sign of, iii. 387.
Liberty allowed the lover, i. 477. And license, ii. 87. Popular, ii. 391.
License and liberty, ii. 87. Spirit of, ii. 248. Freedom growing to, iv. 239.
Lie, a, when committed, ii. 200. In words, an imitation, ii. 205. God cannot utter a, ii. 206. Useful, ii. 206.
Lies, for the good of the State, ii. 211.
Life, in what consists the salvation of human, i. 156. Progression in human, i. 500. A valued good, i. 352. And death not to be considered in questions of duty, i. 353. When unendurable, ii. 272. A fearful thing, iii. 81. Death may be, iii. 81. Human, the question of a serious one, iii. 91. Protracted, not to be cared for, iii. 104. Of mind, iii. 91. Of philosophers, inner, iii. 322. Spontaneous, iii. 555. And power, the soul is, iv. 118, 407. Made up of littles, iv. 121. Incompatibility in married, iv. 131. Goods of, iv. 162, 190. Reason the rule of, iv. 175. The nobler, iv. 258.
Like and unlike, the, iii. 217.
Likeness of the world, ii. 525. In the abstract, iii. 245. Making, the art of, iii. 470.
Likenesses slippery things, iii. 465.
Limitation of discourse, ii. 274. Of law and order, iii. 161.
Limit and cause in the universe, iii. 166.
Literature, music ranked with, ii. 199. Of the Greeks before Christ, iv. 484.
Litigant, a life-long, ii. 229.
Little well done better, iii. 391. Things, God attends to, iv. 415.
Littles, life made up of, iv. 121.
Liver, the, as regarded by Plato, ii. 504, 562.
Logic, modern, ii. 142. Formal, not in Plato, iii. 23.
Long or short discourses, iii. 571.
Loquacity, iii. 459.
Love, Plato's doctrine of love summed up, i. 459. The only theme known to Socrates, i. 472. No panegyrist for, i. 472. Blessings of, i. 473. Improved by courage, i. 474. Tyranny opposed to friendship and, i. 475. Honor and dishonor in, i. 477. Virtue the basis of, i. 479. Money no basis for, i. 478. Double, found in all things, i. 480. The power of, misunderstood, i. 482. Tenderness and flexibility of, i. 488. Temperance of, i. 488. A spiritual power, i. 495. The offspring of plenty and poverty, i. 496. Nature of, i 543. Tyranny of, ii. 97. Escaped from in age, ii. 149. True, what it is, ii. 227. Following interest, ii. 237. Why called a tyrant, ii. 402. Of Ibycus in old age, iii. 254. Of self, iv. 59. Of wealth, inordinate, iv. 90. Natural, degraded, iv. 166. Laws against sensual, impossible, iv. 534. Of power, iv. 516.
Lover, liberty allowed the, i. 477. The wise, i. 44.
Lovers, universal, ii. 302.
Loyalty to the State, i. 355.
Lunatics, treatment of, iv. 446.
Lusts, increased or decreased, ii. 503.
Luxury and medicine, ii. 230.
Lying for a good end, iv. 193. See *Lies*, and *Falsehood*.
Lyric poet, the, i. 223.
Lysis on friendship, i. 41.

M.

Madness, two kinds of, i. 570.
Magician, the Sophist a, iii. 470.
Magistrates and rulers, qualities of, iv. 273. Laws annulled by unsuitable, iv. 273.
Man, unity not absolute in, i. 500

Perfectability of, not a Platonic idea, ii. 90. Transformations of, ii. 535. Ideal state of, iii. 532. War, the natural state of, iv. 20. His soul, truly his own, iv. 252.
Manners, self-praise, ill, iv. 12.
Marathon, iv. 235, 571.
Marriage, i. 454. Temptation to, resisted, ii. 131. To be made holy, ii. 284. Law of, iv. 50, 72, 248. Among the Greeks, iv. 101. As approved, iv. 294. Drunkenness at, iv. 295.
Married life, incompatibility in, iv. 131.
Marsyas, Apollo preferred to, ii. 223.
Masses swayed by rulers, i. 117. Contempt for the, iii. 77.
Mastery of self, ii. 256; iii. 19.
Materialism and Idealism, iii. 437.
Materialists and Idealists, iii. 483.
Mathematics as an instrument of education, ii. 78. And morals, ii. 78. For statesmen, ii. 133. And thought, ii. 140. The interpretation of nature, ii. 509. The study of, iv. 87.
Matter, The body, iii. 165.
Measure, an art and science, i. 157. Needful to the beauty of art, iii. 568.
Measuring, arts of, iii. 522, 568.
Measurement, the art of, i. 156.
Meats, abstaining from, iv. 303.
Medicine, Rhetoric like, i. 375. Plato on, ii. 139. And luxury, ii. 230. Useless, iii. 506. Cookery and, iii. 50. An art for good, iii. 91.
Megarianism and Plato, iii. 238.
Melody, beauty of figure and, iv. 184.
Memory, what it is, iii. 139. And perception, iii. 139, 169. Recollection distinguished from, iii. 170. Waxen tablet of, iii. 396. The seal of, iii. 327.
Men, earth born, iii. 555. Voluntary and compulsory care of, iii. 561. Politics, the management of, iii. 561.
Menexenus The Dialogue of, iv. 565. Its subject the teaching of virtue, i. 235.
Meno. The Dialogue of, i. 243.
Mental search and perception pure, i. 392. Depth revered, iii. 387 And bodily habit, iii. 353. Confusion in mental progress, iii. 312
Mercenaries ruinous to the State iv. 42, 161.
Metallic symbols of races, ii. 374.
Metaphysics modern, described, ii. 142.
Midwives, iii. 349.
Might makes right, iii. 76.
Military arts, youth to be instructed in the, i. 74.
Mimic, the Sophist a, iii. 470.
Mimicry and imitation, iii. 508.
Mind a cause, i. 426. Number raises the, ii. 70. The soul only has, ii. 539. Necessity and, ii. 540. Disorders of the, ii. 577. Life of, iii. 156. Good in the divine, iii. 157. A king, iii. 164. Greatness of, reverenced, iii. 387. The Greek, its want in the fourth century, iii. 312. Arithmetic sharpening the, iv. 64. Movement of, iv. 408.
Ministers of education, music, and gymnastics, iv. 287.
Minority, government of the, only true, iii. 578.
Minos, iv. 155. A naval potentate, iv. 233.
Minute precision in words, iii. 387.
Mirth-giver to be rewarded, iv. 187.
Misanthropy, its cause, i. 418.
Miser, the, a lover, ii. 381.
Miserly men, ii. 375.
Misery of the unjust, iii. 59.
Mixed and unmixed pleasures, iii. 125.
Mixtures of body and soul, iii. 185.
Model and example, iii. 563.
Moderation, and wealth, not found together in the State, ii. 383. The subject of the Charmides, i. 3.
Modern philosophy foreshadowed, iii. 222; iv. 98. Skepticism, iv 115. Physicist, defect of the, ii. 489.
Modesty, becoming in youth, i. 12. Temperance is, i. 15. And self-conceit, iii. 465. Excess of, iii. 598.
Monarchy, iii. 577. When best and when not, iii. 589.
Money not to be valued above friendship, i. 348. No basis for

affection, i. 478. Making of, ii. 84, 381. A ruler, ii. 377. Fixing citizenship, ii. 378. Enslaving power of, ii. 421. Esteemed above virtue, iv. 42. Desire for, iv. 110. Not to have the place of honor, iv. 226. See *Wealth*, *Riches*, *Property*, *Possession*.
Money sting: Business men, their, ii. 383. Getting ruinous, ii. 390.
Monsters, filial, ii. 398. Mythological, iii. 576.
Morality, fundamental truths of, not to be doubted, iii. 8.
Morals and mathematics, ii. 78. And politics not to be separated, iii. 9. And music, iii. 92.
More, Sir Thomas, Utopia of, ii. 144.
Motherhood in a country, iv. 569.
Motion, of solids, ii. 71. Two kinds of, iii. 256, 325, 384; iv. 118. For body and soul, iv. 77. And flux, iii. 353. And being, iii. 486. For body and soul, iv. 77. Love of, iv. 183. Order of, iv. 194. And rest of things, iv. 405. Self, the first principle of change, iv. 407.
Murder, iv. 107.
Museus, gifts of, to the just, ii. 185.
Muses and music, i. 564.
Music and the Muses, i. 564. Enervating, ii. 33. Misunderstood, ii. 72. Reasoning is true intellectual, ii. 72. Ranked with literature, ii. 199. Simplicity in, ii. 229. Civilizing, ii. 268. And morals, iii. 92. Conjecture in, iii. 196. Origin of, iv. 30. And laws connected, iv. 80. Imitative, iv. 197. Most celebrated, iv. 199. Different kinds of, iv. 229. And gymnastics, ministers of education, iv. 287.
Musical training, ii. 225, 226.
Musician, the true, i. 81. Becoming soft, ii. 235. Irritability of the, ii. 236.
Mythological monsters, iii. 576.

N.

Names, unimportant, iii. 405. Of cities, how given, iv. 232.
Narrow-mindedness of kings, iii. 323.
National peace, iii. 594. Degeneracy, iv. 17.
Nations, decay of, ii. 81. See *States*
Nature, harmony of human, i. 3 Diversities of, ii. 191. To the Greek philosopher, ii. 486. Left to herself, ii. 506. Mathematics the interpreter of, ii. 509. Custom and, at variance, iii. 71. Counterparts and antagonisms in, making harmony, iii. 161. Order of, its reversal, iii. 555. A wrong term, iv. 405.
Natures, abstract, separate, iii. 251.
Natural gifts, ii. 279. Justice, iii. 76. Appetites, iv. 303.
Naval potentate, Minos a, iv. 233.
Necessity, the mother of invention, ii. 191. Throne of, ii. 452. And mind, ii. 540. Of existence has a cause, iii. 162.
Necessities of knowledge, iv. 87.
Negation of pain, not pleasure, iii. 182. And affirmation, iii. 238.
Negative, matter is, ii. 492. The, explained, iii. 434.
Negligence, the river of, ii. 452.
Neo-Platonists, ii. 455.
Nestor the eloquent, iv. 239.
Neutral state of living, iii. 169.
Nobility of service to another, i. 478.
Noble the, ii. 421. Rich man, ii. 423. No rhetorician is, iii. 94. Nobler life, the, iv. 258.
Nominalism, iii. 223.
Non-existence of the many, iii. 244.
Non-existent, things, affording pleasure, iii. 178. The, iii. 235.
Novelty, the love of, iv. 186. The world jealous of, i. 286.
Number, needful to reflection, ii. 70. Raises the mind, ii. 70. And figure, ii. 490. No argument, iii. 60.

O.

Oaths, false, iv. 428.
Obedience to law the test of rulership, iv. 48.
Object and subject, iii. 312.
Odyssey and Iliad compared, iv 491.
Office seeking disgraceful, ii. 169 Seekers, ii. 346.

Old and young, iii. 46. Age, sadness in, iv. 6. See *Age*.
Older and younger, iii. 261, 278.
Oligarchy, origin and evils of, ii. 83. And avarice, ii. 84. Defined, ii. 379; iii. 577. Argued against, iii. 284.
One, the, and the many, iii. 217.
Onta and phenomena, iii. 224.
Opinion, true, i. 273. Right, a mean between wisdom and ignorance, i. 494. Popular, not to be heeded, i. 348. Of the many or the wise, which to be followed, i. 352. Knowledge and, ii. 304, 309. Public, compared to a great beast, ii. 320. True, is knowledge, iii. 337, 391. Right or wrong, true or false, iii. 174, 408. And proportion, iii. 176. As related to the arts, iii. 199. False, and how formed, i. 189; iii. 337, 563. Public, iv. 84, 93.
Opinions *versus* wits, ii. 276 And beliefs, true, ii. 530. Generated by habits, iii. 320. Differences as to right, iii. 418.
Opposites, more than one in a quality, i. 105. Generation of, i. 397.
Opposition, suggestive of reflection, ii. 77.
Orator, what constitutes the, i. 523. The good and true, iii. 18. Not a teacher, iii. 407.
Oratory, two species of, iii. 18. Aspasia teacher of, iv. 566, 599.
Orations, funeral, iv. 565.
Order, in the democracy of Sparta, ii. 123. And harmony, wealth acquired according to, ii. 423. Necessary to virtue, iii. 19. Effect of, in the soul, iii. 95. Limitation of law and, iii. 161. Of nature reversed, iii. 555. Of motion, rhythm the, iv. 194.
Organism, words part of an, i. 614.
Orphans, care of, iv. 130, 438.
Orphic cosmogonies, ii. 486.
Oyster life, iii. 156.

P.

Pain, pleasure as related to, i. 386; ii. 415. And pleasure simultaneous, iii. 86. Generated from harmony relaxed, iii. 167. Qualities of pleasure and, iii. 175. Anticipatory, iii. 177. Origin of, iii. 180 Negation of, not pleasure, iii. 182 Envy a pain of the soul, iii. 189.
Painting and writing, i. 581. Imitation in, ii. 594. Deception in, iii. 470. Word-painting more effective than coloring of art, iii. 561.
Paradigms, iii. 223.
Paradox of unity and plurality, iii 125.
Parent, the State a, i. 355. What the children owe to the, iv. 43, 245.
Parents, treatment of, iv. 442.
Parmenides. Dialogue of the, iii. 213. Idealism founded by, iii. 221.
Parricides, ii. 398.
Parties, political, iv. 242.
Partisan *versus* philosopher, i. 419.
Passion, incorrupt, the rod of reason, ii. 267.
Past, present, and future existence, iii. 277.
Patients and doctors, iv. 247.
Patriarchal state, iv. 36. Rule, iv. 209.
Patriotism, i. 355.
Patroclus and Achilles, i. 474.
Paupers, coexisting with criminals, ii. 380.
Peace in view of death, i. 347. In the Republic, ii. 291. National, iii. 594. A pretense, iv. 20.
Pedantry, a sign of, iii. 387.
Peirithous, ii. 214.
Penuriousness, ii. 381.
People swayed by rulers, i. 117. Contempt for the, iii. 77.
Perception, pure mental search and, i. 392. And memory, iii. 139 And opinion, iii. 139. Sensible, iii. 331. Is knowledge, iii. 352 And appearance, iii. 352.
Perdiccas, iii. 57.
Perfect God, the, not liable to change, ii. 204. Citizen, iv. 88.
Perfectability of man, not a Platonic idea, ii. 90.
Pericles, discussed, iii. 107.
Persian kings, succession of, iv. 41 Empire how ruined, iv. 42 State, freedom in the, iv. 223 Princes, how cared for, iv. 538.
Persuasion, better than physica strength, ii. 148. Rudder of, ii 595. Rhetoric, the art of, iii. 10

87. The greatest art, iii. 198. Art of, iii. 456. In legislation, force of, iv. 249.
PHÆDO. The Dialogue, i. 383.
PHÆDRUS, i. 533.
Phenomena and onta, iii. 224.
PHILEBUS, THE, iii. 145. Pleasure and wisdom the theme of the, iii. 145.
Philological speculation, i. 589.
Philosopher, willing to die, i. 387. Cares not for pleasure, i. 390. Death welcome to the, i. 394. Courage a special trait of the, i. 394. *Versus* partisan, i. 419. The dog a, ii. 24. Virtues of the, ii. 62. Statesman not popular as, ii. 134. Curiosity does not make a, ii. 302. Nature to the Greek, ii. 486. Characterized, iii. 376. Inner life of the, iii. 322. And Sophist, iii. 492.
Philosophers and statesmen, border ground between, i. 211. Dizzy, i. 650. To be kings for the ideal State, ii. 301. Eleatic, iii. 221.
Philosophic distinctions, arithmetic leading to, ii. 77. Nature, rare, ii. 317. Impulse, iii. 253.
Philosophical arithmetic, iii. 197.
Philosophy, the old and new, i. 169. To be followed, i. 212. Delivering the soul, i. 411. Not to be studied too early, ii. 75. Plato's akin to the Hegelian, ii. 142. And politics combined, ii. 142. In the State, ii. 324. Why it gets a bad name, ii. 367. Quarrel between poetry and, ii. 438. Language, its influence on, ii. 489. Of the ancients, physical, ii. 508. Too much, is ruin, iii. 15, 73. Relative, iii. 316, 353. Freedom of, iii. 375. And horses, iii. 214. Eleatic, iii. 214. Fundamental error of the Greek, iii. 223. In youth and age, iii. 247. Modern, foreshadowed, iii. 222; iv. 98. Christian, in Plato, iv. 98.
Phœnix disapproved, ii. 213
Physical force inferior to persuasion, ii. 148. Doctrines of the Timæus, ii. 499. Philosophy of the ancients, ii. 508.
Physician, knowledge of the, i. 27. Should not be healthy, ii. 140. Indicted by boys iii. 113. Argument a, iii. 63. The ruler compared to a, iii. 581.
Physicians, cures unknown to them, i. 11. Good and bad, i. 145. And lawyers, ii. 229. Skillful, ii. 233. Vain, ii. 506. And cookery, iii. 50. Of the State, iii. 105. And patients, iv. 247. Changing prescriptions, iii. 581.
Physicist, defect of the modern, ii. 489.
Physics, continuity in, ii. 505. The universal in ethics and, iii. 221.
Piety, conceptions of, i. 281.
Pindar's idea of the immortal soul, i. 236.
Platæa, iv. 235, 572.
Plato, identifying good and knowledge, i. 6. A dramatic writer, i. 103. His doctrine of love summed up, i. 489. His love for Homer, ii. 107. A prophet, ii. 118. Proportion in reading, iii. 3. Antithesis in, iii. 3. Formal logic not in, iii. 23. Idealism of, iii. 24. His theory of punishment, iii. 26. His later ideal, iii. 124. His opinion of the Sophists, iii. 213. Not a transcendentalist, iii. 215. And Megarianism, iii. 238. His change of style and modes of thought, iii. 513. His meaning of perception, iii. 331. Not distinguishing between ethics and politics, iv. 52. Historical deficiency of, iv. 56. Christian philosophy in, iv. 98 Forgeries of, iv. 483.
Platonic ideas, progressive, iii. 215. Paradigms, iii. 223. Dialogue, the, its aim, iii. 311.
Pleasant and good, a unity in nature, iii. 200. The, and the just, iv. 192.
Pleasure, as related to pain, i. 386; ii. 415. Cared not for by philosopher, i. 390. True, ii. 191. Distinguishable from good, iii. 18. And pain simultaneous, iii. 86. Tragedy and, iii. 93. And generation, iii. 131. Intermediate state between suffering and, iii. 172. Qualities of pain and, iii. 175. Anticipating pain and, iii. 177. Non-existent things affording, iii. 178. Its origin, iii. 139. Diversity of, iii. 146. Desirable, iii. 168. And wisdom compared, the

theme of the Philebus, iii. 145. Negation of pain not, iii. 182. Of anger, iii. 187. And justice, iv. 31. Not the criterion of truth, iv. 33. An educator, iv. 53. Happiness from victory over, iv. 355.
Pleasures of the body mainly desired by men, i. 391. Necessary and unnecessary, ii. 85, 386. Of the sense and understanding equally transient, ii. 105. Of intelligence, ii. 413. Mixed and unmixed, iii. 125, 190, 142. Origin of, iii. 167. Temperateness in, iii. 184. The true defined, iii. 191. Of knowledge, iii. 191. As hindrances, iii. 204. Commingling of, iii. 205. Differences of, iv. 99. Harmless and amusements, iv. 197.
Plurality, needful to thought, ii. 70. And unity, paradox of, iii. 125.
Poetry, judges of, i. 216. True theory of, i. 216. Without knowledge, an evil, ii. 107. Imitative, ii. 425. Expelled from the State, ii. 111. For the State, ii. 438. Quarrel between philosophy and, ii. 438.
Poets, poor, i. 42. Our guides, i. 53. The talk about the, i. 147. Inspired, i. 216. Are imitators, ii. 103, 515. What good have they done? ii. 108. Tragic, subjects of tyranny, ii. 398. Destroyed by popular demands, iv. 189.
Poisoning and witchcraft, iv. 445.
Political science, ought to make us wise, i. 195. Man, the true, i. 286. The king a personification of, iii. 535. Not attained by the many, iii. 578. Refining of, iii. 590. Strength of the bond, iii. 588. Ideals, iv. 52. Parties, iv. 242.
Politicians as philosophers, iii. 15. And statesmen distinguished, iii. 576.
Politics and ethics defined, ii. 136. And philosophy combined, ii. 142. And morals not to be separated, iii. 9. And ethics, iii. 25. And rhetoric, iii. 49, 591. The management of men, iii. 561. And ethics, not distinguished by Plato, iv. 52.
Popular liberty, ii. 391. Notions of right, iii. 71. Arithmetic, iii. 197. Voting, iv. 99. Influence on poetry, iv. 189.
Poseidon, ii. 600.
Possessing and having, distinction between, iii. 403.
Possession and use, iii. 329.
Possessions, productive or preventive, iii. 522.
Positive laws, iii. 536.
Poverty and plenty beget love, i. 496. And age, ii. 150. And wealth equally degenerating, ii. 245.
Power increasing a bad man's faults, ii. 409. Great, iii. 56. For good or evil, iii. 117. Balance of, in States, iv. 52, 56. And life, the soul as, iv. 118. Love of, iv. 516.
Praise and esteem distinguished, i. 137.
Prayer at the beginning of every enterprise, ii. 523. Answered, iii. 160. And desire, iv. 38.
Preamble to law, iv. 250.
Precision, minute in words, iii. 387; iii. 534.
Prescriptions, physicians changing, iii. 581.
Present, past and future existence, iii. 277.
Presentiment of death, Socrates', iii 113.
Pretender, the, i. 27. An argument often a, i. 58.
Preventive, nature of punishment, i. 105. Or productive possessions, iii. 522. Things creative and preventive, iii. 563.
Pride, personal, iv. 515.
Priest, the, a king, iii. 522; iii. 576.
Primeval race without procreation, iii. 555.
Primitive society, iv. 36. Philosophy, the style of, i. 143.
Prime of life, the age of begetting, ii. 286.
Principal or causal arts, iii. 522.
Principle, an everlasting, i. 265. And reason to be our guides, i 350. The higher, of action, i 352. The ruling in the soul, iii 172.
Principles, first, i. 437.
Private religious rites, iv. 124.
Probabilities, argument from, i 121 578.

Probability, how engendered, i. 523.
Procreation, primeval race without, iii. 555.
Procuresses, iii. 350.
Producer and producing, iii. 452.
Production, two classes of, iii. 544.
Productive knowledge, iii. 195. The, iii. 506. Or preventive possessions, iii. 522.
Progress, roundabout, in attaining truth, iii. 254. Confusion in mental, iii. 312.
Progression in human life, i. 500.
Progressiveness of Platonic ideas, iii. 215.
Promptitude in business, ii. 192.
Property, community of, ii. 126, 128. Sacredness and inequality of, ii. 126. As a means of good to all, ii. 128. In government, ii. 377.
Prophet, Plato a, ii. 118.
Proportion, suggestion of reflection, ii. 77. And fusion, ii. 526. In reading Plato, iii. 3. And opinion, iii. 176.
Protagoras. The Dialogue of, i. 109.
Protean shapes of mythology, iii. 576.
Protector, the tyrant produced from, ii. 394.
Providence, Plato's view of, iii. 433.
Proxem, iv. 173.
Prudence and temperance, iv. 236.
Public opinion compared to a great beast, ii. 320. Construction of works, iii. 105. Men, duty of, iii. 106. Men criminal, iii. 117. Opinion, iv. 84, 93.
Pugnacity, a motive to authorship, iii. 245.
Punishment, preventive nature of, i. 105. Its effect on evil-doers, i. 124. The benefits of, iii. 14. Of souls, iii. 22. Plato's theory of, iii. 26. Office of, twofold, iii. 116. By death, iv. 107. Of homicide, iv. 378.
Pure, mental search and perception, i. 392. And impure, the soul, i. 409. Existence, ii. 416. And fixed knowledge, iii. 200.
Purification and desire, iii. 461. From refutation, iii. 465. Legislative, iv. 261. Colonization, a means of, iv. 261.
Puzzles, no charm in, iii. 499.
Pythagorean, harmonists, ii. 72. Order in the Republic, ii. 124.

Q.

Qualities of pain and pleasure, iii. 175.
Quantity, defined, iii. 159.
Quarreling, unholy, ii. 201.
Quietness, temperance is, i. 13.

R.

Rabble, contempt for the, iii. 77.
Race, community of, iv. 235.
Races, metallic symbols of, ii. 374.
Reaction from excess, ii. 392.
Real, shadows seeming, ii. 342. Being, ii. 416. Existence, iii. 485.
Realism, iii. 223.
Realities and appearances, iii. 352. Words surpass, ii. 300.
Reason and principle to be our guides, i. 350. Incorrupt passion the aid of, ii. 267. The steps of, ii. 339. In the sphere of sense, ii. 530. Development of, iii. 124. Emotion without, iii. 124. Annihilation of, iii. 499. The rule of life, iv. 175.
Reasoning, the true intellectual, ii. 72. And disputation, the difference between, iii. 320.
Recollection, learning a process of, i. 255. Is spontaneous recovery, i. 261. Defined, i. 400. Proof of previous existence, i. 400. Distinguished from memory, iii. 170.
Reconciling judge, iv. 158.
Reflecting and unchanging, the soul, i. 408.
Reflection, number needful to, ii. 70. Suggested by proportion and opposition, ii. 77. Leading to knowledge, iii. 390.
Refutation, a common good, i. 22. A purification, iii. 465.
Relation to self inadmissible, i. 25.
Relative, virtue is, i. 244. Philosophy, iii. 316, 353. Greater and less, iii. 568.
Relatives and absolutes, iii. 193, 494

Relativity of knowledge, iii. 332.
Religion, popular, i. 282. Based on two principles, ii. 138.
Religious rites for all, iv. 124.
Remedial power, wisdom a, iii. 320.
Remembrance and burial of the dead, iv. 245.
Reminiscence and perception, iii. 139.
Replenishment in hunger and thirst, iii. 172.
Republic, The, ii. 147. Points in, ii. 105. Pythagorean character of the, ii. 123. Order in the, ii. 124. Of Plato, a church, ii. 143.
Respiration, ii. 570.
Rest, the young need, iii. 540. And motion of things, iv. 405.
Retaliation not right, i. 354.
Retreat honorable, iv. 239.
Retribution for the erring, ii. 593. An evil, iv. 59. For injustice, iv. 253.
Reverence for the gods, iii. 146. Youthful, for the wisdom of age, iii. 387. Fear in, iv. 27.
Revival, what it is, i. 398.
Revolution, the French, horrors of illustrated, ii. 391.
Rewards, glorious, ii. 292.
Rhadamanthus, iv. 155. Decision of, iv. 458.
Rhetoric, a deceptive art, i. 522. Defined, i. 523; iii. 512. True, not to be despised, i. 571. Like medicine, i. 575. Dialectics the true basis of, ii. 142. Flattery in, iii. 4, 47. The art of persuasion, iii. 10, 37. And discourse, iii. 35. An experience, iii. 47. A process or habit, iii. 47. And politics, iii. 40, 591. The higher science, iii. 591.
Rhetorician, the skillful, i. 579, 582. To make good use of his art, iii. 42. And Sophist confounded, iii. 51. Two sorts of, iii. 94. None noble, iii. 94.
Rhythms adapted, ii. 223. The order of motions, iv. 194.
Rich man, bad company, ii. 150. The true and noble, ii. 423. Who cannot be good, iv. 99.
Riches in government, ii 377. Not specially honored, iv. 41. And honesty inconsistent, iv. 63. Left to children an evil, iv. 254.
Ridicule no test of truth or right, ii. 276.
Right and duty *versus* life and death, i. 353. Ridicule no test of, ii. 276. Duty and utility, ideas of carried too far, iii. 25. Popular notions of, iii. 71. Might makes, iii. 76. And wrong determined by the State, iii. 374. Or wrong opinion, iii. 174. Opinion, differences as to, iii. 418.
Righteous judge, the, iii. 591.
Rotation of the earth, ii. 501.
Round, the world, ii. 527. The, defined, iii. 256.
Roundabout progress in attaining truth, iii. 254.
Roundheads in Plato's time, ii. 123.
Rulers, swaying the people, i. 117. Of the State, what they must be, ii. 74, 301. Who should be, ii. 330. Compared to gold and silver, ii. 241. Must be characterized by truthfulness, ii. 311. Compared to physicians, iii. 581. And warriors, gentleness of, ii. 514. Narrow-mindedness of, iii. 323. Qualities of, iv. 273. Mistakes in the choice of, iv. 273. Laws annulled by unsuitable, iv. 273.
Rulership tested by obedience to law, iv. 48.
Rumor, the power of, iv. 353.

S.

Sacredness of agreement, iv. 94.
Sadness in old age, iv. 6.
Sailors not to be made soldiers, iv. 234.
Salamis, iv. 235.
Salvation of human life, in what consists the, i. 156,
Satire, difficult of understanding, i. 589.
Science of time, i. 92. *Versus* sense, ii. 357. Certain knowledge necessary to, ii. 361. Defect of, ii. 455. Plato's contributions to natural, i. 425; ii. 508. Differences in, iii. 202. And knowledge, definitions of, iii. 308. An equalizer, iii. 514. Higher, iii. 527. The king a personification of political

iii. 535. Of government wherein resident, iii. 578. Political, not attained by the many, iii. 578. Refining of political, iii. 590. Rhetoric the higher, iii. 591.
Sciences, correlation of, ii. 365. Mixed and unmixed, iii. 125. And arts, divisions of, iii. 516.
Scientific and empirical arts, ii 133.
Scientist defect of the modern, ii. 489.
Scratching and itching, iii. 83.
Sculpture, deception in, iii. 470.
Sea, evil influence of the, on cities, iv. 232.
Search and perception, pure mental, i. 392.
Seen and unseen, the, i. 407.
Self-assertion of Hippias, iv. 494.
Self-conceit of youth, ii. 389. Of the Sophists, iii. 5. Laughter at, iii. 189. And modesty, iii. 465.
Self-control the secret of happiness, iii. 19, 80.
Self-creators, ii. 426.
Self-deception, i. 667.
Self-elevation, ii. 321.
Self-existent things, ii. 543.
Self-gratification, iii. 80.
Self-help, the true, iii. 22.
Self-humiliation and knowledge, iv. 513.
Self-ignorance, iii. 188.
Self-knowledge and temperance, i. 19. Of the wise, iii. 154. And humiliation, iv. 513.
Self-love, iv. 59.
Self-mastery, ii. 256; iii. 19, 80.
Self-motion, the first principle of change, iv. 407.
Self-moving power of the soul, i. 550.
Self-praise, ill manners of, i. 12.
Self-proving, perfect truth is, ii. 141.
Self-relation inadmissible, i. 25.
Self-sacrifice of Achilles, i. 475.
Self-slavery, ii. 256.
Self-taught men, i. 78.
Self-wise disputers, i. 419.
Sensation and senses, ii. 506. Not a sufficient source of knowledge, iii. 390. Plato's meaning of, iii. 331.
Sensations, ii. 536.
Sense, bodily, a bar to truth, i. 391. And understanding pleasures of the, equally transient, ii. 105. Objects of, ii. 359. *Versus* science, ii. 357. Reason in the sphere of, ii. 530. Soul, at first without, ii. 356. Want of, iii. 464.
Senses, the source of knowledge, i. 402. And sensation, ii. 506 What are they, iii. 335.
Sensible perception, iii. 331. Images, some truths have not, iii. 571.
Sensual, and earthly, the soul, i. 410. Love, laws against impossible, iv. 354.
Sensuality and gluttony, ii. 417.
Sensuous presentation of truth, iii. 571.
Separation of existences, iii. 499.
Service to another, nobility of, i. 478.
Servility and hurriedness of lawyers, iii. 322.
Servility and severity in the laws, iv. 11.
Severity servile in the laws, iv. 11
Sexual intercourse regulated, iv. 356.
Shades, the dead are our, iv. 469.
Shadows seeming real, ii. 342.
Shams, iii. 12, 18, 50.
Shepherd and herdsman, iv. 260.
Short or long discourses, iii. 57[1].
Sight, the greatest benefit, ii. 539
Silence, when best, iv. 226.
Simonides, when quoted, i. 139.
Simplicity in music and gymnastics, ii. 229. Of good men, ii. 233. The highest characteristic of art, iii. 4.
Simultations and shams, iii. 50.
Singing, against sameness of, iv. 194.
Skepticism of youth, iv. 115. Taught the young, iv. 116.
Slaves not to be made of fellow countrymen, ii. 296.
Slavery of self, ii. 256. The tyranny of, ii. 408.
Sleep, death is a, or a journey, i. 310. In view of death, i. 347. Free from fanciful dreams, ii. 400.
Small things, God attends to, iv 415. See *Little*.
Smell, ii. 558.
Smells, ii. 507.

Social strife, origin of, ii. 374. Principle in ethics, iii. 25.
Society, origin of, iv. 7. Primitive, iv. 36.
Socrates, irony of in the Euthedymus, i. 165. The defense of, i. 306. Characterization, i. 312. Death of, i. 447. Love the only theme known to, i. 472. His presentiment of death, iii. 113. Not a Sophist, iii. 428.
Soldiers and rulers, gentleness of, ii. 514. Mercenary ruinous to the State, iv. 42. Sailors not to be used as, 14, 234.
Solids, and motion in astromony, ii. 7.
Solitude of the lost soul, i. 438.
Song, and dance of youth, iv. 28. Choral harmony and, iv. 194. And law connected, iv. 80.
Sons, unfilial, ii. 398. Of good fathers, why they turn out ill, i. 126.
SOPHIST. The Dialogue of the, iii. 449.
Sophist, the Hydra a she, i. 201. Described, ii. 7; iii. 426. And rhetorician confounded, iii. 51. Socrates not a, iii. 428. A hunter, iii. 456. A magician, iii. 470. And philosopher, iii. 492. The, summarized, iii. 510.
Sophists, corruptions of the, ii. 318. Vain and boastful, iii. 5. Plato's opinion of the, iii. 218.
Sorrow, to be controlled, ii. 110. Manifestations of, ii. 210. Suppressed, ii. 435. Sympathy with others in, ii. 436. In old age, iv. 6.
Soul, immortality of the, i. 236, 255, 372; ii. 440; iv. 141. Pindar's idea, i. 236. And body, their relative value, i. 113. Truth attained by the, i. 391. Philosophy delivering the, i. 411. Degenerated by the body, i. 412. Solitude of the lost, i. 438. Nature of the, i. 372, 406; iv. 403. Reflecting and unchanging, i. 408. Resembling the divine, i. 408; iv. 57. Pure and impure, i. 409. Sensual and earthly, i. 410. Transmigration of, i. 410. Self-moving, i. 550. Ruling and ordering, i. 408. Jewels of the, i. 444. Care for the, i. 437. At first without sense, ii. 536. Giving life to the body, i. 638. Indestructible, ii 111. Harmony and form of the, ii. 226. Its part in our action, ii. 261. Disfiguration of the, ii. 443. The universe a, ii. 499. Divided into three parts, ii. 503. Appetitive, ii. 504. Made prior to the body, ii. 528. Only has mind, ii. 539. Disorders of the, ii. 577. Like a vessel, iii. 81. Effect of order and harmony in the, iii. 95. Health of body and, iii. 95. Training of body and, two processes, iii. 104. After death, iii. 116. Of the universe, iii. 165. Waxen heart of the, iii. 400. Origin of impulse and desire in the, iii. 172; iv. 403. Like a book, iii. 176. Divided feelings of body and, iii. 185. Envy a pain of the, iii. 187. Food for the, iii. 457. Just and wise, iii. 484. Virtue the harmony of the, iv. 28. The human, most divine, iv. 57. Motion for body and, iv. 77. Is life and power, iv. 118, 407. Of the universe, iv. 118. The, truly man's own, iv. 252. Honoring the, iv. 252. Definition of the, iv. 408. Interests of the, prior to those of the body, iv. 408. Sun and stars without, iv. 477.
Souls, punishment of, iii. 22.
Space, time and, ii. 495. Is eternal, ii. 544.
Sparta, democracy of, order in the, ii. 123. Laws of, their aim, iv. 7. Drunkenness condemned in, iv. 167. Governments of, doubtful, iv. 240. Wealth of, iv. 539.
Speaking good, true art of, i. 504, 522.
Speech, common, having a divine meaning, i. 512. And hearing, ii. 539. Brevity of, iii. 33. Freedom of, iii. 47. Letters and words, iii. 446. And thought, iii. 504.
Speeches, the art of making, i. 193
Speculation, philological, i. 589 About results of language, i. 616. Dangers of, ii. 79.
Spherical form of the earth, ii. 527
Spiritual truths, uncertainty of, i 414.
Spontaneous life, iii. 555.
Stability of laws, iv. 143.

Starry heavens, symbols, ii. 357.
Stars, motions of the, ii. 529. And sun without soul, iv. 477.
State, loyalty to the, i. 355. The, a parent, i. 355. Authority of the, i. 355. Right of the, to the citizen, i. 355. More to be valued than the individual, i. 355. Rulers of the, what and who they should be, ii. 74, 330. Poetry expelled from the, ii. 111. Poetry for the, ii. 438. Industrial, ii. 128. False analogy of the individual and the, ii. 135. Justice in the, ii. 190. Origin of the, ii. 190; iv. 205. Lies for the good of the, ii. 211. Object of constructing the, ii. 243. Unity in the, ii. 247. Courage in the, ii. 254. Highest good in the, ii. 288. Philosophers to be kings for the ideal, ii. 301. Philosophy in the, ii. 324. Weakness in the, ii. 384. Physician for the, iii. 105. Right and wrong determined by the State, iii. 374. Education, the foundation of the, iii. 536. Divine bonds in the, iii. 597. Mercenaries ruinous to the, iv. 42. Absolute freedom a curse to the, iv. 43. Watchfulness in the, iv. 67. Innovation in the, iv. 80. The Persian, iv. 223.
States, only four, ii. 80. Decay of, ii. 81. Perishing through incapacity and ignorance, iii. 588; iv. 39, 218. Ills affecting them, iii. 535. Origin of, iv. 55. Balance of power in, iv. 52, 56. Two mother forms of, iv. 222.
Statesman, The, iii. 509. Failure of the, ii. 134. His proper business, iii. 20.
Statesmanship, two kinds of, iii. 5.
Statesmen, are they good teachers? i. 268. Divine, i. 275. Should be mathematicians, ii. 133. As philosophers not popular, ii. 134. And politicians distinguished, iii. 576.
Story-tellers, at leisure, ii. 199.
Straight, the, defined, iii. 256.
Strangers, reception of, iv. 139. Treatment of, iv. 255.
Strength, physical, inferior to persuasion, ii. 148.
Study, youth the time of, ii. 74.
Style, pure and mixed, ii. 220. Plato's, iii. 513; iv. 13. Perfection of, iv. 13.
Subject and object, iii. 312.
Substitution, in life, i. 500.
Succession, the law of, i. 500.
Suffering, and sympathy, i. 509. Community of, ii. 288. Evil, less than doing it, iii. 14. Idealism of, iii. 25. Intermediate state between pleasure and, iii. 172.
Sufficiency of the good, iii. 201.
Suicide, not held to be right, i. 387.
"Summum bonum" in the State, ii. 288.
Sun and stars without soul, iv. 477.
Superhuman knowledge, iii. 203.
Suspicious character, a, ii. 234.
Sycophancy to the great, ii. 321.
Symbols, the starry heavens are, ii. 357. Metallic, of races, ii. 374.
Symmetry, beauty and truth, iii. 206. Lack of, iii. 462.
Sympathy and suffering, i. 509. In sorrow, ii. 436.
Symposium, The, i. 467.

T.

Tables, common, iv. 301.
Tablet, waxen, of memory, iii. 396.
Talents, natural, ii. 279. Dialectical, ii. 365.
Talking, idle, iii. 253.
Taste, what is a true, iv. 59, 258.
Taxes, income, payment of, ii. 165.
Teachers, without skill, i. 78. Good, are statesmen, i. 268. Lawyers and orators are not, iii. 407.
Teaching children their letters, iii. 562.
Temperance the subject of the Charmides, i. 3. Is quietness, i. 13. Is modesty, i. 15. Is doing our own business, i. 15. Is the doing of good actions, i. 19. Defined, i. 4, 394; iii. 592. And justice, ii. 255. Harmony of, ii. 257. And intemperance, iii. 80. Education and courage, iv. 53.
Temperate man, the, ii. 269. And intemperate, iii. 19; iv. 259. Duty of the, iii. 98.
Temperateness in pleasures, iii. 184.
Terms, precision in, iii. 534.
Territory sought by war, ii. 195.
Tertium quid," ii. 528.

Thales, joke against, iii. 376.
Theætetus, The, iii. 341. Description of, iii. 343.
Theatres and actors demoralizing, ii. 117.
Theognis quoted, iv. 21, 160.
Theory, not untrue, because unrealized, ii. 52. Aristotle's, of ideas, iii. 215.
Theseus, ii. 214.
Thinking, defined, iii. 327.
Thirst, as related to drink, ii. 265. Hunger and, iii. 172.
Thought, unity not arousing, ii. 70. Plurality needful to, ii. 70. Number needful to, ii. 70. And mathematics, ii. 140. Advantage of, boldness in, iii. 391. Laborpangs of, iii. 348. And speech, iii. 504.
Timæus, The, ii. 513. General physical doctrines of, ii. 499.
Time, science of, i. 92. And space, ii. 495. Forms of, ii. 530.
Timocracy, ii. 81. Arising out of aristocracy, ii. 372. Ruined by gold, ii. 377.
Tongue, affections of the, ii. 507.
Touch, wisdom infused through the, i. 471.
Trade ruins virtue, ii. 378. Men of, their money-sting, ii. 383.
Traditional forms assumed, iv. 186.
Tragedy, not an improvement, iii. 18. And pleasure, iii. 93. Rationale of, iii. 141.
Tragedians rejected, iv. 86.
Training of soul and body, two processes of, iii. 104. Of boys, iv. 83. Of young men, iv. 196. Of children, iv. 223.
Traitors and conspirators, iv. 360.
Transcendental doctrine, not in Plato, iii. 215.
Transiency, equally of the pleasures of the sense and the understanding, ii. 105.
Transformations of man, ii. 535.
Transmigration of the soul, i. 410.
Treasure-troves, iv. 124, 424.
Trials, to test youth, ii. 239.
Triangles of Plato, ii. 497.
True, the, beautiful and good, ii. 337. And noble rich man, ii. 423. And the false, iii. 4. And false opinion, iii. 174, 408. Pleasures defined, iii. 191. Knowledge, is it distinct from opinion, iii. 337. Government, iii. 525. Lawgiver, aim of the, iv. 7, 233. Taste, what is a, iv. 59.
Truest knowledge, the, iii. 198.
Truth, when attained by the soul, i. 391. Bodily sense a bar to, i. 391. Perfect, self-proving, ii. 141. Appearance, the master of, ii. 186. Desirable inwardly, ii. 205. Declaration of, ii. 275. Deceiver as to, ii. 275. Ridicule no test of, ii. 276. The actual falls short of, ii. 300. Analogy the source of error and, ii. 488. Contending for, iii. 148. Instinctive divineness of, iii. 184. Essential to the good, iii. 205. Beauty and symmetry, iii. 206. Roundabout progress in attaining, iii. 254. Sensuous presentations of, iii. 571. Pleasure in, not the criterion of, iv. 33. The beginning of, iv. 255.
Truthfulness should characterize the ruler and the lover of learning, ii. 311.
Truths, uncertainty of spiritual, i. 414. Ignorance of, absolute, ii. 141. Fundamental of morality, not to be doubted, iii. 8. Great in all things, iii. 222. Some, have not sensible images, iii. 571.
Tyrannical beauties, i. 249. Man, the, ii. 97.
Tyranny opposed to friendship and love, i. 477. Of love, ii. 97. Of wealth, ii. 408. How arising, ii. 390. Tragic poets, through aggregate sin tolerated, ii. 166. The subjects and eulogists of, ii. 398.
Tyrant, law the, of mankind, i. 137; iii. 525. Produced from a protector, ii. 394. Process of becoming a, ii. 395. Love, why called a, ii. 402. Freedom and friendship unknown to the, ii. 405. And king distinguished, iii. 587.
Tyrtæus quoted, iv. 21, 160.

U.

Unbelief taught the young, iv. 116
Unbelievers of two kinds, iv. 123.
Uncertainty of spiritual truths, i 414. Of knowledge, iii. 562.

Unchangeable essence, ii. 528.
Unchangeableness of God, ii. 25, 203. Of divine things, iii. 554.
Unchanging and reflecting, the soul, i. 408.
Understanding and sense, pleasures of the, equally transient, ii. 105.
Unities and contradictories, iii. 128.
Uninitiated, the, iii. 356.
Unity not absolute in man, i. 500. The conception of, i. 524. Of discourse, i. 569. Not arousing thought, ii. 70. In the State, ii. 247. The greatest good in the State, ii. 288. Of the dialogues, iii. 3. Paradox of plurality and, iii. 125. And individuality, iii. 149. Plurality in, iii. 151. In nature, good and pleasant, iii. 200. And being, iii. 263.
Universal, the, in physics and ethics, iii. 221.
Universe, the, a soul, ii. 499. Chance in the, iii. 164. Fire in the, iii. 165. Soul of the, iii. 165; iv. 118. Limit and cause in the, iii. 166. Change in the, iv. 121.
Unjust, the clever, ii. 445. Misery of the, iii. 59.
Unlike, and like, the, iii. 217. In the abstract, iii. 245.
Unmixed pleasures, iii. 190.
Usurer, the, ii. 84.
Utility and right coextensive, ii. 39. Ideas of, pushed too far, iii. 25.
"Utopia" of Sir Thomas More, ii. 144.

V.

Vacillation of youth, ii. 390.
Vacuum, ii. 509.
Valetudinarianism, ii. 230.
Vanity of youth, ii. 389. Of the Sophists, iii. 5.
Vastness of the earth, i. 439.
Veneration of the young towards the old, iii. 387.
Venial crime, iv. 378.
Ventriloquist, Eurycles the, iii. 490.
Verbal opposition, ii. 278.
Vessel, the soul like a, iii. 81.
Vice discovered by virtue, ii. 234. And happiness, iii. 67. And virtue, iv. 175.
Victory, evils of, iv. 172.
Villains, justice among, ii. 175.
Virtue, not knowledge, i. 105. Can it be taught, i. 120, 235. Is one whole, i. 129. Defined, i. 236. The power is relative, i. 244. Of governing mankind, i. 246. Is justice, i. 246. Comes from God, i. 276. The basis of love, i. 479. Ruined by trade, ii. 378. Discovering vice, ii. 234. Rewards of justice and, ii. 444. Order, necessary to, iii. 19. And happiness, iii. 67. Not by chance, iii. 98. Cynics and, iii. 312, 592. The harmony of the soul, iv. 28. Money esteemed above, iv. 42. And wealth inconsistent, iv. 63. Laws answering to, iv. 161. The lawgiver's aim, iv. 233. Not to be exchanged for gold, iv. 253. The road to, iv. 246. The highest aim, iv. 576.
Virtues of the philosopher, ii. 62
Visions of divers sorts, i. 23. Sleep free from fanciful, ii. 400.
Voice, the inner, i. 359.
Voluntariness in wrong, iii. 101.
Voluntary and compulsory care of men, iii. 561.
Voting popular, iv. 99.
Vowels and letters, iii. 491.
Vulgar notions of right, iii. 71.

W.

War, territory sought by, ii. 195. And women, ii. 293. And discord, ii. 297. Geometry in, 354. Of gods and giants, iii. 483. About essence, iii. 483. Art of, iii. 591. Man's natural state, iv. 20. To be learned by women, iv. 85. Universal, iv. 157. Two kinds of, iv. 160. Expeditions of, iv. 452.
Warp, woof, and web, iv. 260.
Wars, whence they come, i. 392. Civil, how arising, ii. 388.
Watchfulness in the State, iv. 67.
Water, divers kinds of, ii. 551.
Waxen tablet of memory, iii. 396.
Wealth acquired suddenly or not, i. 266. And poverty equally degenerating, ii. 245. In government, iii. 377. And moderation not found together in the State, ii. 383. Ruinous to government, ii. 390. Acquired according to order

and harmony, ii. 423. Not especially honored, iv. 41. And virtue inconsistent, iv. 63. Inordinate love of, iv. 90. No reason for special honor, iv. 225. Virtue not to be exchanged for, iv. 253. Of Sparta, iv. 539.
Weaving and carving, iii. 522.
Web, warp, and woof, iv. 260.
Wickedness, concealment of, i. 187. The road to, iv. 246.
Will of God, intimation of the, i. 359.
Wine, diverse effects of, iii. 360; iv. 26. Forbidden by the Carthagenians, iv. 203.
Wine-drinking, bad practice, i. 471. Restricted, iv. 35.
Wise, endurance, i. 85. Man, the, ii. 269. Knowledge of self in the, iii. 154. And just soul, iii. 484.
Wisdom, in what differing from other sciences, i. 21. Great advantage of, i. 28. The sway of, i. 30. A means of good, i. 49. Makes men fortunate, i. 182. Infused through the touch, i. 471. And ignorance, right opinion, a mean between, i. 494. The gentle man loves, ii. 199. Of age, veneration for the, in the young, iii. 387. And pleasure compared, the theme of the Philebus, iii. 145. A remedial power, iii. 320. And words, iii. 517. And false opinion, iii. 563.
Witchcraft and poisoning, iv. 445.
Wits, arithmetic sharpening the, ii. 71. Jests of, ignored, ii. 276.
Wives, community of, ii. 130, 282.
Woman, a lesser man, ii. 280. Ambitious, ii. 376.
Women, their way, ii. 82. Advanced views of their physical inferiority, ii. 129. To have the same duties as men, ii. 276. And war, ii. 293. Education of, iv. 82. To learn war, iv. 85.
Wonder is philosophic, iii. 356.
Woof, warp, and web, iv. 260.
Words and ideas, i. 589. Fighting with, i. 165. Useless things, i. 167. Lesson of, i. 614. Parts of an organism, i. 614. A lie in, an imitation, ii. 205. Opposition of, ii. 278. Surpass realities, ii. 300. Their influence on philosophy, ii. 489. Minute precision in, iii. 387. And phrases, free use of, iii. 387. Speech and letters, iii. 446. And wisdom, iii. 517. Of brevity, not always best, iv. 50. And deeds, iv. 567.
Word-painting more effective than coloring of art, iii. 561.
Work, no disgrace, iv. 18.
World, future state of the, i. 443. Changes in the history of the, ii. 127. Created, the, ii. 463. Why God created the, ii. 493. Likeness of the, ii. 525. The, a great animal, ii. 525. Perfection of the, ii. 526. The, a globe, ii. 527. Twofold essence of the, ii. 528. Evil always to be in the, iii. 324. The, Plato's enemy, iii. 426. Made immortal, iii. 558.
Writing, the true use of, i. 523. Like painting, i. 581.
Wrong, doing, disgracefulness of, iii. 61. Judgment for to be sought, iii. 69. Voluntariness in, iii. 99. And right determined by the State, iii. 374.

Y.

Young and old, iii. 46. Need rest, iii. 540. Men, training of, iv. 196.
Younger and older, iii. 261, 278.
Youth, modesty, becoming youth, i. 12. To be instructed in the military arts, i. 74. The time of study, ii. 74. Quick-witted, not to study philosophy, ii. 75. Like bees, ii. 186. To be tested by trial, ii. 239. Learning in, ii. 364. Avaricious, ii. 381. Vanity and self-conceit of, ii. 389. Fickleness of, iv. 26. Dance for, iv. 28. Dangerous loves of, iv. 92. Skepticism of, iv. 115. Pugnacity of, a motive to authorship, iii. 245. Philosophy in age and, iii. 247. Philosophic impulse in, iii. 253. Mistaught and disillusioned, iii. 469. Youthful reverence for the wisdom of age, iii. 387. Genius, iii. 343.

Z.

Zamolxis, i. 10.
Zeal, if wrong, a great evil, i. 350. Invaluable if right, i. 350.